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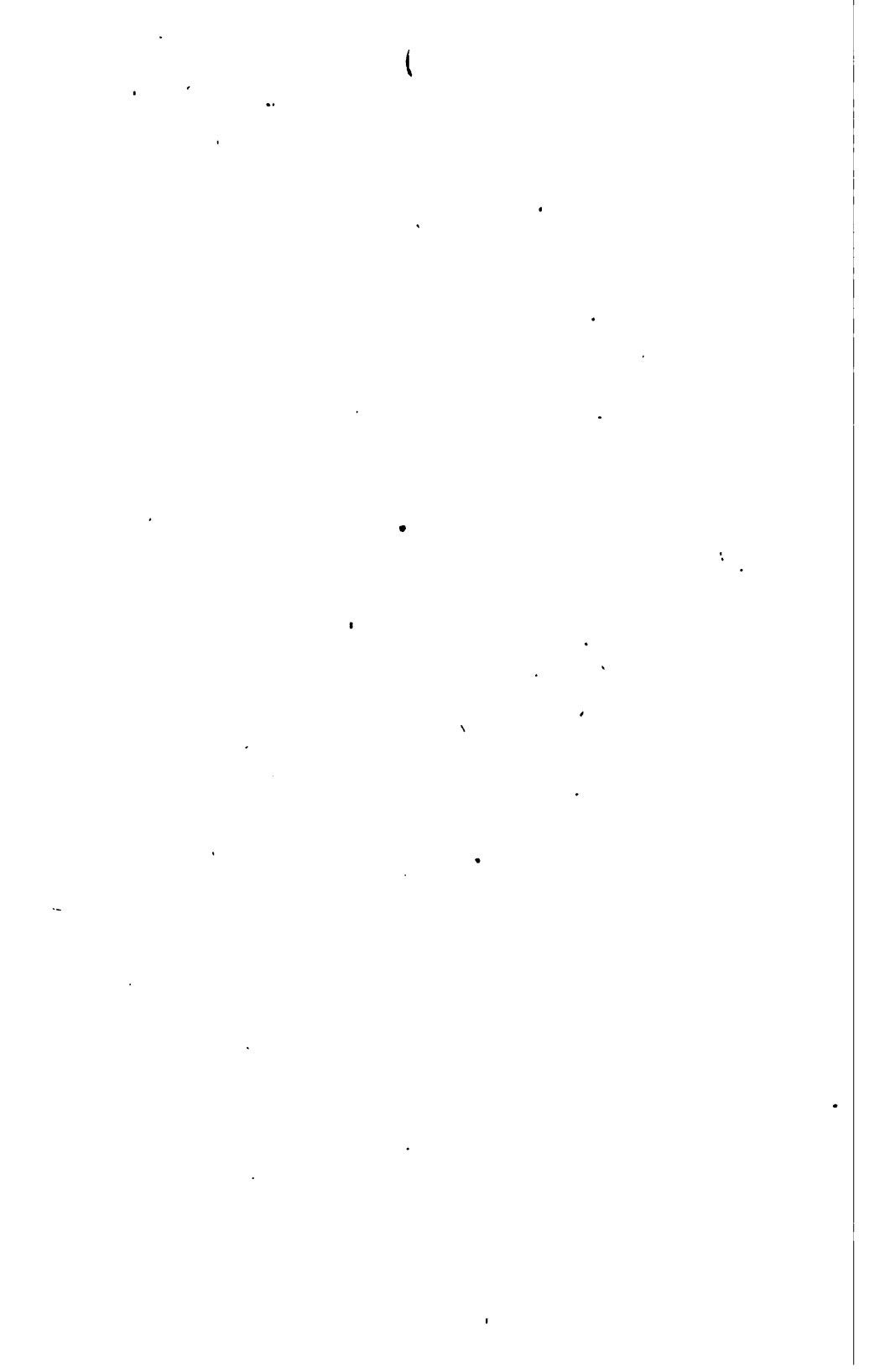
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147 1905-7
PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

Of FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
and OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1 9 0 5

REPORTED BY
Miss Lillian D. Powers

PUBLISHED BY THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIVE

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and OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1905

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MISS LILIAN D. POWERS



PUBLISHED BY THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIVE

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PREFACE.

The Twenty-Third Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples met on the invitation of Hon. Albert K. Smiley, at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., October 18, 19 and 20, 1905. Nearly two hundred members were in attendance. The topics discussed included affairs among the Indians and in the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii, and the discussions are given, practically in full, in this volume.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference, and a limited number of copies is available to others who may be interested. Applications for reports should be made to the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference.

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PLATFORM OF THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS
OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER
DEPENDENT PEOPLES.

1. By the addresses, papers and discussions of this Conference we have been impressed afresh with a sense of the worth of other races than our own, and with a conviction that all those who would be of real service to the people of different races and religions with whom the events of the last decade have brought us into close political relations should study sympathetically the national life, the history, the ideals, and the racial characteristics of those whom they would help.

2. We believe that it is the duty of the United States by legislation to see to it that adequate primary school training is provided where needed for all the children of each of its territories and dependencies; and that temporary assistance if needed should be given from the Federal treasury for this purpose in proportion to the efforts made to provide schools by the inhabitants of the territories, and by a method which shall stimulate and not discourage self-help.

3. We are gratified with the progress made by the Government for doing away with Indian agencies and reservations.

4. We heartily commend the effort made in the last Congress to provide for the distribution of tribal funds, in accordance with recommendations made by President Roosevelt in his first annual message to Congress, and we recommend the passage by the present Congress of an act whose object shall be that sought by the Lacey Bill for the division of such funds; and we further believe that an early date should be fixed by law, on or before which the registration of Indians and of their family relationships at each agency and sub-agency (already required by regulation of the Indian Office), shall be thoroughly completed, and that each Indian so registered shall then be enrolled as a share-holder of tribal property; and that no Indian child born after that date shall have a right to any share in Indian lands or Indian funds in his own name, but shall have such rights as shall be his by descent or relationship under the laws of inheritance for citizens of the State or Territory where such child may reside or such lands be situated.

5. We strongly recommend an enactment in the early days of the coming session of Congress to provide for the continuance of existing schools in the Indian Territory.

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questions should be settled, by free, fair and full discussion and that is why we have this conference.

At the close of the discussions we hope to unite in making an utterance which will be heard through the country with respect.

We have selected to preside over this meeting a man who has been here at nearly all our conferences, a wise man, well known all over the country and highly respected. We are very fortunate in having him. I wish to introduce the President of this Conference, the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott. (Applause.)

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.—When Mr. Smiley wrote asking if I would fill the gap made by the necessary absence of ex-Governor Long, I replied to him what any one of you would have replied to a similar message,—“I will render any service which I can, which you ask me to render.” The service which I am called upon to render is one of great honor, but not of great difficulty; the general spirit of peace and good-will is the only sergeant-at-arms that we know at this Conference.

The first business of the Conference will be the completion of the organization by the election of a Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Business Committee, a Publication Committee, and a Press Committee. The Chair will receive nominations.

The Conference organized by the election of the following officers:—

President.—Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D.

Secretary.—Dr. Charles F. Meserve.

Corresponding Secretary.—H. C. Phillips.

Treasurer.—Frank Wood.

Business Committee.—Dr. Merrill E. Gates, Chairman; Hon. Charles Andrews, Dr. Roland P. Falkner, Rev. H. B. Frissell, D.D., Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks, S. M. McCowan, Dr. Charles F. Meserve, Rev. Doremus Scudder, D.D., Hon. James S. Sherman, Daniel Smiley.

Publication Committee.—Frank Wood, Chairman; J. W. Davis, Daniel Smiley.

Press Committee.—Rev. John B. Devins, D.D., Chairman; Walter Allen, E. Prentiss Bailey, William L. Brown, Albert E. Hoyt, Robert Lincoln O'Brien, John M. Oskison.

The President then delivered the following opening address:

It was only about a quarter of a century ago that we began to realize that our problem was to civilize the Indians. We had hardly gotten that problem fairly before us before God said to

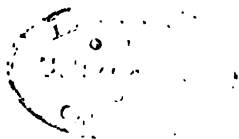
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of the great and fundamental truths of nature and the laws of her operation, but we must see that their passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, and made the servant of a tender conscience. Without undertaking to say how this is to be done I venture to offer four suggestions.

First. We must do for the Indian what we are beginning to do for our public schools in the States: insist upon something more than merely academic qualifications in the teacher. Religion is not a doctrine to be taught, but a spirit to be imparted. To impart it the teacher must possess that spirit of faith and hope and love which constitutes the essence of spiritual life. We can do something to create a public opinion which shall keep the Indian schools out of political influence and which shall give to them teachers imbued with the spirit of a General Armstrong and a Booker Washington, and thus make the government schools morally and inspirationally, as well as intellectually, educative.

Second. We can do for the Indian what, under the inspiration of Booker Washington, we are beginning to do for the colored race, and what under wise leadership, we are beginning to do in the North for the children in our towns and cities: we can make the schools instruments for industrial education. The first duty of every man to the community is to support himself. Therefore, the most fundamental function of education is to give him capacity to support himself. The greatest need, both of the Negro and of the Indian, is industrial rather than literary training. I believe that this is also the greatest need in the towns and cities of the North. This is necessary not only to create power of self-support, but also to a complete manhood. The hand should be trained to something else than to hold a book; the eye to something else than to read a printed page. Nor is it easy to suggest any better way of developing such fundamental moral qualities as obedience, industry, temperance, and self-control than through a wisely ordered industrial education.

Third. We can look for some Indian who will do for his race what Booker Washington has done for the colored race. Nothing would do so much to promote both the civilization of the Indians and the respect of the whites for the Indians as an Indian Booker Washington who should put the claims of the Indians before the whites and the claims of the higher civilization before the Indians.

Fourth. We can, here at Lake Mohonk, lay before the Christian Churches their opportunity and summon them to enter upon their duty. The mere preaching of the Gospel on Sundays to Indian congregations does not fulfill that duty; the mere conduct of parochial schools does not fulfill it. The Indians need the Institutional Church, the Christian school, the social settlement,

the boys' club, the girls' club, the mothers' club, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Societies of Christian Endeavor, a pure literature, and above all, the living men and women carrying to them that life which always must be personally carried, never can be impersonally sent. In the past this Conference has appealed to the Government and not in vain. Would it be in vain for us to appeal to the Churches? We have helped to secure just government and secular education for the Indians; can we not help to secure that love of all that is good and true, and that hatred of all that is evil, which only the spirit of religion can furnish? I venture to suggest to this Conference that it appoint a Committee to set before the Churches the opportunity and the necessity for an enlargement of their work. It is needed among the Indians; it is needed no less among the white populations which surround the Indians. The leaders in the Churches are eager to enter on this work. The laity are apathetic because they are ignorant. Such a statement issued from this Conference might be used by the officers of all the Churches, Roman Catholic and Protestant, Orthodox and Liberal, to disseminate knowledge and arouse enthusiasm among their congregations. The greatest work in the immediate future for the Indian is to be done not by the government but by the Churches of Christ. If the American people fail in their task—the civilization of the Indian—it will be largely the fault of the Churches. If the task is accomplished, the honor of the achievement will be largely theirs.

There are some who think this is an impossible task; that the Indian must die; the Negro, we must get back to Africa if we can; the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos must be left to take care of themselves, and the Hawaiians are a failing race, and we must leave them to die. It seems to me this is fundamental skepticism. What were our ancestors? Look back eighteen centuries; remember the time when the only government of Europe was that of the Roman Empire, an absolute despotism, when the only labor was slave labor, when there was no school in all the Roman Empire, except the synagogue schools of Palestine, that provided any education for common people; when marriage was simply a commercial relation; then see out of what a pit we have been dug, see what life has been put into us, and where it came from. If the spirit of Christianity, starting from that little province of Palestine, imbuing a few courageous hearts, could overthrow Roman despotism and establish free, just government, could overthrow servile labor and establish free labor, could bring in the public school system, growing out of the parochial school, could knit together the broken ties of the family and make again a true home, if the primitive church in its feebleness, inspired

by the spirit of Christ, could do this, oh, it were a shame for us, with our wealth, our intelligence, our strength, to believe that we cannot do this for the Porto Rican, for the Hawaiian, for the Filipino, and for the North American Indian.

The PRESIDENT.—Before I introduce the program of the morning, I will ask the Treasurer, Mr. Frank Wood, if he will make a statement, which he is accustomed to make, or along the lines on which he is accustomed to make them, at this stage of our gathering.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—I desire to introduce the Treasurer very early to the members of the Conference; I also desire to tell the new members why a treasurer is needed, because it may not be obvious to those who have come here for the first time, accepting the hospitality of our great Chief on this Reservation, with free lodging, and rations and entertainment of all kinds, that money is of any use here. The one thing that Mr. Smiley has permitted the Conference to provide is the report. We pay for the printing and the distribution of our reports, which, on Indian affairs, have furnished the instruction of the public educators for the past twenty-three years. They have been circulated among our colleges, schools, and libraries, and they have been referred to by students and editors, desiring knowledge, as having covered the Indian question, in all its phases, and have really been the great public educators of this important question.

Since we have widened our field, and taken in the new dependencies, the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, we last year more than doubled the size of our edition, and the fact that the public have taken nearly all that were printed, shows that it was not too large. We now have questions before us that concern not only these dependent peoples, but also our own national life, honor and righteousness. We members of this Conference can, through this report, influence the public sentiment that makes the laws and enforces them. I have been in the habit of getting, for the last fifteen years, what I have asked for publication expenses. I am going to ask for at least seven hundred dollars this year, a larger amount than I have ever called for before, and that it may be obtained, I wish to ask the members of the Conference to see me early. I will be at this place by the piano during the Conferences, and whenever you see me, no matter what I appear to be doing, I will be always acting as the treasurer, and ready to receive money. By accepting my suggestion and coming early, you will relieve yourselves of some trouble, because I will speak again if I do not get the amount, and you will also relieve me of some anxiety, and make sure that we are going to get the money we need.

The PRESIDENT.—I have heard of a Philadelphia lawyer, who, when any case was brought him, would say that in order to win that case, the principle of law must be so and so, and then he would turn to the young man, "Now, I want you to go and find the authority for that principle." I have told you how we ought to work with the Indians, and we are now going to hear from Miss Cook of the Indian Bureau at Washington. I cannot say she will support my principles, but I hope she will.

Miss Cook.—With all my great pleasure of being again at Mohonk, I very deeply regret this morning in being called to take the small part in the proceedings which hitherto has been taken by General Whittlesey. He is kept at home by the infirmities of advancing years, and I know his heart and spirit are in Mohonk this morning, and he wished me to give his heartiest and warmest greetings to the Conference; it is the first time but one since the Conference was organized that he has not been here to take this part, which is to give a resume of what has been done in the Indian service or the Indian Office during the past year.

RESUME OF THE YEAR'S WORK AMONG INDIANS.

The Indian wage-earner employed by the Government on the reservation has hitherto been at a disadvantage because he was paid only once a month. Recently, arrangements have been made by which Indians will receive their wages weekly, thus removing one ground for getting and keeping in debt for daily bread. More and more Indians are seeking employment, and railroads, ranches, beet fields, etc., are coming to depend on this intelligent though somewhat fitful labor.

Unfortunately, they handle much more money than they earn. From the sales of inherited lands the Indians continue to gain large revenues, of which their white neighbors stand ready to despoil them forthwith. During the last year 978 tracts embracing 90,214 acres were sold at an average price of \$15.44 per acre. In two years the proceeds of inherited land sales have aggregated nearly three and one-half million dollars. To help the Indian to keep hold of his money and to frustrate the schemes of sharpers, the money is deposited in bank to his individual credit, and draws interest at from two to five per cent.; then he is allowed to draw out only \$10.00 a month unless he obtains specific authority from the Indian Office to make a larger expenditure. Certain National banks designated as depositories for these funds have recently been required to furnish surety company bonds for

the safety of the deposits. On the 30th of last June Indian deposits in banks aggregated \$665,000, and the bonds of the banks amounted to \$700,000.

The same disposition is made of the proceeds coming to Indians from the sale of their timber.

Such deposits attract the tax collectors, and the United States Circuit Court in Nebraska decided last month that they may be assessed for county taxation. This case is to be appealed.

Other cases are now waiting trial, in which parties have attempted to force the payment of judgments issued against the Indians out of the proceeds of land sales.

The leasing of Indian lands, allotted and unallotted, assumes larger proportions each year. Last year 3,727 leases of allotted lands were made and 262 of tribal lands. This gives money to the Indians and work to the agents, but has little tendency to forward the Indian's civilization.

EDUCATION.

The enrolment of Indian pupils in school during the year ended June 30, 1905 (exclusive of the New York Indians and the Five Civilized Tribes) has aggregated 30,106, about 600 more than during 1904. The average attendance has been 25,455. The pupils are distributed as follows:—

In Government Schools:—

25 non-reservation	9,736
93 reservation boarding	11,402
139 day	4,399
In 45 mission schools—boarding and day	3,363
In 9 contract boarding schools	997
In Hampton Institute, Va.	125
In public schools	84

The contract schools were among the Menominee, Osage, Sioux, Northern Cheyenne, and Quapaw Indians, and the contracts covered \$102,780, chargeable to "moneys belonging to the Indians themselves, and not to the public."

Of the 2,400 persons employed in Indian schools one-third are Indians.

One general institute at Asbury Park, and three local institutes have been held for members of the Indian school service, and an Indian school exhibit in the Portland Exposition has attracted favorable notice.

SALE OF LIQUOR TO INDIANS.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the "Heff Case," that it is not illegal to sell liquor to an Indian allottee when he is off a reservation, has added vastly to the difficulty of keeping Indians away from liquor or liquor away from

Indians, and a fund to be used in obtaining evidence and prosecuting those who sell liquor to Indians is more sorely needed than ever.

Indian traders have been notified that their stores must be kept in order and their goods, especially edibles, handled in a cleanly manner; they must label with a conspicuous symbol of skull and cross-bones all poisons, or compounds which are liable to cause serious injury if taken in considerable quantities, and they have been forbidden to sell Peruna to Indians. They have also been forbidden to deal in relics obtained from Indian ruins.

APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES.

The total appropriation made by Congress for the Indian service for the fiscal year, 1905, was \$9,918,824; for the current year it is \$8,129,312. The expenditures from all sources for 1905 amounted to \$14,236,073, of which one-fourth was for support of schools.

Bids for \$1,800,000 worth of supplies were received at Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Washington, and San Francisco. The number of items was 2,673. This year the samples submitted with the bids have been passed on not only by inspectors who are experts as to trade values, but also by employes from the field who know by experience what is or is not best adapted to school and reservation use. A physician who has practiced twelve years among the Indians gave particular attention to revising the schedule of medical supplies. By striking out twenty obsolete items and inserting sixty-five new ones, the list for the Indian service has been brought fairly up to date; but the work of revision will be continued till the best that is possible shall have been accomplished.

IRRIGATION.

An appropriation of \$185,000 for irrigation has been expended, mainly among thirteen tribes, the greater part going to the Zuni, Mission, Crow, and Yakima Indians. A special appropriation of \$50,000 begins the construction of irrigation works, which it is hoped, will end the water famine among the Pimas in Arizona, but their wants have been met this year by a very unusual rainfall. Irrigation systems are being planned on the Walker River reservation in Nevada and Shoshone in Wyoming.

ALLOTMENT.

During the year 493 patents have been delivered to Indians and 1,828 allotments have been approved. Allotment work is in progress on eleven reservations and also among scattered Indians off reservations, mainly on the Pacific slope.

The abandoned Camp McDowell military reservation in Arizona has become a home for about 600 Mohave Apaches, who

have been homesick vagrants ever since they were taken from their beloved Verde Valley twenty-nine years ago. The twenty-six white squatters on the reservation have been paid nearly \$50,000 for their improvements, and the Indians have entered into possession of 2,500 acres of irrigable land with three irrigation ditches. Their children have attended a day school taught by a "returned student."

RELIEF FOR CALIFORNIA INDIANS.

The destitute, desert-bound Campo Indians in Southern California, whose case attracted widespread sympathy last winter, have had their immediate distress relieved from both Government and private funds. The Office has given them a white field matron with an Indian assistant, and other friends have provided another Indian assistant; but the question is what to do with 100 Indians whose lands are so worthless that all able-bodied adults must go elsewhere to earn a living.

The needs of the landless Indians in California are being investigated by Mr. C. E. Kelsey, formerly Secretary of the Northern California Association.

After more than a quarter of a century of agitation and recommendation, the title of some 2,500 Turtle Mountain Chippewas to an immense territory in North and South Dakota has been formally "extinguished" by agreement. Last February the Indians executed a release. The Government pays one million dollars, and \$100,000 is soon to be distributed in a \$50 per capita payment.

The long dispute as to fishery rights of the Yakima Indians in Washington has been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States in favor of the Indians. It now remains to obtain and retain lucrative possession of that which they have technically recovered.

FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES COMMISSION.

By law the Commission to the Five Civilized tribes went out of existence on the 30th of June, and the work of the Commission was devolved upon the Secretary of the Interior. He appointed Mr. Tans Bixby, ex-chairman of the Commission, to complete its work. Under the provisions of agreements and laws the tribal governments themselves will cease to exist on the 4th of next March.

Allotments to the Creeks and Seminoles are practically completed, and they are rapidly being made among the other tribes. Up to June 30, 97,000 allotments had been made, aggregating nearly 13,000,000 acres. To remove intruders and place the Indians in possession of their lands after allotment is no small task, and already 3,500 complaints for possession have been disposed of.

The Five Civilized Tribes are steadily disposing of their lands by sale and lease. Any adult allottee may sell all his land except the 80-acre homestead, provided the Agent and the Department are satisfied after investigation that the sale will be for his benefit. Of the 1,569 applications for permission to sell, less than 25 per cent. have been approved. The Creeks have sold 13,000 acres. Bids were invited last year for the sale at six places, and dates of unleased coal and asphalt lands in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, but the bids were considered too low, and all were rejected.

Under a new law all questionable leases must be investigated and three clerks have been employed for that work. There are a large number of coal and asphalt, and 1,227 oil and gas leases.

From these sources plus grazing and business taxes, payments on town lots, etc., one and one-quarter million dollars have been collected by the Agent during the year.

Roads are being established in the Creek and Cherokee country at tribal expense, but without special legislation the work will continue to be neglected in the other three nations.

EDUCATIONAL DANGERS IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

The discouraging outlook for the Five Civilized Tribes is in the educational line. At the cost of a half million dollars there has been carried on during the year 33 boarding and 106 day schools for Indians only, 445 public day schools for whites and Indians, 78 negro day schools, 25 mission schools, 60 public schools in incorporated towns, and 64 private white schools. The entire enrolment has been not far from 50,000. These schools have been mainly supported by tribal funds plus \$100,000 appropriated by Congress. This appropriation made to provide for the establishment of new schools and for the admission of white children into the tribal schools has been so carefully administered, and so much preliminary work has been required of the school districts applying for aid, that it has provided for hundreds of hitherto unschooled children, both white and Indian. For the current fiscal year the appropriation has been increased to \$150,000. But by the terms of the appropriation it is applicable only for the attendance of white children at tribal schools and for the establishment of new schools under the dual control of the Interior Department and the tribal school boards. With the death of the tribal governments there will be no tribal funds, hence no tribal schools and no tribal school boards. Therefore, under existing law all schools must close on the 4th of next March except the few mission and private schools, and such public schools as are supported by incorporated towns having not less than 1,000 inhabitants. Yet the Five Civilized Tribes are rich in land and other resources. In treaties with other Indian

tribes tribal funds have been set aside for educational purposes. It is not yet too late for Congress to make some such arrangement for continuing schools among the Five Civilized Tribes.

Mr. T. H. TIBBLES.—How many Indians did you say were in the common public school?

Miss COOK.—Only eighty-five.

Mr. TIBBLES.—There is a mistake there.

Miss COOK.—That does not include the Five Civilized Tribes.

Mr. TIBBLES.—I know that is far from right. I know in Nebraska University a student at the head of electrical engineering, another student high in art in the regular course, and another in the political economy department, and two other Indians, making five that I know of in Nebraska University. I know of nine attending the public schools in Bancroft, Nebraska, out of one tribe. I know an Indian girl in New York City who must be doing well, for when she comes home she is always very well dressed.

Miss COOK.—I am very glad if these figures are too small. It is the great desire on the part of the Indian Office to get Indian children to attend public schools, and it has taken a great deal of pains to enlist the interest of public school districts in the education of its Indian children, in that way, by offering to public school districts ten dollars a quarter for every Indian pupil who attends, and to enter into a contract with any public school district in the country that will take in Indians at those rates, but the districts as a rule have not taken very much interest in it, and the number who have thus been reported to the office as being in the public school and being paid for any part out of Government funds has been growing less instead of greater, and this eighty-five is the number reported to the Indian Office.

Mr. SMILEY.—Until last evening, we expected Mr. Leupp, the very competent Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He is detained in Washington on some official business. Mr. Leupp is a very intelligent man, thoroughly posted in Indian matters, from several years' contact with the Indians, and through other sources. I am very sorry he is not here, but he has an able representative in Miss Cook. When I went to Washington, twenty-five years ago, Miss Cook was then an authority on everything about Indians, and especially on Indian education, and she has been kept there ever since. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—I suppose there is no place in the country where the problem of Indian civilization has presented itself in more dramatic, interesting and perhaps instructive form than in

the recent development in the Indian Territory. In the endeavor of the Indians to organize a territory, and so prepare the way to organize a state, they sought the advice and counsel of the gentleman who is now to speak to you, and who, in his own person, illustrates one thing of which I spoke to you a few moments before, that of carrying in one's life to the Indians that influence which can be carried but cannot be sent. We have great pleasure in hearing from Dr. A. Grant Evans, President of Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, Indian Territory.

Rev. A. GRANT EVANS.—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—A year ago, when I spoke about the conditions in the Indian Territory you took certain action. The best thing I have to report today is the success, the very measurable success of the action then taken. We spoke of the educational conditions the year before that; the one hundred thousand dollar grant (to which reference has been made by the last speaker) had been made, and the schools which had been run as Indian schools entirely by Indian money, by money belonging to the Indians for from fifty to seventy years in the different tribes, those schools were enlarged and made practically into common schools, under the very wise leadership of Superintendent Benedict and the supervisors who have worked under him. That hundred thousand dollars was so well spent that when, last year, we asked that the amount should be increased, Mr. Sherman used his influence, and the committee on Indian affairs recommended the increase at once. We secured not merely one hundred thousand, but a hundred and fifty thousand dollars and certain contingent court fees, which made the total amount over two hundred thousand dollars, I understand, so that last year we had more to spend on education in the Indian Territory than ever before.

The condition at present is very critical. I am only going to speak of this for a moment or two, because you are to hear two men who are in active work in this very department. The condition is exceedingly critical because the tribal governments with all tribal institutions come to an end on the 4th of next March. The appropriation was made simply to supplement the tribal appropriation, so that when this stops, the supplementary appropriation stops also; we are face to face with this, that so far as any one can see and know at present, there is absolutely no provision for the education of the children in Indian Territory outside the incorporated towns and outside the mission schools after the fourth of next March. At the very earliest it will be two or three years before a state system of education can be put in practical operation. It is of the utmost importance at this critical time for the masses of the people, especially the

masses of the people in the rural districts, where the real Indians live, that there should be no gap; a gap just now means that those to whom it is most important that the change in their political status should be made as carefully and with as great wisdom as possible, those who will form a large part of the next generation to control affairs in the Indian Territory will, at this critical time, be denied the benefit of an education. We cannot afford to let these schools drop; there must be some arrangement made by which they shall be carried on until the state is organized and until the state can organize itself an adequate system of common schools. It is hard for people here to realize that the estimated population of the Indian Territory, according to Mr. Bixby, late chairman of the Dawes Commission, and who has inherited its work, is not less today than about three-quarters of a million. Of this you have heard the number of allotments which have been made, which represents the number of Indian citizens, something under one hundred thousand. There are at least between six and seven hundred thousand non-Indian citizens in the Indian Territory, whites and negroes. These people only in the last five or six years have been able to provide schools for themselves in incorporated towns of over a thousand population, where in rural districts up to a year ago they were absolutely able to do nothing. The wrong was not merely to them, but to the Indians amongst whom they were to live; they were the neighbors. Their children, amongst whom the Indian children must live, are forcibly made to grow up in ignorance without opportunity of ordinary education. I know this matter will be ably discussed. I just wanted to touch upon it to say this, that the representatives of the Indian tribes are anxious that some provision should be made, are willing that money should be drawn from their own funds to pay for the making of some provision for carrying on these schools until the state is able to organize its system of schools, so that there shall be no interruption in the education of their children.

The other matter about which we spoke a year ago was the matter of continued prohibition in the Indian Territory—a most important one. We saw then that under the provisions of the treaties, the recent agreements made between the Dawes Commission and the Congress of the United States on the one hand and the representatives of the Indian tribes on the other, that under these agreements the government and people of the United States were pledged to continue the prohibition of liquor traffic in the territory occupied by these people. This conference a year ago called attention to these solemn pledges. Captain McKennon and I went to Washington and interviewed the President, and had the assurance of his hearty sympathy and promise

that he would do what he could to carry out the pledges made by the government. The church people in Indian Territory formed a federation of all the churches there, and we employed a secretary, the Rev. Mr. Sweet, who spent last winter in Washington. There were a great many friends who were ready to co-operate with him, and when the bill providing statehood for New Mexico and Arizona, Oklahoma and Indian Territory came before the Senate, it was amended, through work done in the Senate committee, and largely through the great influence and powerful advocacy of Senator Gallinger. We were satisfied with that amendment, which provided continued federal jurisdiction of the matter, but it was again amended so as to make the whole joint state of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, if it were admitted, a prohibition state for twenty-one years. There is hardly time to discuss, in the few minutes I have this morning, all the bearings of that amendment; suffice it to say that it gave us this assurance, that the Senate of the United States stands absolutely with us on this proposition, the overwhelming vote in favor of continued prohibition, and shows that we have the assurance of its support in the contention we made that these pledges were solemnly given, they were given as part of a contract, a contract made between the representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes and the representatives of the United States Government, and must be kept. The Indian tribes have faithfully kept their part of the contract, they have given up what was to them a consideration of the utmost value; they have given up every tribal patent to their lands, they have consented to have their lands allotted, and now they come to the government of the United States and they say, "We have performed our part of the contract, we ask simply that you shall perform yours," and this certainly we spoke of last year as a part of the contract which was absolutely unmistakable. As the chairman of this conference last year said, in a report to the government, "If the United States Government does not keep these pledges, they can be bound by no treaty, and no one can reasonably place confidence in our national honor." Now the whole aspect of the matter has changed to some extent, during the past year. Of course, as you know, the statehood bills before the last Congress were ultimately defeated, so that nothing was definitely settled. During the past summer the Indian people have come together and have called a convention of their fellow citizens and of the white residents among them to form a constitution, and to ask admission as a state of the Union. They claim that this is what was promised them, and they give a number of reasons for the claim which they make. It is impossible, in the few minutes I have this morning, to more than state that

there has been this change, a very interesting one, to say the least, and I hope I may have the opportunity of presenting what seems to me very clearly the Indian point of view in this matter a little later.

We have to remember with regard to these matters that we are not dealing with a barbarous people. I heard the Chief of the Creek nation speak to a gentleman in Washington last year. The gentleman referred to his people as "barbarous" people, and the Chief replied, "Sir, my people were never known to you as barbarous people! We had civil government when you first came to this country; we protected life, we had our laws, our system of government, and we were not a barbarous people!" (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—I certainly hope that Dr. Evans may have an opportunity to give us some account of that constitution; I have had correspondence with him, and have become very much interested myself in the movement of which he has given only a hint.

We will now be addressed by Judge C. W. Crouse, Superintendent of Ft. Apache Agency, Whiteriver, Arizona.

Judge C. W. CROUSE.—In the few minutes allotted to me I can speak only of conditions on the Pima and Apache Reservations as I have seen them and known them for about sixteen years. I first observed the conditions on the Pima Reservation years ago; I understand them fully, and I may say the same truthfully of the Apache Reservation. In the making of all good laws, we aim at truth—the results are facts. It is with God only that facts and truths are one. We must know conditions before we can make good laws: hence the purpose now to acquaint you briefly with the conditions.

The conditions on the Pima Reservation are those (from the material standpoint of which I am speaking) of a desert. Some of you have been there and know this. You have seen those noble people, the Pimas,—those true and patriotic people, and you know their deplorable condition. The main condition that makes it so is the want of water for irrigating purposes. But it is of little avail to speak of the condition without a remedy. The material remedy for the Pima people is the storage of water for agricultural purposes. Experiments have been made—are being made there now—by which it is hoped that they will get water for agricultural purposes. To my mind this is only an experiment, the intention of which is good, but which will not suffice. In my opinion, nothing but the storage of water for those people will be effectual, and this conference, these conscientious people, who are working for the Indians, can do nothing better than to

devise plans by which the Pimas can have this necessary help. With the Apaches it is different. The conditions are different. The laws would have to be different. The reservation in character is different. It is a mountainous country. Only one-tenth of one per cent. of the land, two thousand acres of the two million acres of the Ft. Apache Reservation, is fit for agricultural purposes; hence we must look elsewhere for material help—we must look to herding, which is the only material industry by which this people can make a living. They cannot do it by farming. It is possible to allot one thousand acres for each Indian there, but one thousand acres means nothing to them; in some places on that reservation, it is worthless to them for any purpose; so that it is impossible to allot that reservation, as I understand it. The principle of allotment is a grand one, a good one; but after five years' observation there it seems to me that it is impossible to allot land of this character. In some places a thousand acres is more than is necessary for one Indian; in other places he needs ten thousand acres of that kind of land. I am speaking briefly of the conditions of these two peoples, the Pimas and Apaches, about equal in numbers, some four thousand of each. Their conditions are different; the laws made for them must be different. I do not know of the particular feature regarding which you desire me to speak. There are so many detailed conditions there that it is difficult to select the most material. I would prefer to answer, or try to answer, any questions that you may ask from time to time during this Convention.

A MEMBER.—What proportion of Apache children are in school? A.—There are five hundred and sixty-five children, of a school age on the Reservation at Ft. Apache, and of these about two hundred and ten are in school.

A MEMBER.—Any attempt at industrial education for them? A.—In a limited way, to the best of our means.

A MEMBER.—Have these Apaches begun to have herds and cattle of their own? A.—Yes.

A MEMBER.—Can you give us an idea of how many cattle and how many are capable of self-support? A.—There are none of them capable of self-support, excepting by labor on the reservation. The herding industry is only beginning; it is in its infancy, and they only have about ten or fifteen hundred cattle.

A MEMBER.—Are they able to refrain from killing them? A.—Not always; they hunt for excuses for killing them, and sheep as well.

A MEMBER.—Are these Apaches willing to work when they can get work? A.—They are.

A MEMBER.—What proportion can get work outside the reser-

vation at fair wages? A.—At present, I think there are about two hundred and seventy-five off the reservation.

A MEMBER.—Can more of them go and get work if they want to? A.—They could, but it is difficult to persuade them to leave the reservation.

A MEMBER.—They are afraid to venture out? A.—They seem to be.

A MEMBER.—Where are these two hundred? A.—Working at present on the Tonto Reservation, about fifty miles away.

A MEMBER.—At what wages? A.—\$2.00 and \$2.25 a day.

A MEMBER.—Do they save their money? A.—I am having provision made so they will save their money to take care of them.

A MEMBER.—I was told on the Southern Pacific Railroad five years ago that the Pimas and Apaches were actually the best track workmen they had. They have a good reputation? A.—They have the very best, if tracks are any evidence. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—Some of the most interesting portions of these conferences are not public meetings, but private conferences. I am sure that the speaker who has just taken his seat will be very glad to give you any individual information, as you may be able to meet him in the halls later on.

Our next speaker is Mr. Benjamin C. Coppock, Supervisor of the Cherokee Indian Schools in Indian Territory.

Mr. BENJAMIN S. COPPOCK, Tahlequah, I. T.—The Cherokee Nation occupies the north-east portion of the Indian Territory and comprises about 7,500 square miles of land. The east part is hilly, wooded, and is believed to be rich in mineral resources. The west part is mainly rolling prairie, and is principally agricultural land, although coal, natural gas and petroleum are being developed in this part in great abundance. The entire reservation is marked by railroads, making every part accessible. Along these railroads are located numerous towns, whose citizenship is comprised chiefly of white people, although many Cherokees live in them.

The lands are being rapidly allotted to the individual members of the tribe. Whole townships of the best land have been practically taken by the freedmen, and many townships of the poorest land in the rocky, hilly sections are taken by the full-bloods. In the scheme of allotment used the poorer the land the larger is the acreage allowed to each individual. As the work of allotment progresses, permanent roads are opened, township lines are observed, and numerous locations for school-houses are secured by neighborhoods. More than fifty new school-houses were

erected the past year by private subscription, and as many the year before. When a neighborhood secures a house it is encouraged to petition for the establishment of a school.

We have at present 310 day schools. Of these 240 are free public schools, open alike to citizen and non-citizen children. This is made possible by use of funds appropriated by Congress for the purpose. That we have thirty-five full-blood schools is an incident of residence, for in the neighborhoods where these schools are located the people are all full-blood Cherokees and speak that language among themselves. As a matter of law the negro schools are separate.

There are enrolled in all of our schools 8,000 Cherokees and 8,000 whites. The Cherokee citizenship is comprised of about 7,500 full-blood, 3,200 inter-married whites, 25,000 mixed bloods, and some 4,000 freedmen. Of these there are in our schools 1,000 full-bloods, 6,000 mixed bloods, and 1,000 negroes. Of our 310 day school-teachers, 42 are employed in the schools in the incorporated towns in which we have 1,800 Cherokee children. These schools are so organized that there is no difference known between the Cherokee pupils and teachers and the other pupils and teachers, thus eliminating race feeling as to both whites and Indians. There are in this way scattered in good graded schools with excellent discipline and instruction from the first to the tenth year, so as to work along with white children, this large number of Cherokee pupils.

Now a word about High Schools. There have been graduated at the Female Seminary during the past fifty years 177 young ladies, and from the Male Seminary, 130 young men. These come from the best families of the nation, and exert a marked influence for good wherever they have settled. They are the trained leaders in all of the enterprises of the people. The Colored High School has recently been brought to a good state of efficiency, and five pupils have been graduated.

The one thing in the nation upon which all of the people are united, and for which they provide funds liberally, is the education of their children. On this subject we have reached a stage of absolute enthusiasm. At our normal last summer we enrolled 341 teachers. The work accomplished was of a high grade. For six summers we have called the teachers for a month's training and study, and each year has shown a decided gain over the previous one.

We hoped before statehood to qualify a body of teachers that would fully hold their own in the contest with teachers from the states. Through the discipline of the normal, the seminaries, and the practical experience in the school-house, we have trained and held a body of Indian teachers unmatched anywhere. Of the 170



who are Cherokee by blood, thirty-five are full-bloods. The Indian element has received place, encouragement and credit, and the education afforded is felt in each neighborhood and in the homes of the Indian people. No gap is created parting children from parent and the family feeling. All are alike benefited. The day school in touch with the home is a dominant feature, and coupled with it is the association and fellowship of white children as deskmates, classmates, and playmates. No town or township is without its schools taught in English with English text-books. The result is a sturdy Americanism and preparation for citizenship. We are ready for statehood and county government. We are ready to vote and pay taxes. We are an example of a tribe of the original American Indian who is ready to take his place in county and state and hold his own, right on through the century. We have a good many people who are improvident, and who will remain so. We have people who will not be ready for the allotment of their lands and for certain other things—I mean the sale of their lands and the removal of restrictions—for twenty or forty years, but the majority are as ready as they ever will be.

Mr. SMILEY.—Are not these people of whom you speak as being so energetic as to schools mainly white people, called Indians?

Mr. COPPOCK.—They are mainly such, yet I remember the other day a full-blood Indian came to me and asked about getting a school; he said to me, "We are all full-bloods, but we have five children of white renters among us, and we want a teacher that will allow those children to come and play with our children, so that they will have that many teachers instead of only one." The full-blood is not in all ways like us, neither are the negroes down there, but we have some splendid white people, and many full-bloods who are intelligent, progressive, energetic people, who have two or three or five farmers on their lands raising thousands of bushels of grain, and caring for their stock.

It is encouraging to note we have full-bloods in the seminaries and have them enrolled in many schools besides the so-called full-blood schools, in all a full thousand of them, and they make an average daily attendance of the whole school year of over fifty per cent. of the enrollment.

The PRESIDENT.—We shall now have the pleasure of hearing from Superintendent John D. Benedict, of Muskogee, I. T., who is Superintendent of Schools for the entire Indian Territory.

Supt. JOHN D. BENEDICT.—Ladies and Gentlemen: You have already heard from two of the ablest educators that we have with

us in the Territory, (Supt. Evans, in charge of one of the best schools, and Supervisor Coppock, an old worker in the Indian cause), and I am rather at a loss to know what to say in addition to what they have said. If I do not say the thing, Mr. Chairman, which you desire to know about concerning affairs in the Indian Territory, I shall be very glad to have questions asked. I think first, during the short time allotted to me it would be well for me to say to you as specifically as I can, what we need in the immediate future. The agreement which was a part of the Curtis Act passed in 1898, providing for the gradual distribution of the lands and moneys of the Five Tribes and the allotment of their lands, provided that by the fourth of March, 1906, all tribal affairs should be abolished, all tribal funds should be discapitalized and distributed, and secondly, that all tribal schools must close. By the very terms of the provisions of that agreement, it seemed then to be understood that by the fourth of March, 1906, there would be a state formed ready to take the place of the various tribal governments which have been in operation down there for the last three-quarters of a century, but now it seems not possible to get a state there in time to continue the schools in work. I apprehend that it would take at least two years, if Congress should give us statehood at this coming session, whether it be single statehood or whether it be combined statehood with Oklahoma, it would take at least two years for us to enact laws to provide for the organization of counties and the officials, and levy and collect taxes and have money ready to support schools. We cannot afford to wait that long; those children must be educated. In my opinion, there has never been a time in the history of the Indian when his education is of more importance than right now, when you are proposing to throw upon him the responsibility of caring for himself, of making him an American citizen, of giving him his land and saying, "You must go it alone." He needs education in order to carry on the work which has been thrown upon him, more than he has ever needed it when living his tribal relations, so we need legislation at this coming session of Congress which will, in some way, enable us to continue these schools. When I went to the Territory, six years ago, we had about three hundred little day schools scattered throughout the Territory which then belonged to the Indians; the Indian tribes, however, had never built them. It seems that during the period when the tribes managed their own schools and their own affairs, they were partial to boarding schools. There was a good deal of politics in their school management. The man who had influence and could help elect members to the council and various offices, was pretty sure to send his children to the boarding schools, where they were

boarded, and perhaps clothed, free of cost, while the poor, unlettered, unofficial full-blood of the hills was left to send his children to the little day school if he chose to. No money has ever been appropriated by any tribe in the Indian Territory for building a day school. Not a day school-house in the country has ever been built except by donations, subscriptions,—the neighborhood getting together. The tribes have simply furnished the teachers. We adopted the plan somewhat gradually, of bringing the whites and Indians together in these little day schools. There was some opposition at first; the Indians were afraid that their children would be crowded out, but I felt it would do their children good to be brought into close relationship with white children, and it would certainly do the white children some good, who had no opportunities for an education offered to them prior to that. The plan worked well in most cases, so that when Congress gave us a hundred thousand dollars' appropriation last year, we were ready to use it. We had our day schools practically established, we had the Indians and the whites together in very many of these schools, and all we had to do was simply to extend that plan, send out more teachers, and we did it. We practically last year doubled our work with the aid of that hundred thousand dollars; we were enabled to establish twice the number of day schools that had ever been conducted in the Territory. This year Congress has given us double what they did last year. They appropriated one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and provided that the surplus court fees should also be added to that fund, which amounted, perhaps, to fifty thousand dollars, making two hundred thousand dollars for the conduct of these day schools for this current year. The unfortunate thing about it, however, is that the act appropriating that two hundred thousand dollars says that it shall be used for the maintenance, strengthening and enlarging of tribal schools, and inasmuch as the Curtis Act says that those tribal schools must end March 4, 1906, the authorities at Washington have ruled that we cannot use any of that two hundred thousand dollars after the fourth of March, because there will be no tribal schools to sustain or enlarge. So we need first from this session of Congress, as early as possible, the passage of an act providing that whatever amount of money left on hand March 4, 1906, out of that two hundred thousand dollars, may be used for the conduct of these day schools during the rest of the fiscal year. It would be a great calamity to have to close all of those schools on the fourth of March. Then we need a provision from Congress, I think, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior, before distributing all these various tribal funds, to reserve at least the funds which they have for years and years reserved for themselves for school purposes. Let that

be reserved until the state can be organized to take its place, and with those two funds, the tribal fund, which the tribes have voluntarily appropriated for education of their own children, supplemented by the two hundred thousand dollars which Congress has given us, (we would like to make it two hundred and fifty thousand dollars next year) we can keep up a fairly good system, enlarge and increase it, until such a time as the state is organized and ready to take charge of the educational work of the Territory. It would be a great calamity; I can hardly describe to you how it would be, if we do not get some relief by the fourth of March. These little day schools; (and we have now over seven hundred, built by donation, by subscription), if they are to close next March, the men upon whose allotments these little day schools are located, will appropriate the buildings to their own use, for barns, sheds, or houses, or they will be moved off the school lots, and when the state is formed it will have absolutely nothing with which to begin. If we can manage to continue these little schools until the state is organized and ready to take charge of them, you see we will have seven or eight hundred district schools already established and organized, already full of Indian and white children for the state to begin with. Those are the two points, I think, upon which Congress should give speedy legislation during this coming session, so we will not have to close the schools the 4th of March; first, to provide that the balance of the two hundred thousand dollars, which I estimate will be sixty thousand dollars, perhaps, may be used between March 4th and the end of the fiscal year, and next, that the tribal school funds may continue to be reserved, as they have been reserved, for the education of tribal children until the state is ready to educate all of the children. Some of the tribes have already taken that stand. The Cherokee council has already passed resolutions asking that Congress do this. The Creek chief, who read his message a week or two ago to the council, recommends the same thing; the chief of the Choctaw nation has already said he wanted his council to do the same thing, so there will be no opposition from the councils, I think, in that respect, because, as the years go by, they are all becoming more and more interested in the education of their own children. There are other topics that I might touch upon, but nothing that you would be more interested in.

One or two words as to what we need more than anything else: first, we need thoroughly up-to-date, practical, teachers. The summer normals, which we organized six years ago, have been remarkably successful. We have had, during this past summer, in the four normals, over nine hundred teachers in regular attendance for the entire month. We need, then, thoroughly

up-to-date, practical teachers; secondly, the Indian needs, aside from that, more than anything else, a thoroughly honest (if he can get it) practical, Christian man as a farmer or tenant, as his neighbor. The great trouble down there on their farming lands, is that their tenants have not been of the right class and character of men; they have been shiftless, roving men, who go here and there in their covered wagons, stop long enough to raise a crop, and then move. The Indian is a great imitator. Place by the side of him a man whose acts are worthy of imitation.

As my time has expired, I will close by submitting for your information a table of statistics relating to our past year's work as follows:

	Number of Schools.	Number Pupils Enrolled.			Cost of Schools.	
		Indians.	Whites.	Negroes.	Tribal Funds.	Government Appropriation.
Cherokee Nation :						
Academies	4	507		40	\$58,864.00	
Day Schools	250	6,102	4,550	1,153	52,397.00	\$24,464.00
Creek Nation :						
Boarding Schools . .	10	656		210	49,364.00	
Day Schools	107	346	2,155	1,201	8,672.00	21,663.00
Choctaw Nation :						
Academies	4	481			59,174.00	
Rural Boarding Schools	10	437			29,448.00	
Day Schools	209	3,590	5,707	720	24,125.00	26,605.00
Chickasaw Nation :						
Academies	5	357			49,000.00	
Day Schools	164	1,628	5,305	630	4,807.00	22,972.00
Seminole Nation :						
Academies	2	160		80	28,000.00	
Day Schools	16	71	708	130	176.00	2,683.00
Total	781	14,335	18,425	4,164	\$364,027.00	\$98,387.00

The PRESIDENT.—We are now to have twenty or twenty-five minutes for a free parliament in which all are invited to take part. The speeches will be limited to five minutes each. The conference is open for free discussion.

Mr. ALBERT E. HOYT, of the Albany (N. Y.) "Argus."—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am a new-comer at this Conference; I came here in search of information and I have

been told that this is the place to come to get it. I desire all the information I can get, and there is one point that has been touched upon, upon which I would like more information. I refer to the Gallinger amendment, so called, to the proposed statehood bill. I recognize fully all that has been said in regard to the sanctity of the covenant that the nation entered into with the civilized tribes, to protect them against the liquor traffic. I am in grave doubt as to the power of Congress to bind the State after admission to the Union. I doubt very much whether the Supreme Court of the United States would recognize any such compact whatever. It seems to me that after Congress has given Statehood that they have the fullest powers of a state to control the liquor traffic, their power becomes supreme and that if the new state finds prohibition is not working well, as it has been in some of the older states, that their power to act and regulate the liquor traffic would be unquestionable. That is the way it seems to me. I would very much like some information from those who have given more study to the particular problems, as affecting the Indian tribes in the Indian Territory, some light upon how they propose to avoid that difficulty.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not know whether Judge Andrews is in the room or not. No one can speak with so much authority as Judge Andrews on this question.

Hon. CHARLES ANDREWS (Syracuse, N. Y.), having been called upon by the President of the Conference, said:

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Conference: I do not feel prepared to give any definite answer to the question. The fact as I understand it, is whether if Congress should admit the Indian Territory as a State upon condition that its constitution should prohibit the sale of liquor within the State for a period of say twenty-one years, and the condition was complied with, the State could, after its organization, amend its constitution by abrogating the prohibition.

The point is whether, if Congress should admit the Indian Territory as a state of the Union, the state, after its admission, and its legislature would be bound by this compact. It is a question of difficulty, I should say. I think when the northwestern territory was organized, certain stipulations were entered into between the Congress of the United States and Virginia, if I recollect right, which ceded that territory to the general government, in respect to certain conditions which should exist in that territory for all future time, prohibiting, I believe, slavery within it. That compact has always been regarded as binding upon the

states which were subsequently organized out of that territory, and slavery was forever prohibited within them. Now, whether an agreement, entered into, not as a fundamental condition of government between the territorial organization and the residents of that territory, bearing upon the prohibition of the sale of liquor, would preclude the state from adverse and hostile legislation or legislation in opposition to that agreement, is a question. I shall want to think about it before giving an opinion. My present impression is that the state would have plenary power over the subject after its organization and would not be bound in pursuance of that supposed agreement, to continue the policy established by it.

A MEMBER.—May I ask one thing further? I think Mr. Hoyt's question is one step further—provided there were made a different Enabling Act, having no special regard to the prior agreement when this Territory was a Territory and was embodied in the constitution of the State, an Enabling Act providing that they could not accept any constitution except with that provision.

Judge ANDREWS.—An acceptance of a favor, if that was so regarded, granted by the Government of the United States, would, by the ordinary law of contracts be deemed to be binding, but it is not a fundamental question of organized Government whether or not the sale of liquor shall or shall not be prohibited within a State. It rather seems to me now that it is going very far to say that such a matter which properly belongs to local regulation, not constituted a fundamental condition of Government, would be placed by such a compact beyond the power of the State, to regulate in its discretion. This is a very crude answer which I have made.

The PRESIDENT.—We are very much obliged to you.

Mr. BENEDICT.—Congress already has such laws providing for the punishment of the sale of liquor in the State of Colorado, the Dakotas and other States, where there are Indians. It is just as much of an offence to sell liquor to them, now, as it was in the Indian Territory.

Mr. WALTER C. ROE.—I am sure Dr. Abbott knows my name because he taught me how to swim when I was a boy and I am glad to acknowledge that since then I have learned a great many things almost as valuable from him.

I do not know what the scheme of the program contemplates as to industrial work but I do not want to let this opportunity pass without bringing before you, in very simple guise, the influence of the conference in this direction. Seven years ago

Mrs. Roe stood before this conference and pleaded for a simple, industrial work among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes of Oklahoma, and, at that time you generously contributed to that end, putting into our hands something like \$1250, which was applied to the building of the Mohonk Lodge. That work has gone on to a very great success in the industrial line and because I fear that the industrial element may not be presented here sufficiently at this Conference, in the pressure of larger things, I want to bring it before you now, giving briefly the history of an enterprise which has proved a success, a self-supporting Indian enterprise, or at least, soon to become such. After you gave those means for putting up that building and starting that enterprise, we cast about for what should be the proper line of work, and finally decided upon bead work because our Indians know no other industry and that is according to their taste. Naturally, we were told it would not be successful because it would not find markets. We have built up the business and now the business is paying for itself, and although we have still one employee paid by the Government, we hope by next July, when the Government fiscal year will come to an end, to relinquish that aid and we shall carry that man by our own resources. We began in a limited way; if I remember rightly, Miss Sparhawk gave us the first \$100 through the Indian Industries League, and then later they gave us another \$100, then a good woman down in Fort Worth, Texas, loaned us \$300; Mrs. Doubleday, who is here today, through the Sequoyah League, gave us \$1000 capital to work with. I wonder whether any enterprise ever started without some good woman to start it. It has certainly been true that they have been our main dependence. We have now developed the business so that we have paid back the \$300 from the lady in Fort Worth, \$200 to the Sequoyah League, and are ready to pay back the \$200 secured from the Indian Industrial League, during the coming winter, when the notes fall due. We have built an industrial office building worth, with equipment, about \$750, a home for our manager, worth about \$950; we now have about \$500 in the bank for operating expenses, total assets about \$4,500, while the total indebtedness amounts to \$1,000. That has been built up as the industrial department of the Mohonk Lodge, and, ladies, because I would not leave you out in this campaign which had its beginning with Mrs. Roe, we have been faithful to the promise or prediction which we made to you seven years ago, that a self-supporting industrial department could be built up if properly administered. I am pleased to say that in addition to that industrial work, the Mohonk Lodge, which I represent today, has done a beneficent work in connection with the other elements of Indian life; it has become

the home for returned Indian students, it has become the hospital for the sick, it has become the place where the women come to work on the machines, to make their dresses and make their clothes for their children, it has become the centre of social life, with its little Indian feasts there among the women, with crackers and coffee—very simple paraphernalia, but we have our pink teas, also, I will have you know, and they are most enthusiastically attended and the audience seems to be abundantly satisfied; and so, too, we have built up around it an educational element; we have had a Young Men's Club there, it has become the institutional centre of our church of which our President spoke this morning and of which I most cordially approve. I am convinced that a Christian work among our Indian people must be an institutional work, if it is to be effective and far-reaching. I believe, and if I did not believe it I should not be down there upon that frontier spending my days, I believe that the greatest implement that we have in our hands is the simple gospel of Jesus Christ, and I have seen it work and I know it. But back of that and round about it, come the thousand and one practical questions springing out of the changing, varying conditions of Indian life, which must be met and we must be ready to help this people in their needs, so simple and yet so difficult for them, inexperienced as they are; and so I want to say a loud and prolonged amen to that statement, that the proper religious work that has to be done for our Indian peoples, wherever they are, must have back of it, not only as I say, the religious work, but industrial work, and social work,—the hand of love stretched out, and the person interested in religious topics must fill in the whole breach of those things which we are taking away from the Indian when we destroy the ancient fabric of his life. I hope some one will bring up another question which needs discussion. What are we going to do about our consumptive Indians? We have some ideas about them and what Mohonk Lodge or some similar enterprise could do along that line; but my five minutes are gone and somebody else will have to discuss that.

The PRESIDENT.—Mrs. Elsie Newton, of Washington, General Eaton's daughter.

Mrs. ELSIE NEWTON.—I deem it one of the great honors and pleasures of my life that I am able to attend the Mohonk Conference. It has taken a great deal of courage, I assure you, to rise before you and have anything at all to say, because it is like the amateur trying to suggest to professionals in the line in which professionals have long been interested.

It was my rather strange and unexpected lot in life to be obliged to go to the Navajo Reservation and stay for several months right among the Navajo people. I have come back an avowed Navajo and also, I fear, a Philistine. There are many points of view that I have had changed greatly in going out there and living among the Indians. In the first place, it is very much the civilized view that we can teach the Indian everything and the Indian can teach us nothing. I found that there were many things that I could learn from the Indian. Of course, I speak chiefly,—entirely—of the Navajo Indians because I do not know intimately any others. They are undoubtedly one of the finest tribes we have; their possibilities are very great and so far they have been almost untouched by any contamination, Dr. Abbott, of civilization. It is sometimes difficult to preserve the proper conception of the difference between civilization and barbarism, I might say, in its most attractive form. The Navajo is a child, and a very good animal; his life is wholesome, he has none of the forms of degeneracy that our civilization shows on every hand, and yet, of course, he lacks the great ideals that animate the best of us. Now in course of time he will meet our civilization and I feel earnestly that he must be taught to preserve his native virtues to a great extent and to strengthen his moral fibre, in order that he may be able to meet properly this better civilization.

Mr. Roe has brought to my mind one thing I want particularly to speak of. We may learn some things from the Indians, of the way to live physically. The Indian lives out of doors almost completely; we have become an in-doors people, though we are under some of the new ideas, striving to become more of an outdoor people. But we expect to thrust upon him some of our present customs, which, physically, are more or less enervating; as a consequence he succumbs quickly to tuberculosis and many of the other diseases of civilization. The great danger is that as we come in contact with him, we do not strengthen him to resist the diseases to which we are all liable. Tuberculosis among Indian tribes is something that must be considered deeply and wisely, because it is going to be a great menace to them as they become more and more subject to our way of living, and a danger to ourselves as well. I want to emphasize this subject, because it must be more discussed and no doubt it will be one of the things to occupy your attention in the future.

Now I have had very little information to impart; I simply want to call your mind again to this, that in dealing with the Indian you must look at some things from the Indian side. Many of you perhaps have never been out on the reservation, never have been in personal contact with the native article and you do not

realize things from his point of view ; could you only go there, see the Indians on their native heath, become attached to them as I did, personally, to very many of them, you could see where we have made great mistakes in our mode of treating them and in the future, let us be a little more lenient toward his side of things and a little less strenuous of our own and let us not think that we have the only things perhaps that are to be offered.

The PRESIDENT.—If that is Philistinism, I wish we might all turn Philistines.

Mr. T. H. TIBBLES.—I just want to ask two questions apropos of the school difficulty in Indian Territory. The first is this: what will become of those school tribal funds, if they are not set apart for school purposes, and secondly, is there any disposition in Congress to oppose the passage of a law setting them apart for school purposes? If such a bill were introduced by the proper parties, is there any likelihood of the bill being opposed?

Dr. EVANS.—The funds, if not so used, will be divided among the Indians individually, just as their lands are being allotted them. There is in Congress no reason for any special objection.

Mr. COPPOCK.—The difficulty is, as I see it, and to many of us, that Congress may not reach the matter and pass upon it in time. The 4th of March and the closing of the schools and disbanding of everything is at the end of the road, right before us, and if any such provision is to be in the Indian appropriation bill or any other general bill, where much talk may be had, the hours will pass by and we will have no legislation until too late. I think the sentiment of Congressmen in both branches, so far as it is known, is favorable to such legislation, and the Indian tribes themselves have taken very decided action upon this question and will have a delegation in Washington to see to it.

Mr. SMILEY.—I should like to hear from Mr. Sherman about this. He has been Chairman in Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives for ten years.

Hon. J. S. SHERMAN.—There will be no disposition, I am sure I can say, on the part of Congress, either to delay the action which has been indicated as necessary or to oppose it, but my friends must know that when it comes down to a question of dividing this money, per capita, amongst the Indians, who are entitled to it, or else appropriate the whole sum for school purposes, that there is no sort of question but there will be representatives of the Indian tribes down there to protest most ve-

hemently against the use of this money for schools, because the Indians never fail to be very liberal in the disposition of money upon which they cannot lay their own hands individually and they are very apt to oppose the expenditure for their good of any money which they might get their hands on and expend in such manner as they saw fit. May I say something on the subject which Mr. Hoyt brought up and which I think was left a little bit in the air? I am not surprised that Judge Andrews this morning, with his learning and judicial temperament, should hesitate to give off-hand an opinion upon so weighty a subject as was brought up here and especially when the conditions were only one-fourth expressed and one-half known to him. I do think this much; I have always believed that there were conditions where we must not be bound too closely by constitutional provisions. I have always taken just a little bit of stock in that saying of Tim Campbell's that the constitution should be relegated to that place whose chief characteristic is high temperature, whose name is the synonym of profanity wherever it interfered with the association of friends, but I do think this, and I trust Judge Andrews may not take issue with me on that, that it is possible for us to make as a condition precedent in an Enabling Act which will permit any body of people to come into the nation as a separate state, anything we may wish to. Whether or not at some later period those people as a state or citizens of a state can amend that constitution may be a secondary proposition, possibly they can, but I do think we will accomplish much if we assist Congress or if we insist that Congress shall incorporate in the Enabling Act, the provision that these people and this territory shall not be admitted as a State except upon condition that they put in their original constitution a provision not that whiskey shall not be sold there for twenty-five years, but that whiskey shall forever be debarred from that Territory, then let the second question come up later. That certainly will control, for a brief period, at least during the constructive period, you might say, of the State, a most important and most vital period. If by and by the courts say that those people can amend that constitution, let them do it; we certainly have accomplished some good by injecting that into their constitution by force, for the time being.

THE PRESIDENT.—We will now bring this parliament to its close by a ten minutes' address from Miss Alice M. Robertson of Muskogee, Indian Territory, formerly Supervisor of Creek schools.

MISS ALICE ROBERTSON.—I am one of the old tribe of Muskogee and in the old days I used to be one of the most con-

servative always. When it was proposed that the Indian Territory become a State, I said, "Not yet, not yet, we are not ready." Today I come, the most advanced of you all, for I come to say that I hope that this will be the very last time that I shall come to Mohonk, representing the Indians of Indian Territory, that I hope by this time next year we will be, not Indians of Indian Territory, but American citizens of Indian Territory.

Some weeks ago, during the heat of our fervent August weather, in that prosperous town of Muskogee from which I come to you, a town which in a very few years I have seen advance from a place of virgin prairies into a place of twenty thousand people with electric lights and gas and trolley cars and parks; and yet a people of culture and Christianity, a people that keep the Sabbath as they do not over in our neighboring Oklahoma, and when Oklahoma sent over Sunday shows and amusements that we thought were wrong, we said, we won't have them, and we didn't. In our opera house that we do not allow to be open on Sunday for amusement, was held a very wonderful meeting to me, as I saw it. I looked down and saw boys I used to teach in the school, grown up to men; they said we were just playing at making a constitution, that is what Oklahoma people, sitting in the gallery, looking down and sneering at us said; just as long ago, when they tried to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem they were sneered at. We went ahead, our people there; all the five governors were called together. One of my father's schoolboys was the Indian presiding officer on that occasion; and what was the first thing upon which they agreed? "And so trusting in Almighty God, we hope for the State of Sequoyah, a state where the people all desire prohibition." We are to come of age next March and our beautiful Indian maiden Territory there is to be a state. Sequoyah has had a guardian for three-quarters of a century and this guardian has been caring for our property and in his way helping us to become educated and always and always has been held up the prospect sometime of becoming an American citizen, of having statehood; it has been guaranteed to them in every possible way. Then the time was fixed that on the 4th of March, 1906, "you shall have statehood," and always it was expressed, perhaps not in so many words, but we were given to understand, we Indian people, that we might say how we wanted it. So we are to come of age, come into our own; but meanwhile our beloved and faithful, beautiful guardian has a son named Oklahoma. He is a dissipated fellow and he is a hard drinker. He has millions of dollars in saloons and he has not been as careful of his property as we have been, under our good guardian, who has not let us squander it, and that we thought was so good in taking care of it

for us. But our neighbor, Oklahoma, his son, has not as good a country, he is not as well equipped, and so they propose that we shall marry Oklahoma! Oklahoma does not love us, not a bit! They abuse us on every occasion. They do not want us, but they say: "We need you. You have oil, you have coal, you have good timber; you have marvellous land, you have water; you have everything that we have not and we are going to take you just for what you have got, not because we want you or care for you. We do not want to associate with your Indians. You have social equality, we have only the blanket equality and we keep them down and down. We do not want your Indians but we are going to marry you, and give you our name of Oklahoma, simply because we want your property," and we, trusting in God, have formed a constitution, and now we are going to trust in that American conscience to help us and care for us. The Oklahoma people say: "We may be forced to come in with a prohibition clause, but we will see how long it will stay." The question has been touched upon. We people of Indian Territory who want Sequoyah saved, we want prohibition, we have had it, it is the only safety for us. The Indians who drink are helpless to withstand temptation; it is our only salvation, to keep out the saloon. What are we going to do? I am always talking about flowers. Here is a great bouquet of yellow ones. We have such beautiful flowers, but those Indian Territory people over in Oklahoma, they have not been using any of the beautiful prairie flowers, any of the magnificent flowers that look up to the sunshine, but for their state flower, they have chosen the mistletoe. Now, just think! We people of Indian Territory, or Sequoyah as we hope to be, are like one of the lemon trees that grow in that country. These people who had no church, who had no missionary and school work, went into that prairie country; the people said it was not worth anything; they did not know much in those days or they would not have got it, and it is one of the most valuable in the United States, its marvellous resources support an enormous population, and so we with our Indian people went into the prairies and finding a place where there seemed to be water, we planted the little tree that has grown now into this Indian civilization like a great elm tree beside a little water placed in the prairies, and along comes a bird that leaves one of those sticky mistletoe seeds and it takes life in the sunshine, and it pushes its crowding little roots down through the bark and draws the life-blood out of the tree. When the leaves are all gone, it spreads itself out with its briars that stick to everything, not good to eat, not good for anything, except for some old heathen association of Christmas and the mistletoe; perhaps according to Oklahoma ideas it is all right, but the

mistletoe grows and grows and draws more and more the life-blood out of the elm tree and after a while the elm tree dies and the mistletoe has to die too. We do not want the Oklahoma whiskey to come and draw all the life-blood. You know whiskey cannot live without good soil to live in. We do not want it to come and draw the life-blood out of our beautiful Sequoyah; we want to be the State of Sequoyah, that has already more taxable property than the States of Wyoming, Idaho and Nevada combined, a State with a larger population than almost any that has ever come in. You have heard how our people are ready for schools and everything; but now as in old times, some say do not allot our lands, do not make us ready for citizenship; and yet when the time for allotment came, the beautiful young Indian girl, almost full blood, who was my adopted daughter, was the very first one, by my special request, to have her land in severalty, the first owner of individual land in the Indian Territory. Now, won't you all wish for us Sequoyah?

The Conference then adjourned till 8 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, October 18, 1905.

The PRESIDENT.—The time has arrived for the opening of our evening session. It would be quite needless to introduce to any audience who had interest in or acquaintance with Indian affairs, the gentleman who is the first speaker of this evening, and it will be absurd to introduce to the Lake Mohonk Conference one who has presided over its deliberations with such grace and dignity in the past, who is Chairman of our Business Committee tonight, and who is a member and Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Dr. Merrill E. Gates.

Dr. MERRILL E. GATES, of the Board of Indian Commissioners, said: Friends and members of the Conference:—By our meeting here we wish to be prepared for more intelligent action in the months to come. As I look again into the faces of the members of this Conference over which I have so often presided, I have the feeling that while there are many changes in the personnel of the Conference from year to year, there is also a large body of permanent members who will expect to hear from me something concerning the next steps which it seems to me should be taken to forward the true interests of the Indians.

The Indian problem is not yet solved. We hope for something of additional light upon it, as the result of our discussions here. May I ask you to consider with me for a few minutes the question whether there are certain principles of universal application in the history of civilization, and marked in their effect upon all races—principles upon which we may confidently rely for light in deciding upon the measures to be undertaken and the methods to be followed as we continue our efforts to help the Indians until they shall have learned to help themselves most effectively by becoming intelligent, law-abiding and industrious citizens of this Christian Republic?

**NOT A UNIFORM CODE FOR INDIANS, BUT CLEAR RECOGNITION
OF PRINCIPLES.**

And first, is it not a truth, self-evident to all students of history, that if a Government is planning intelligently to care for and help a quarter of a million of people of some three hundred tribes and fractions of tribes, speaking almost as many distinct

languages and dialects, and in their progress in civilization scattered all along the line from abject savagery up through the diminishing degrees of barbarism into semi-civilization, and on upward to the solid worth of the Santee Christianized farmer, and to the polished diplomacy and political skill of the liberally educated leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes—no code of absolutely uniform and minute regulations for the whole mass of these people can be wisely framed or should be attempted. What uniform scheme of regulations could apply to the Blackfeet, Piegans and Assinniboines of Montana, and to the Pueblo Indians and the Creeks and Cherokees? No uniform system which would be helpful to all could be devised. These different tribes and fragments of tribes do not need the same degree of supervision, and cannot at once use the same social customs and institutions. Our American system of local self-government, and of the education of the people by self-government under those ideals of liberty established in institutions which have given spirit and form to our American life, has taught us that out of widely different race-stocks it is possible, through the public school and local self-government, to shape a definite ideal of American citizenship which differs in some respects from the ideal of any one of these separate race-stocks, yet which upon the whole makes of us one American people with strong national feeling and clear national purpose. It is not too much to expect that the North American Indians in the course of the next two or three generations shall take their place in the great body of intelligent and industrious, self-governing American citizens, bringing with them as a contribution to our national life certain race instincts, certain traits and characteristics which are peculiarly their own, which we do not wish to destroy, but which shall be of distinct value to us, yet which shall not be allowed to keep the Indians themselves out of full and hearty participation in American citizenship.

CAN CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION SHORTEN THE BENEFICENT PROCESSES OF RACIAL EVOLUTION?

Our task is to hasten the slow process of race-evolution. Inevitably, but often grimly and harshly by the outworking of natural forces, the national life of the stronger and more highly civilized stock dominates in time the life of the less civilized, when races like the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian are brought into close contact. In our work for the Indians we want to discern clearly those influences and habits of life which are of the greatest advantage in leading races upward into Christian civilization; and these influences and habits we wish to make as strongly influential as possible and as speedily as possible in-

fluent upon the life of all these Indian tribes. It is not unreasonable to hope that through governmental agencies and through the altruistic missionary spirit of one of the foremost Christian races and governments of the world, much can be done to hasten that process of civilization and Christianization which natural law, left to itself, works out too slowly and at too great a loss to the less-favored race. We want to make the conditions for our less-favored brethren of the red race so favorable that the social forces which have developed themselves slowly and at great expense of time and life in our Anglo-Saxon race and our American system of Government, shall be made to help in the uplifting of the Indians, and to shorten that interval of time which of necessity must elapse between savagery and Christian civilization.

OUR OWN RACE IS NOT FAR FROM SAVAGERY, IN CENTURIES.

With our own race-stock, it has been a process of a few centuries. Some of the older members of this Conference will recall the evening when that great leader in the educational forces of our country twenty years ago, President McCosh, of Princeton University, began an address to this Conference by saying: "I speak to you with something of modesty about savages, for it is but a few centuries since the race of savages in Scotland from which I am descended were as freely decorated with paint and as scantily covered with clothing, and perhaps as thirsty for blood while they roamed over the rocks and hills of Scotland, as are the most savage of your American Indians." The problem of our Conference is by our intelligent efforts to shorten for the native Americans the interval of time between savagery and civilization. Christianity, enlightened effort and intelligent administration can certainly do much to favor and foster the advancement in civilization of the less favored races, vastly fewer in number, in whom we intelligently resolve to take an active interest for the sake of helping them. An intelligent effort for the uplifting of a race involves the clear recognition and the wise use of certain forces and principles which the ordinary processes of social evolution left to themselves work out inevitably, but work out only slowly and after generations of painful struggle.

TO RECKON WITH THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE TRIBE; TO STRENGTHEN PERSONALITY.

If race-stocks which were savage a generation ago, in their children of today and their grandchildren of the next generation are to be useful citizens of the United States, it is certain that they must be brought to a higher degree of regard for the indi-

vidual, and respect for self-governing and personality, than was involved in their tribal organization. The individual must be recognized. Personality must be strengthened and developed. Students of the history of civilization know how slow is the process by which through centuries of struggle the individual, the person before the law with equal rights and entitled to have his personality respected by all, has emerged from that tribal mass, "caked by custom," of which Walter Bagehot has written so forcefully in "Physics and Politics." Indian children, young men and young women of Indian descent, must learn to regard themselves as separate from the tribal mass, to know themselves as units in the social and political life of America, not forgetting family ties, yet not merging personality in family relationships as do the savages of most of our tribes.

Thirty years ago, when philanthropic American citizens were beginning the definite struggle to secure by legal enactment and by administrative reform the rights of the North American Indian, our greatest difficulty was to get at the individual Indian, and to strengthen his personality. The North American Indian could hardly be seen as a person or named as an individual. His status under our laws, until the enactment of the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887, was altogether anomalous. Our lawyers and judges could not even put it into definite legal terms. Daniel Webster's and Caleb Cushing's definition of the legal status of the North American Indian, in which they affirmed that he was not a citizen, yet he was not an alien, and could not become a citizen by naturalization, and that the best they could do with the attempt to define his status was to call the Indian, "a permanent resident with diminutive rights,"—you all remember. When we tried to get at the Indian as an individual, we were met by treaties made with Indian tribes as if they were separate states and nations on our own U. S. territory. We could not get at the individual Indian as an individual land-owner, and fix his local status and his responsibility for local taxation and local self-government; for land was held by tribal treaties and held in common by the whole tribe. We have no right now to pity the Indians as "landless," for the reservations still retained for Indians allow a pro rata acreage of land to each Indian ten times as great as a division of all the rest of our land among the white citizens would allow to each white citizen of the United States! It is hardly accurate to speak of the Indians either as a "vanishing race"; for our best ethnologists at Washington are of the opinion that probably there was never a time when the number of Indians on the territory of the United States was very much greater than it is now. Perhaps three hundred or three hundred and fifty thousand would be as

large a number of Indians as we have any reason to suppose have existed at any time in the continent since its discovery by Columbus. And nearly that number are now recognized by the United States Government as connected with various tribes. The pure bloods are vanishing, because the Indians have intermarried with whites. But the number of those who are reckoned as Indians is not greatly diminished.

FIRST, TO RECOGNIZE THE INDIVIDUAL, PUT HIM ON HIS OWN LAND.

To get at the individual in order that we might strengthen his personality, we had first to break up the reservations, to make of the Indian an individual land holder, so that God's unit for civilized society, the family, one father and mother with their children, might have a homestead and the impulse to build up a home and to acquire property for the sake of starting their children in life. Through the allotment act, we sought to get at the individual and the family and to deal with the person and with the family instead of dealing with the tribe in our effort to civilize the Indians and fit them for United States citizenship. The history of civilization had shown us that everywhere the settlement of nomadic people upon land of their own and the recognition of agriculture in some form as a kind of basis for life and for trade, was essential to the highest family life and to civilization. And with something like 80,000 Indian citizens outside the Five Civilized Tribes already allotted in severalty, and with about as many more Indians, in Indian Territory, now receiving allotments, it is evident that so far as land held in common prevented civilizing influences from reaching the Indian, the Severalty Act with the legislation which has followed it has opened the way to relations between the Government and the individual Indian.

THEN MAKE A LEGAL RECORD OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.

Granted that the individual should own land, that there might be a homestead and development of family life; granted that the right of individuals to lands so allotted must be protected by law, and that ultimately the laws of inheritance which prevail in our states and territories must govern Indian allotments—the question of clearly recognized and duly recorded family relationships among Indians became a vital question. Those who have been members of this Conference for the last ten years will remember how repeatedly attention has been called to this vital need in the administration of Indian affairs. Some of you will remember the promises made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Jones, five years ago this fall, that, the Secretary of

the Interior approving, the regulations for registering Indians by name at all the agencies, and for making a complete record of family relationships at each agency and sub-agency, and strict regulations requiring each marriage of agency Indians to be licensed by the agent and duly solemnized by the proper authorities, civil or religious, and to be duly recorded at the agency—should at once go into effect. I am glad to be able to say, much has been done toward the preparation of such registers at the different Indian agencies. But it is also my duty to say that this work is far from being completed, and that it has not been pressed forward with anything like the steady energy, or reported upon with anything like the system of regularity, to which its great importance entitles it.

THE PERIOD OF PROTECTED LAND TITLES FOR ALLOTTED INDIANS SOON BEGINS TO EXPIRE.

To each Indian allottee the United States guarantees a title to his allotment protected by the United States from alienation or from a lien of any kind, and exempted from taxation. At the expiration of this period of 25 years after allotment, it was expected that the individual Indian would have been fitted to care for his land, and that after that period Indian allotments would be transferable, taxable and alienable. For the first tribes allotted, this protected period will expire within the next three or four years. During the 25 years of protected title, almost an entire generation of Indians have died off. Unless family relationships are duly recorded at these agencies, how can such allotted lands be transmitted and patented to the heirs of deceased Indians, as the General Allotment Act provides that they shall be? Already the delay and neglect of the Government in not providing for such records and registers has rendered inevitable a mass of litigation in which many Indians will be deprived of their lands, under the pressure of the white man's greed of land, and the Indian's lack of records and of familiarity with his rights and with the law.

Is it not clear, then, that to strengthen the personality of the Indian and fit him for citizenship, we must in every possible way build up and render secure family life among the Indians?

BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS.

Now the third great difficulty which has lain in the way of getting at the Indian as an individual and strengthening his personality, for American citizenship, is found in the immense tribal funds which are held in trust by our Government for Indian tribes. The old tribal idea of holding all property in common killed the nerve of individual effort. If an Indian by

industry in raising corn or by success in hunting had any surplus of food in his house, any of his kin, any members of his tribe who chose to come his way, camped down near him and fed upon his surplus of food until none was left. The Indian knew no individual property save in his own bows and arrows and the utensils most immediately at hand. We had to tear the Indian out from this tribal mass before we could begin to develop in him that sense of the worth of property and of the relation of property to a man's own personality, which underlies all higher civilization. We know well that the property a man wins by his labor and uses wisely increases and strengthens the scope of his own personality. We appreciate the truth of Hegel's words, "a man's property is his objectified will." Your desire and will to work have gone out into the universe of things around you, and your will has laid hold upon certain of these material things and has objectified itself in them. Yourself, your will, is in them and controls them.

And while each Indian in his vague way feels that he has a right in the tribal funds, it is an unindividualized right to an undivided share. It is this which has brought about a state of affairs such that these Indian tribal funds are regarded by the Indians themselves and by claim agents and claim lawyers as vast unexploited mines of money, out of which fortunes are to be dug by lawyers and claim agents; and we have to face the disgraceful sight of claim lawyers charging for alleged services rendered to Indian tribes such fees as they would never think of charging an individual,—fees of such size as are not tolerated except where there are Indian tribal funds to be exploited, or a "strictly mutual insurance company" to be exploited for the benefit of some family of office holders! These great tribal funds have an utterly debasing effect upon legislation; and their continued existence, undivided and unindividualized, serves to keep whole tribes of Indians merged in communal tribal life, segregated from United States citizenship, cut off from manly efforts at self-support, and insulated from civilization. The Indian who relies upon his petty undivided share in a common tribal fund gets so little from his annuity that as a rule he is subject to all the temptations and vices of abject poverty; while at the same time he has cultivated in him, by the feeling that this fund stands between him and absolute starvation, all those vices in killing effort and destroying ambition which we regard in our thought as the evils of the prospect of inherited wealth!

THE LACEY BILL, TO DIVIDE TRIBAL FUNDS.

We believe that these tribal funds should at once be broken up into individual holdings on the books of the United States Treas-

ury. We believe that a date should be fixed after which it shall be impossible for any Indian baby to be born to a right to an undivided share in such tribal funds. Let every man, woman and child entitled to share in such funds at a given date (and that date should not be more than a year or two from next New Year's Day), be enrolled at each agency and recorded upon the books of the treasury. Let children born after that date share only by inheritance of divided shares. We do not advise that the principal sum of each individual holding should at once be paid to all Indians. Far from that! But by the recognition of the individual upon the rolls of the Treasury, let a sense of proper responsibility for his own divided share of the fund rest upon each individual Indian. Where he is not fit to use the principal, let only the interest upon the principal be paid to him each year. But as soon as the Indian comes to feel himself the personal owner of a divided share of the tribal fund, there will be an end to the voting of vast sums of money out of the tribal funds for useless or iniquitous purposes. The sense of ownership will begin to work upon every man, woman and child whose name is thus enrolled. And whenever it shall appear to the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior that the majority of the Indians of a given tribe are industrious, intelligent and temperate enough to receive and use the principal of their individual holding, then let these holdings be paid by the United States Treasury to such Indians.

Four years ago our Board urged the passage of a bill for this purpose. Four years ago certain members of Congress were in favor of such action, and President Roosevelt in his first annual message to Congress said:

"In my judgment the time has arrived when we should definitely make up our minds to recognize the Indian as an individual and not as a member of a tribe. The general allotment act is a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass. It acts directly upon the family and the individual. Under its provisions some 60,000 Indians have already become citizens of the United States. We should now break up the tribal funds, doing for them what allotment does for the tribal lands; that is, they should be divided into individual holdings. There will be a transition period during which the funds will in many cases have to be held in trust. This is the case also with the lands. A stop should be put to the indiscriminate permission to Indians to lease their allotments. The effort should be steadily to make the Indian work like any other man on his own ground. The marriage laws of the Indians should be made the same as those of the whites."

But I am sorry to say that at the next session, members of

Congress seemed to have gone back to old-fashioned views of tribal funds and to shrink from recommending such additional clerical force as might be needed at the Treasury for the carrying out of such a plan for dividing the tribal funds. I am glad to be able to report now, however, that a measure looking for the breaking up of tribal funds was introduced in the last session of Congress, in a bill framed by Representative Lacey. I believe that I am authorized to say that if not the precise measure introduced by Representative Lacey, at least some such provision for breaking up tribal funds, has the support of those members of Congress, also members of the Committee upon Indian Affairs, who are with us in this Conference, and to whom righteous legislation for the Indians already owes so large a debt. Let us begin to work for the civilization of the Indians who own undivided tribal funds, as you would begin to train your own children in the use of property. Do not make per capita payments of the principal sum at once, save to the very few who are manifestly as well qualified as the average white citizen to manage their own property. But accustom the Indian to a sense of personal ownership of his own share, instead of tribal ownership in the moneys held in trust by the United States. We owe to the Indians the discipline and training for citizenship which comes through years of holding property under just laws, and managing the property for which the individual should be responsible. While we hold their tribal funds undivided and out of their reach, we are keeping the Indians from any of that training which comes by the management of property. Managing money always involves some risk; and the only way to learn to manage property is to take some risk, and manage it! We have got to let the Indian come out of the tribal mass and come out of the insulated life of the reservation and take some of the risk of managing his own affairs. Through the transition period we must help him. But Indians will never come to be free men, if we keep them from exercising any of the functions of independent manhood.

I want to ask you who are members of this Conference, through correspondence with your Representatives and Senators, to call especial attention to this "Lacey Bill," for the division of tribal funds into individual holdings upon the books of the Treasury. And let us urge it upon Congress for immediate action, that the process of registering the Indians, of dividing these great tribal funds, and of preparing to pay them to Indians as soon as the Indians are fit to receive and use them, may be at once commenced. (Applause.)

SCHOOLS AND SALOONS IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

The framing of statutes alone cannot carry forward reforms. There must be intelligence, public interest, public sentiment,

above and behind the law making, to insure the carrying out of wise laws. But in the progress of every reform there come certain critical times, there are certain strategic situations, when a strong and united effort for certain definite legislation may prevent the loss of what has been gained by the steady process of education for many years. Such a critical situation for the whole cause of Indian rights and reform in Indian administration, now confronts us in the Indian Territory. Never in the history of our country, from the earliest colonial times, has there been a half million of whites in such a situation as that now occupied by the whites of the Indian Territory. Over half a million of white inhabitants of the United States had pressed into the Indian Territory, while the land of that Territory belonged to Indian tribes and could not be acquired by white settlers. For the only time in the history of the development of these United States, half a million white pioneer citizens are living upon land to which they have no title, and are allowing their children to grow up without any system whatever of public schools, save in the few incorporated towns which tax themselves in the municipal budget for schools for the children dwelling in the towns. For the first time in the history of our country, half a million white citizens of the United States have no share in local self-government. These whites have settled as interlopers. They live upon land which they do not own and on which no one pays taxes. Never before has half a million of American pioneer settlers been established upon territory which they do not and cannot control. Never before has a territory grown to such a population without any training in self-government.

In past years when we have been discussing the question of schools at the expense of the United States Government for the children of Indians, there has been a certain restiveness of feeling at the amounts that were being expended by the general Government in placing and keeping the Indians at school. "Am I my brother's keeper?" has seemed to be the question felt if not openly uttered as appropriations for Indian schools have grown. But now, in the Indian Territory, the whole question is reversed. The number of white children entirely without school facilities in the Indian Territory is probably twice as great as the whole number of Indian children of school age in the United States! And the worst feature of Indian Territory, and that which makes us most anxious about the admission of the Territory to immediate statehood, is the fact that settlers upon these Indian lands have not seemed to feel a true American responsibility for schooling their own children and for their own social institutions.

The Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory for genera-

tions have had their own system of schools and their own tribal government. Notwithstanding all the defects which characterize the tribal governments of the Five Civilized Tribes, it is a fact that among the Indians themselves many of the purposes of good government were secured by these tribal governments. But for the last ten years and more, the conditions that have prevailed among the white people who have pressed into the Indian Territory have been less favorable for that schooling in self-government in which all American citizens should be trained, than have been the conditions under which an equal number of whites have lived at any time in any pioneer Territory or State in the history of our country. Quite half a million of white Americans entirely without rights in the soil of the Territory on which they dwell, destitute of any approach to an adequate system of public schools, and living without that co-operation as fellow-citizens to secure by American methods of local self-government those objects which make society worth having and life worth living in the states of our Union—this is the situation in Indian Territory. While the establishment of town-sites and the building up of a system of taxation in the "towns" has made possible the establishment of a system of elementary, grammar and high schools in some of these towns, yet the great mass of the white settlers in the Territory have been and still are entirely without schools for their children. White children have been shut out from the schools supported by the tribal funds of the Indians. The whole system of tribal schools is doomed to disappear entirely with the disappearance of the tribal governments, on the 4th of March, 1906. Unless the country schools which have been supported by the Indian tribal funds can be reorganized and made the basis of a local district school system for both whites and Indians throughout the Territory outside the town sites, the condition of the rural population of the Territory will continue absolutely pitiable in their lack of schools.

INDIAN TRIBAL SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN OPENED TO WHITE CHILDREN.

The perception of this great need led to the insertion two years ago in the Indian appropriation bill which was approved in the spring of 1904, of an appropriation of \$100,000, available for the fiscal year 1905, "For the maintenance, strengthening and enlarging of the tribal schools of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole nations, and making provision for the attendance of children non-citizens therein, and the establishment of new schools under the control of the tribal school superintendents and the Department of the Interior."

Under the direction and with the co-operation of the Depart-

ment of the Interior, the tribal school superintendents wisely planned for opening Indian tribal schools to white children, by apportioning from this appropriation certain pro rata amounts toward the support of each such tribal school thus opened to whites. The education in the same school of white and Indian children has been carried forward upon a larger scale in the Indian Territory than anywhere else in the United States. And it is noteworthy that this plan has succeeded in the Indian Territory where Indians open their schools to the white children. Where the effort has been made to open the schools of whites to Indian children in other parts of the Union, the experiment has been less successful. At the last session of Congress the reports from this promising attempt to build up a system of rural public schools for Indians and whites alike in the Indian Territory, were so gratifying that Congress increased the appropriation to \$150,000, beside setting apart for the same object certain court fees, the amount of which would, it was expected, make the total available for these school purposes in the fiscal year ending July 1, 1906, something over two hundred thousand dollars, "for maintaining, strengthening and enlarging tribal schools." Last February Supervisor Coppock of the Cherokee schools (who is present in this Conference), reported that in 82 union schools, 1,343 Cherokee children and 3,333 white children were in attendance. The number of schools open to whites was increased from 82 to 117, in the last February term. And he farther reported that "we (the Cherokee Indians), have one-fourth as many Indian pupils as are in all the Government Indian schools outside the Territory, and three times as many native Indian teachers as are employed in the entire Government Indian school service."

URGENCY LEGISLATION IS NEEDED, TO MAKE USE OF FUNDS
ALREADY APPROPRIATED.

Now the crisis which threatens this incipient rural school system for the Indian Territory is this: Since the tribal governments of the Five Civilized Tribes cease to exist upon the 4th of March, 1906, the legal authorities of the Government have pronounced that as there will be no "tribal schools" after March 4th, 1906, the unexpended balance of the appropriation of \$200,000 (probably nearly one-half the appropriation), cannot be used for schools in the Indian Territory, since it is specifically appropriated for "maintaining, strengthening and enlarging tribal schools,"—and after March 4, 1906, there will be no tribal schools! I ask, in view of this fact, that this Conference in its public utterances, and all the members of the Conference through their correspondence, in all possible ways advocate the

passage of urgency legislation as soon as the next Congress opens, that this unexpended balance may be made immediately available for the continuous development of these the only beginnings of a rural public school system in the Indian Territory with its population of nearly a quarter of a million.

PROHIBITION SHOULD BE CONTINUED IN THE INDIAN
TERRITORY.

But even more vital than this need for schools, is the need that the whole Indian Territory be protected against the curse of the liquor traffic. The United States is solemnly bound by treaties and repeated agreements with these tribes to prohibit for all time the sale of liquor upon the land of the Indian Territory. Nothing can be more explicit than are these treaty agreements of the United States with the Five Civilized Tribes. At the time the Indian Territory was patented to these tribes, and in the later agreements by which the Five Civilized Tribes were brought to give up for allotment, sale and settlement by whites, the territory which had been forever guaranteed to them, the United States Government, through its commissioners, solemnly renewed these agreements to prevent the liquor traffic there. I recall now the face of an intelligent and forceful old chief of one of our Northwestern tribes who in a council with me up in Montana, said: "I sometimes think that if devils lived here on the earth and wanted to make slaves of us Indians, they would treat us just as you white people have treated us. They would take away our old life of hunting, and make that impossible for us; and then, when we began to look hopefully to the new way of life about which white people said beautiful things to us, the devils, if they wished to be as bad as they possibly could be would send in upon us that accursed fire-water which makes our people ten times worse than we had ever been before we knew drink, in our old life!" What Anglo-Saxon can be proud of his race as he recalls the record we and our ancestors have made in the matter of the sale of intoxicants to Indians and to Africa, and the islands of the sea?

PUT A PROHIBITION PROVISION IN THE ENABLING ACT FOR
STATEHOOD.

The people of the Indian Territory stand now in an exceptionally critical position. The unchecked liquor traffic and the open saloon are terrible enough in any frontier community. In their effect upon Indians they are exceptionally terrible. While United States laws have been, as they still are, in force throughout the Indian Territory, the liquor traffic has been restrained. But now, with the breaking down of the tribal governments and

with the prospect of statehood for the Indian Territory, whether with or without Oklahoma, the saloon keepers and liquor sellers are thronging to the borders of the Territory. Texas, Arkansas, Missouri and other states of the Southwest have experienced great revivals of temperance feeling; and as county after county has "gone dry" and driven out the saloon keepers, these villains have stacked themselves up in a black cloud of criminal greed all about the borders of the Indian Territory, hopeful that in the two or three years of transition between the United States laws which have restrained the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory and the admission of that Territory to statehood with the establishment of the rule of state law and state offices, the saloon and the whiskey traffic may get a strong hold upon the people of the Territory, and by its political methods and its habit of securing itself in power by the votes of those whom it is ruining, it may establish itself permanently in the State to be formed from the Indian Territory.

The appeals of the chiefs and leading citizens of the Five Civilized Tribes to be saved from the open saloon and the liquor traffic, are pathetic. All the churches of the Indian Territory have federated themselves in an effort to secure prohibition. A good fight was fought for this cause in the Senate of the United States last winter. The Gallinger amendment to the Statehood Bill, providing for prohibition, was carried.

But the prominent liquor interests of the country have taken public notice of the great opportunity for debauching half a million American citizens which will be theirs if the Indian Territory should come into the Union, by joint statehood or alone, without a provision in the Enabling Act insuring prohibition. There will be a strong fight made before Congress this winter by the liquor interests to prevent prohibition in case of the admission of Indian Territory to statehood.

With reference to the point of constitutional law urged against prohibition in an Enabling Act providing for statehood, it is enough to say that such wise constitutional lawyers as the late Senator O. H. Platt, of Connecticut, while admitting the possibility of later amendments to the State constitution by which a prohibitive clause, if inserted in the constitution, might afterward and by due constitutional methods be repealed—have nevertheless been strongly of the opinion that it was entirely right and competent for Congress to provide for prohibition in the Enabling Act. To start a State Government with prohibition provided for in the constitution, in accordance with the agreements which the United States Government has repeatedly made with the Five Civilized Tribes, will be to start righteously. Such a prohibitory enactment will give friends of good government the

opportunity to strengthen right public opinion for temperance and prohibition, by public discussion and by co-operative action, in the early years of statehood.

I earnestly request all true friends of the Indian to do all that lies in their power to secure the Indian Territory against the awful curse of the free saloon and the unrestrained liquor traffic.

We cannot have a self-governing community fit for statehood in the Indian Territory without an adequate system of public schools. The Indian Territory cannot become a state fit to take her place among the states of the Union unless the people of that Territory, not yet trained in self-government and over-weighted by Indian and negro citizens who are peculiarly exposed to the evils of the liquor traffic, shall, from the beginning of statehood, have continued to them that legal prohibition of the liquor traffic under which they have always lived. The United States is solemnly pledged to prohibit the sale of liquor upon the land embraced in the Indian Territory.

The PRESIDENT.—We all remember the great service that Senator Dawes rendered to the Indian cause, not only in and through the Senate of the United States, but in and through his membership in this Lake Mohonk Conference, and I think not the least element of wisdom in this Conference has been in the fact that on the one hand the Conference has always endeavored to work in co-operation with the government; and on the other we have found the Government through members of Congress and other administrative officers always ready to co-operate with us. Senator Dawes' place cannot be taken, because no man's place ever is taken; no man ever takes another man's place, he fills his own; but the work that Senator Dawes did has been taken up and carried on by the loyal, earnest, faithful men in the House and in the Senate, and it is a great advantage to us tonight that we have two representatives of Congress from the Indian Committee of the House, from whom we will hear tonight.

We shall first have the pleasure of listening to the Hon. John J. Fitzgerald.

Hon. JOHN J. FITZGERALD (Brooklyn, N. Y.).—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It appeals to the members of the Committee on Indian Affairs with peculiar significance, that the first lengthy reference to time limit has been made just previous to the appointed time for them to address the Conference,—it is due undoubtedly to the fact that no member of Congress has ever been known to stop talking as long as he was permitted to continue!

I am somewhat embarrassed this evening in being asked to address this conference. I have come from the midst of a busy municipal campaign, with thoughts centred on subjects entirely different from those under consideration here. I expected to be "a looker-on in Venice" rather than an active participant in the Conference. Indeed, after my last experience at a Conference, I felt that I could come here and learn something; and I had no desire to attempt to instruct the members of this Conference in anything that pertained to Indian affairs. It was only this afternoon that a lady much younger than myself, assured me that she had been for thirty years active in Indian matters. You can imagine that I felt somewhat of a novice since I have been interested in them but about six years. Whatever I may say tonight will be somewhat desultory and, I wish to assure you, entirely unofficial. The program tonight has been arranged with a great deal of shrewdness. It is usual in the House of Representatives, for the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs to speak first and the other members have an opportunity to follow him; but this "Big Chief," as he is known throughout the Indian country, is wise in his generation, and wisdom of course is an attribute of chieftainship. As we have never differed on Indian questions, except when my youthful exuberance has led me away from the straight and beaten paths, he has wisely concluded to follow me tonight so that if I chance to fall I can be corrected by the official representative of the Indian Committee.

My forte in Indian matters has not been so much to originate legislation; it has been rather to criticise legislation that has been offered.

Dr. Gates has very forcibly presented to you the things that should be done by Congress in order to complete the work of Indian civilization. I have no doubt that you expect me to tell you just what will be done. Those of you that have any such idea, however, I can assure you are awaiting a very keen disappointment; that is just what the members of Congress do not do. I can, however, make some suggestions in reference to some matters that have been discussed, that may be of interest.

Everybody who is at all familiar with the conditions in the Indian Territory is particularly anxious that, if the Indian Territory be admitted as a State into the Union, either separately or in combination with some other Territory, provision should be made by which liquor could not be sold in the Territory for many years. The reasons are very apparent and appeal to men regardless of politics—regardless of their views upon Indian legislation. As a member of one great political party, it is almost practically impossible for me to let pass any question which involves a construction of the constitution, without giving

expression to my views upon it; in fact, our people have been criticised severely because we have found so many insuperable obstacles in the constitution to the accomplishment of beneficial things. It probably is of interest to a great many here tonight, and I have been asked often during the day just what Congress could do to prevent the sale of liquor in the Indian Territory if it were to enter the Union as a State. Some of you have forgotten possibly that States are created by acts of Congress; the act prescribes the manner in which conventions shall be held by the people, outlines in a general way the different political divisions of the State and prescribes some things generally that must be done in order to organize the territory as a State about to enter the Union. The act of Congress, which provides for the admission of the State into the Union, is what is known as the "Enabling Act." Judge Andrews was asked off-hand for an opinion upon a constitutional question, which less distinguished members of the bar have had no hesitancy in disposing of off-hand; he, having served many years as chief judge of the Court of Appeals, rather more wisely, perhaps, hesitated about expressing his opinion so freely. However, those of my political faith believe that while Congress can in the Enabling Act prescribe certain conditions which a Territory about to be admitted as a State must agree to before it can enter the Union of States, that once having entered the Union of States it is the same complete, independent sovereignty that every other State in the Union is. All the States are equal. Moreover, the Federal Government is a Government of delegated powers and the organic instrument of the Government itself says that all powers of the Government, not expressly granted to the Federal Government or granted by necessary implication, are expressly reserved to the people of the several States; and it makes no difference when a State enters the Union, it possesses the same sovereign powers as the States that entered originally. The question of the regulation of the sale of liquor is purely within the police powers, as it is known in the law, and the State would have the right, even if it embodied in its organic act, or its constitution, a prohibition against the sale of liquor, to change its constitution as quickly as it desired to do so, and so obliterate that prohibition. Now I am not a prohibitionist, and I do not say that with any ulterior motive in the presence of Mr. Smiley or on account of Lake Mohonk's known condition (Mr. SMILEY, I am glad you don't), but I am firmly of the belief that if it were possible in any way to prevent the sale of liquor in the State, which is to be created wholly or partly from the Territory now known as Indian Territory, it should by all means be done for the best interests of the Indian.

We have often heard the expression—"The Indian Problem." Much has been written about it and many have attempted to ascertain just what it is. Well, the Indian Problem is a simple thing. It is merely to impose Christian civilization upon the Indians of the country. It is a much different thing, however, to accomplish that purpose. I believe that it would be much simplified, indeed there would have been no difficulty whatever in disposing of this Indian problem, were it not for the fact that the Indians possess large areas of land and immense sums of money. There is no trouble in assimilating into our civilization the people of any other race that come to our shores. The Italians, and the Germans, the Irish, the English, people from every quarter of the globe, come here and work out their own salvation under the beneficent laws of our free Government. There is never any considerable trouble about them. But, early in the history of this country, when Government was unable to cope with the armed bands of Indians, and in order to protect the frontiers of the country, the Indians in large numbers were prevailed upon to settle upon reservations. As their warlike tendencies diminished and as they became more submissive and more amenable to the Christianizing influences of the Government the question of how to get them off the reservations, instead of how to get them on them, became the question of the hour. The Indians having titles of various kinds, and their reservations possessing natural resources of immense value, made it a very difficult problem. It would have been easy to scatter these Indians throughout the country and to have assimilated them into the population long before this if they had been paupers instead of being possessed of such great wealth. A policy has been recently adopted which will eventually do much to accomplish what we desire; that is the policy of the Indian Department of compelling the Indians to work, to eat their bread in the sweat of their faces. It could not be done previously; the Indian would not work and it would require the strong arm of the Government to put down the uprising that would have resulted if the policy had been adopted at an earlier day. Conditions are changing and they are changing slowly; but just as soon as we get a generation of Indians that will work for their livelihood, then we can safely say that the end of all difficulties is in sight. We are allotting their lands and by the discontinuance of rations to those who live in idleness, we are compelling those Indians to work and to work out their salvation. It is immaterial after that whether the individual has a large amount of money or a small amount of money; because in time he will become part of the population and he will have to do just as every other American citizen does; stand on his own feet and

if he cannot keep the property he has, if he cannot increase his holdings, if he cannot accumulate wealth, then he must take the place to which he belongs, in the ranks of those who are unable to better themselves or occupy positions of eminence or become opulent, and who never get beyond a certain condition. His wealth will be dissipated just as the wealth of many intelligent white men in this country is dissipated by their descendants who are unable to live up to the ideals of their progenitors.

Dr. Gates has referred to one question which is of great importance and which in some aspects impresses me very favorably and in some otherwise; just like that collection of ministers of which we heard, some bad, some good and some otherwise. It is a matter of tremendous and far-reaching import to determine that on a certain date the trust funds of the Indians shall be segregated upon the books of the Treasury Department and every Indian shall own his share, and thereafter his share shall be handed down under the laws of several States regulating the distribution of personal property. It is a very important step and at some time is essential to the solving of the Indian problem. We must get rid of this wealth. It would not have been a bad thing for the Indian if the Government had some time in its history simply wiped the accounts off the books and repudiated its debt to the Indians; then we would not have the trouble of attempting to dispose of their money. The Indians have this money, however, and it is in the Treasury of the United States to their credit. The American people properly insist that the Indians be given what belongs to them. The suggestion is made that these immense sums to the credit of the Indians in the Treasury be on a certain date, it is immaterial whether it be the 1st of January, 1906 or 1956, the object is the same, be individualized. I am in favor of that in a modified degree. My position would be expressed about as this. I favor the individualizing of trust funds and placing to the credit of each individual Indian his share of the trust funds in the Treasury when his land is allotted to him. Of what use would it be to individualize the trust money in the Treasury of a tribe of Indians which did not have the land in severalty, but under a tribal title? Think of the difficulties that would arise from such a situation. More than that, when this question is presented to men who are charged with the duty of legislating, other difficulties arise. For instance, Dr. Gates has pointed out the difficulty even today of ascertaining who will rightly inherit the lands allotted to certain tribes of Indians after the period of restriction upon alienation has passed away. What do you think would be the difficulty of ascertaining to whom should be paid the sums individualized in the Treasury, when an Indian with his individual share credited

to him died without any existing system of registration, or any system by which it would be possible to ascertain who would be entitled to the money? With a tribe in which the land is allotted and in which there are tribal funds, I believe when the land is allotted the money could properly be individualized and paid to the individuals under certain restrictions. When the Indian finally gets launched forth upon the sea of citizenship, then he will have to take his chances, and if he cannot keep his money and keep his land, he will be quickly eliminated as a factor for good in the great mass of American citizens.

I am not at all pessimistic about the outlook. When I first entered Congress, seven years ago, I was a genuine tenderfoot; the only Indians that I knew much about was a tribe in the city of New York—the Tammany tribe—and it took me some time to become familiar with many matters connected with the Indian population of this country. In my brief service in the House of Representatives, I have seen vast strides made towards the solution of Indian difficulties.

This is due largely to the fact that there is one of the most efficient and painstaking and well-informed men upon Indian matters at the head of the Committee on Indian Affairs, in the House of Representatives. You will hear him a little later. (Applause.) He will give information which will be of great value to you. Of course he will not labor under the same difficulties that I do, because if I were to follow him instead of preceding him, he might be very much more careful in what he would say; but I cannot make the statement too strong, that the present chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs has done very much, if not more than any man in my experience, to contribute to the solution of many of these questions. Our committee is a committee which never divides upon political lines; we have very largely the same views upon many matters. I am very happy that I have been able to follow in his footsteps and to accept his advice upon many matters. You who meet in these conferences have no idea of the difficulties of his position. If he were to detail some of his trials in conference, in his committee room, with the delegations from the various sections of the country, as well as with members of the other House, which is equally important and powerful in Indian legislation, then you would realize perhaps why some matters that you believe should be disposed of very speedily hang along for some years.

The chairman notifies me that my time has expired. I wish to say then, ladies and gentlemen, that while it is not possible for me to attend as many of these conferences as I would desire, as they are held at a very inopportune time in the year for me, at the same time, I look back with great pleasure to the last visit

which I made here and it will be an equal happiness to think of this Conference. I have read, during the past few years, many of the annual reports of this Conference. I have learned much that I know about Indian matters from these reports. I have found that the platforms adopted here are conservative, well thought out, and, in my judgment, in the greater part have urged legislation and policies for the best interests of the Indian population. I sincerely trust that the conference will continue for many years, and that your efforts will be of the same immeasurable benefit to the members of Congress who are interested in this work as it has been in the past. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT.—Mr. Fitzgerald has left me without any opportunity whatever to say anything in introducing the next speaker of the evening, except to tell you that he has been for, I think, ten years, the Chairman of the Indian Committee in the House of Representatives. We shall have the pleasure of hearing from the Honorable James S. Sherman.

HON. JAMES SHERMAN.—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Members of the Conference: When the chairman's gavel, an abbreviated lead pencil, announced to Dr. Gates and my colleague that their time had expired, I felt much as did the little girl in Sunday school, who was asked by her teacher when Christ was crucified. "O," she said, "that was, let me think, that was sixty or seventy years ago." "Why," said the teacher, "Sarah, don't you know that Christ lived nearly two thousand years ago." "O, my," she said, "why, how time does fly!" I am so intensely interested in everything relating to the Indian question, and Dr. Gates' words flow out so smoothly and so musically, each one seeming to have been chosen, to have been coined for this special occasion, and Mr. Fitzgerald understands so well his subject and discusses it with such ease, that it seemed to me that Dr. Abbott must be in error, or else that his watch must mark time faster than mine!

Mr. Fitzgerald suggests that the chairman of his committee frequently is faced by many embarrassing situations. Well now, that might be the condition of affairs that would worry me much, indeed that would worry anybody occupying the position which I do, and would me, but for the fact that I have on every proposition received the loyal, conscientious, energetic and valuable support of Congressman Fitzgerald and the other members of the Committee, which has made the work most easy. Mr. Smiley said to us this morning that we had been driving along here for some couple of decades and that it was very easy to get into ruts. Mr. Smiley I think was right, and it is not only very easy, but I can testify that it is very dangerous to get into ruts, after an

experience of two or three days ago, when the automobile got into a rut and I got into the ditch! So I was in hopes that I might be eliminated from the program this year, to smooth out that rut, but not having been, I shall certainly at least do this much; it has been my privilege heretofore, in addressing the Conference, to do something of the humorous or of the vaudeville part; now, I won't do that tonight. The little boy, whose father was a minister, in listening to him one day, said to him, "Pa, be you telling the truth, or be you just preaching?" Now, the little that I have to say I am going to try to tell just the truth, not try to preach. We all enjoyed immensely the broad and comprehensive and scholarly address of the presiding officer of this conference, and it does seem to me that there is not a great deal to say this evening on the Indian question after what Dr. Gates and Mr. Fitzgerald have said, unless it be a re-hash, because they have covered in a way all there is of the Indian problem of today. But upon this Indian question I am an optimist and I always have been, and there are reasons, ample reasons it seems to me, for anybody to be an optimist. There is every reason why any person representing the National Government, either in the legislative halls or in the administrative offices, can stand before an American audience and defend the Government in all, substantially all, of its acts, as the natural guardian of the red man. The condition of the Indians today and their condition when we first systematically set about changing their erstwhile condition, when we systematically set about changing them from aborigines, from wild men, from natural savages, to law-abiding, self-supporting American citizens,—in these brief years, less than a quarter of a century, the advance has been so marvelous that I believe that it is fair to assume that the goal for which we are all striving is not beyond the reach of human ken. I appreciate that statistics are tiresome. I am familiar with the saying that figures won't lie, and I have heard that statement contradicted. I do not believe in the contradiction; figures won't lie, but the figurer sometimes does and he sometimes misstates facts and figures, intentionally or otherwise, and that I might not misstate any, I have confided to paper a few figures comparing the condition of the Indians twenty years ago, twenty-five years ago and now, to prove to you members of this conference that what I say in reference to the treatment of the American Indians by this National Government of ours and the hope for the ultimate, absolute, correct solution of the Indian problem is correct. In 1882, for instance, when the policy of systematic education was begun, the appropriation for this branch of the service was \$135,000, a mere bagatelle; in 1895, only thirteen years afterwards, the ap-

proprietion had reached \$2,000,000, and in 1903, when the time had simply been that of a man reaching his majority, it had reached \$4,000,000. In 1882, there were but four thousand pupils gathered in inadequate, unsanitary school buildings, with indifferent, as a rule, teachers, not over well qualified; in 1895, the number of pupils had increased to 23,000, school buildings to over 200, modern methods had been employed, teachers had been selected with special reference to their fitness to discharge the duties for which they were employed; in 1903, the total school attendance had reached the great sum of 30,000 pupils. These figures, it seems to me, of themselves demonstrate what has been done along educational lines, by this Government of ours as touching on the education, training school for the boys and girls. In many cases, rations have been cut off in order to instill the principles of industry into the Indian men and Indian women, and Mr. Fitzgerald has spoken forcibly and well upon that policy and upon its results. All that I wish to add is a few figures, proving conclusively the wisdom of the course, the wisdom of the policy which has been in vogue. In 1882 there were comparatively no Indians in this country at any work; in 1895, 8,300 Indian families were cultivating 400,000 acres of land, while in 1903, 11,280 families were cultivating 418,000 acres of land. The earnings of these Indians in 1895 was \$1,056,000, in 1903 it was \$2,100,000. We all know that the agencies are gradually being eliminated and we all know that that is something that we very much desire to be fully accomplished. We want all the agencies wiped out. In 1895, the Indian population, exclusively of the Indian Territory and Alaska, was 182,000, in 1903, it was 187,000. Meanwhile, the leaven of education had been gradually working, and in 1895, 81,000 Indians had adopted wholly citizens' dress, 31,000 had adopted it in part; while in 1903, mark you the enormous increase, 112,000 Indians had adopted the citizens' dress in whole, and 44,000 had adopted it in part, or a very large majority of all the Indians in the country had adopted citizens' dress almost wholly. In 1894 there were 33,000 Indians who could read; in 1903, this number had increased to 50,000, almost one-third of the Indian population of the country. In 1895, there were 41,000 Indians who spoke our language; in 1903, 65,000; 23,460 Indians occupied homes in 1895, while in 1903, 27,000 Indians found domiciles in the white man's dwelling; in 1895, 20,000 Indians were members of churches, and were gathered in church buildings of their own to the number of 270; in 1903, the church membership was 31,000, and the church buildings had increased to 371. The full significance of that fact may be better realized when we understand that those buildings were

very largely erected by contributions from the Indians' own pocket, and I think it was you, Dr. Abbott, that this morning spoke of the need of moral teaching amongst the Indians, of the need of their having their own houses of worship, and I suspect that you hardly realized yourself at the time, the number of houses of God that had been erected by the Indians themselves, in which they should conduct their own worship.

One other little item of statistics. They do say that the roads in the community are a fair index of the civilization of a community, and if my neighbor, Dr. Bailey, will not state it in his paper when he gets home, I will say if that is so, I blush for our community; but in 1897, the Indians worked 14,000 days upon their highways, and in 1903, they worked 95,000 days upon their own highways. Those statistics of the marvelous development and advance of the Indians within a period of two decades, it does seem to me, afford us ample reason for being optimistic of the condition of the Indians in the future; it does seem to me it gives us the right to hope that the time will come when reservations will be things of the past, when enormous trust funds held for the Indians will be done away with and when we shall see the red man standing beside his white brother, a wage earner, an honest, progressive citizen of this republic of ours. I do not think that will come tomorrow, I do not believe that it will be possible to do away, or that it would be expedient to do away, with the Indian Bureau in the immediate future, and I do not ask to have it continued to care for any relative near or distant, but further, I do think that we should tend toward, and I believe we will tend toward the other goal of which Dr. Gates has spoken, that of doing away with the tribal funds. I do not agree with him as to every detail, perhaps he did not state what every detail of his proposed legislation was, but I do think that we must consider the individual somewhat, rather than the tribe in distributing this money. There are many tribes, just as there are many communities of white men, where four-fifths of the members are just as capable of caring for their means as any of us here are, but the other one-fifth are wholly incapable of doing so. I believe we ought not, in a case of that kind, to distribute per capita to that entire tribe but rather distribute to that portion of the tribe who are capable of caring for themselves and for their own property, and I anticipate that it will not be in the distant future that some legislation will be enacted, as Dr. Gates I think told you. The fact is we did actually pass in the House last winter a bill looking to this end. I do not wish to intimate that the Senate is not as desirous of doing what is best for the Indians as we of the House, but it so happens that for some reason, I cannot say what, the bill failed of passage in the Senate.

(Mr. SMILEY—Because there is no Senator Dawes in the Senate). So far as any reference is made to the late Senator Dawes, I am thoroughly in accord with it and I wish that I had sufficient eloquence to pay here and now an appropriate tribute to the memory of that man who did more for the Indian tribes than any other man who has lived in this country of ours, I believe;—eloquent student of the constitution, lover of his country, a patriot of patriots, whose very name for years, after advancing years made it impossible for him to actively engage in the work for the Indians, whose very name was worth more to this Government than the active work of any other man whom we could find throughout our land. (Applause).

Now the suggestion was made in reference to registering of vital statistics. It is possible for the administrative officers of the Government to do that without legislation. It comes properly within the scope of the administration, under the general powers of the administrative officers. It has not been done; an effort has been made to provide registration blanks and to provide that the minor officers of the Government collect these statistics, but it has not yet been done and I am glad the matter has been brought up here, because I feel that both Mr. Fitzgerald and I will be only too glad to attempt some legislation which will make it impossible for an administrative officer to fail to enforce those provisions. (Applause). Some gentleman spoke this morning, I do not now remember who, of the question of disease amongst the Indians, more particularly tuberculosis, and it is a remarkable fact that a race that has lived so many generations out of doors and now lives, so many of them, in those sections of the country that are supposed to be best for individuals troubled with tuberculosis, incipient or otherwise—it is remarkable that this race of Indians so situated should show a greater tendency toward this disease than white people do.

But the reason why it seems to me tuberculosis is so prevalent amongst the Indians is because of the lack of all sanitary regulations. The Indian is not naturally a cleanly person. I guess we all will admit that, however much we may laud his other virtues. He is not cleanly, he has not been educated to sanitary ideas, the children have heretofore been crowded in the schools, without the proper sanitary regulations, too many in a room, too little attention has been paid to the question of contagion. We are just reaching up towards that. I imagine that all that will be provided for in the near future by the administrative officers without any legislative work upon the subject, but I beg to assure you, members of the Conference, that if within a reasonable length of time some provision is not made to meet this, one of the greatest difficulties in solving this Indian problem,

that then in Congress we will make some enactment which will suitably provide to meet this difficulty. (Applause.) I won't do what Mr. Fitzgerald did; I would like to, and that is to stay here and thank you for listening to me so long, and pronounce a just encomium upon him, his splendid character and his great worth, but the gavel has fallen and I will simply stop.

The PRESIDENT.—I am sure those of you who attended the St. Louis Exposition will agree with me that no objects were of greater interest than those which gave a concrete and visible illustration of the progress made by what we are accustomed to call our dependent populations. The gentleman who had charge there of the Indian exhibit is with us tonight, and I have pleasure in introducing to you, as the last speaker of the evening, Superintendent S. M. McCowan, of the Indian school at Chilocco, Oklahoma, who will now address us.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM FROM THE VIEW- POINT OF THE FIELD WORKER.

BY S. M. M'COWAN.

At the very beginning I may as well make it clear that I am not an Indian monomaniac. To me he is simply one of God's human designs, possessing the universal elemental endowments, not in any manner exceptional, created and placed for the special purpose of prospecting and holding a new country for a better, because a more highly developed, race.

Neither do I believe that he deserves any special credit for being born Indian, nor should he be given any special favors or privileges on that account.

Nor can I bring myself to believe, in the light of history and my own personal experience, that he has been badly treated. History does not record, to my knowledge, any parallel to America's protecting, beneficent treatment of primitive people. In the riot of change caused by the unfolding of evolutionary processes, there is bound to result much bewilderment, some cause for anguish and tears; some will be hurt, some maimed, some crushed. Those only who are quick to adapt themselves to conditions will survive, and of these only those few rare souls who recognize God's hand in the making of a world, and who hark not back to dead days, will enter the promised land.

The Indian, instead of going with the tide of civilization and utilizing it, has spent his energies in heroic or foolish (as we

view it) endeavors to sweep it back from the shore—his shore. His efforts have been vain, of course. The tide advances, as it advances now and has advanced since the morning and the evening of the first day, and, advancing, swept the shore clean, leaving no trace of those who wept and pouted and rebelled. There is nothing cruel about this process. It is inevitable. It is law and it is right. It is God's way. Those who will not help shall not be left to hinder.

A year ago, from this platform, and before many of you who are present today, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Jones, delivered himself of the following array of facts and bits of philosophy, which, when the echoes reached us in the distant corners of the harvest field, were enthusiastically applauded.

Commissioner Jones said: "I know very well that between the white and red man there have been cruel wars and bloody strife. There were doubtless wrongs on both sides, but all of that was long ago. If mistakes were made they have been corrected; if wrongs were committed they have been righted, and few scars of the dark and bloody ground remain. The Government, as Government, has been just, but it has been kind and generous too. It has not only paid what was due, but it has given millions upon millions to help the Indian along, and is spending millions today; it has encouraged his efforts and condoned his faults; it has treated him as an equal, and made him a citizen; the monuments of its munificence are all around him, and he is what he is because of its helping hand. We may search the historic page in vain for such another record.

"More than this, the Government has given the Indian privileges which his white brother does not enjoy; his person and property are protected, yet he pays no taxes, and bears no share of the public burden. If his allotment is leased, the business is transacted by a paternal Government, and the rent turned over to him, all for nothing. His poor are fed, and if hard times come, relief is afforded him, while the white man by his side has to struggle and bear his burden alone. The white man may starve, but not the Indian."

And so you see we passed in a few short years from the system of correction and chastisement to that of cajolery, bribery and unwise nurture. We thought, or did we pause to think? that we could proceed independent of nature; that we were wiser than God; that we, being Yanks, could triumph where all others ignominiously failed.

And so some of us assumed platonic relations with the Indian race and treated him as a sort of kid brother—a little black sheep sort of a devil, whom we liked in a way, whom we wanted to see do well, for whom we mildly thrilled when we heard of his esca-

pades, to whom ~~we were~~ willing to give extravagantly, but with whom we didn't want any ~~special~~ fellowship.

Others of us, and this portion lived generally east of the Alleghanies and consisted mostly of those burdened with hideous packs of leisure and money; that much-to-be-pitied class,—women mostly and most estimable—made up of two divisions, first those dear unmarried ladies whose hungry hearts yearn for things to love and coddle, and those married ones whose men-folks are too busy climbing the ladder to that delectable promontory where the exalted captains of iniquity strut to pay much attention to their gentle, love-craving partners—and these two divisions united in a class that regarded the Indian as their pet baby. They have interested prominent men in his behalf. They have influenced legislation. They have petted and presented and nurtured until the race is spoiled or running fast along the road to ruin.

We Americans are a proud race, but we are more egotistical than proud. We know it all, we do, and as we pluck the tail-feathers and toss them to the winds we swell up and shout—yell so long and loud that we drown utterly the protests of a lot of practical, sensible fellows who don't know it all but who have learned a few things and learned them well.

And one of the things that this job-lot of mild-mannered but forceful fellows have learned—and I say this in all seriousness—is that Americans are no more fit to develop rightly the millions of Malays, Creoles, and mongrel races of the Pacific Isles than a maiden lady of fifty is to properly train a family of American boys, albeit we think we are, just as the maiden lady thinks she knows more about the rearing of babies than a mother of ten.

Doubtless there are those here today who will not agree with me in this statement. Very likely there will follow speeches taking the opposite view, but I want to repeat that as trainers of primitive people we are unfit. Why? Well, because we are too rich, too generous, too prone to substitute sentiment for reason. And this is a scientific truth, that as race suicide maintains and our own children become fewer our hearts grow mellow and indulgence that mars and corrupts supplants the tenets of justice and right.

And there is another reason: In a republic there is no one permanent, responsible head to look after the rights of the people. There is no permanent policy. Policies change with administrations. The Government policy of today is the Republican policy or it is the individual opinion of the Commissioner at the head of the Bureau. Tomorrow it may be the Democratic policy and the opinion of a new Commissioner.

We may judge of the future by the past. If we have been suc-

cessful with our own wild men we are reasonably sure to succeed with our insular wild.

But have we been successful?

For some hundreds of years we have controlled the destinies of the Indian and he is very primitive yet. We need not go back to the days of our fathers. Let us talk of our work today. What are we doing for the old Indian today? We are giving him land allotments, and trying to secure for him the very best lands available. He has first choice. We want him to farm it but he won't. He was not taught to work when he was young and he will not begin now. So he leases his valuable holdings and the proceeds supply his few necessities of whiskey and tobacco, while his women folks hustle around and secure money enough to purchase a few luxuries, such as flour, beef and beans. And so he lives, an outcast by preference, purposeless, without ambition, living the old life and caring for no improvement. He will counsel with you by the hour. He will agree with all you say. He will praise, in beautifully simple words, the white man and his ways, but his efforts end in vapid talk. He will not act. He will live his own life in spite of all our counsel and effort. He does this not because of a belief in its righteousness, but merely through force of inertia. To live our life requires energy, and the Indian male is passive, dead to ambition, and utterly incapable of sustained effort. Please to understand that I am talking of the full bloods. Energy and ambition bloom wherever the white blood appears. Please understand, too, that these criticisms do not apply with equal force to all old Indians. All are not lazy. All are not grafters. But they do apply to most old Indians. Virtues are identical wherever found. A virtue is a virtue whether possessed by an Indian or a white man. The difference is that our civilization recognizes the virtue and develops it while Indian virtue is of the negative order. Some virtues exalted by our civilization are respect for law and order, independence of thought and action, reverence for our women folks, pride in self-support, cleanliness, ambition to excel, thrift—all of which the old Indian possesses not at all or in meagre measure.

I would not make the Indian over into a white man if I could but I would develop in him to the fullest extent those virtues that our civilization has proven best. And this may be done by educational processes alone—never by unwise nurture, never by perpetual paternalism.

There are just as good men and women in any section of the West as may be found in any part of the East. Their hearts are just as big with compassion. They would go as far to help, where help is needed, as any people on earth. Their loving

kindness is just as encompassing and comforting. Their civilization is just as wholesome, their patriotism just as sound, their Christianity just as sweet and solacing as may be found anywhere. They want the Indian to do right. By precept and example they blaze the moral trail. If the red man's inclinations were for the right he would find many noble examples and many leaders. But they are not. The bad fascinates and he yields, oh, so willingly, his manhood, his character, his career, the hopes and promises of future years, to the evil lures of those whose moral standard more nearly approaches his own. If he is the "noble red man" so many want to believe him why does he not show some noble attributes?

Our pernicious, wicked kindness is worse, ten thousand times more harmful than others' harshness. The old, uneducated Indian will not accept our civilization, just as the Chinaman will not. It is foolish, absurd, to think he will. For 400 years we have done our best to absorb him without educating him, yet he is no more one of us today in thought, hopes and ambition than the caged wolf who eats from our hand, but would burrow in his native wilds snarling in glee if he could.

Yet we, Simple Simons that we are, pack pail after pail of the golden water of sinful charity and pour into their hermit holes, hoping, aye, expecting to drown them out.

And to what end? What's the use? What good has our continuous giving done or will do?

The tip-taker is a cringing hypocrit, fit only to serve and suffer, the bribe-taker is a rascal, fit only for criminal solitude behind the bars. And the course we are pursuing is bound to make of the Indian a member of one class or the other.

The old Indian is not and will not be one of us. Ignorance and intelligence do not move in the same sphere. He is not our equal—only civilization can make him so and he wants none of that. And when we treat him as an equal we stoop to meet contempt. This is true of all primitive people. Our efforts to treat the Filipinos with respect and on terms of equality brought on the war with that people. They did not, could not, understand such treatment and mistook our kindness for fear, our mild manners for efforts to conciliate.

Profiting not by lessons and mistakes of the past, we are making, in my opinion, just as grave mistakes today. I believe that Indians should be ruled firmly, as well as kindly, as our children are ruled and not left to do passion's bidding. I believe that all annuities should be abolished and that no Indian should be given more than a homestead. When we give more we throw ambrosia to the dogs. When we hold great tracts of land and lease it for the Indians' benefit we not only build up an Indian

aristocracy and landlordism that is obnoxious to this land of the free, but we invent and practice the most artful, most subtle method of exterminating the remnants of this doomed race that could be devised.

Think of it. We give the Indian, absolutely free of cost or condition, as much as a white man may reasonably expect to acquire by the hardest kind of toil and sacrifice in a lifetime. We fix the laws so he does not have to pay taxes. We employ farmers to instruct him and clerks to keep his books. He does not and will not work this land, but leases it to a good white brother, while he, the landlord, struts or reels about the streets of near-by towns, or gambles by the hour in any old place. Not satisfied with all this, we take the surplus lands of unused reservations, and instead of selling them to the highest bidder for cash, we lease them to white men, good citizens, our brothers—men who pay our taxes, who contribute in all ways in money, time, trouble or blood to this country's greatness, and the rent these good citizens pay is given to Indian landlords who loaf, gamble, drink and waste their lives away.

How long, O Lord! how long is this sort of thing to continue?

What is the difference, or if there is a difference, which is worse, to coop our aborigines on reservations and give them flour, meat, beans and annuities, or to divide these reservations into allotments, placing a family on each quarter section, giving a house and farm equipment, then leasing the remainder of the reservation to men who are never helped but who will work, and dividing the proceeds in cash among the dusky landlords?

The great wrong lies in the method of helping. If we would give only when giving would help our Indian brothers to help themselves, then all would be well.

Please understand that in this paper I voice my own individual opinions. These opinions are not borrowed; they are mine. I am giving you the raw truth as I have found it. In no sense do these remarks reflect on the Department or the Indian Office. The Big Chief of the Interior Department is one of the truly great men in the Government service. And he is assisted by a clean, honorable, competent Commissioner of Indian Affairs. But these men do not originate policies, they carry out instructions. Congress makes the laws and sentimentalists—Indian monomaniacs—influence Congress. Let us place responsibility where it belongs.

Enough of the old Indian and our treatment of him, What are we doing for the children of the red men?

Let us quote again from the address of able Commissioner Jones:

"But there is more to come. The Indian children are edu-

cated. I wonder if it is generally known what is done for 'poor Lo' in this direction. Let us see. The Indian population of the United States (omitting the Five Civilized Tribes), is reckoned about 187,000, of which 47,000 are probably of school age. To educate these there are altogether 253 Government schools, with some 2,300 employees. The boarding school is what I wish to speak of now. There are ninety of these, sixty-one being located in twenty-one States and twenty-nine in three Territories. Here some 18,000 Indian children are lodged and fed and clothed and taught, and are given all the comforts of life, and many of its luxuries, all for nothing, absolutely nothing. How do they get there? Do their parents bring them and ask that they be received? No. Do they even pay the expense of getting them there? No. Then how do they get there? Why, they are captured on the reservations, by bribery, by force, by coaxing, by threats, and dragged there; without preparation, without regard to fitness, without previous training, without regard to their worldly condition, solely because they have Indian blood in their veins, sometimes a mere suspicion, and will count in making up the quota of a school. I saw the other day, in a great metropolitan paper, a graphic account of the rounding-up of children by the Indian police to take them away to school, and it read like rounding up cattle for market; and another writer, who ought to know, speaks of the gathering of children to send to school as the ruthless tearing of babes from the mother's arms. Another paper that I saw not long ago, a local one this time near a large Indian school, expressed its satisfaction that the school was in full operation after the summer vacation. Why? Because it was for the good of the children? No! but because the parents of many of the pupils were wealthy, and their children would have money to spend in the town near which the school was located.

"Who pays for all this? The Government, and it costs millions of dollars annually. The amount spent for education for the fiscal year just closed was, in round numbers, \$4,000,000. Of this, \$3,000,000 was spent in twenty-one States and \$1,000,000 in three Territories. All, with the exception of probably \$600,000 was a gift from the Government, pure and simple. The Indian does not contribute one cent, not even the simplest thing. He has his child kept and taught for absolutely nothing, while many a white man around him has to pinch and deny himself to give his child even the benefits of the common school.

"Talk about paternalism. Is not this paternalism gone mad? Talk about class legislation. Was there ever such class distinction as this? Where and when is all of this to stop? Is this thing to go on forever? In the last twenty years the Government has

devoted over forty-four millions of dollars to the education of its almost infinitesimal Indian population. And it is worthy of note that probably three-fourths of this has gone into independent and thoroughly organized States, of which many of the Indians are citizens, and which are equipped with excellent school systems of their own. Many of the pupils first educated are grown, and have children of their own. Are these to be educated as their parents were? And in course of time, are their children to be educated, too? Are the 187,000 of a distinctive class to go on year after year and have education given them for nothing, while the rest of our 80,000,000 get it for themselves? I must not be understood as out of sympathy with the cause of Indian education. My only objection is to the present system and the principles involved."

Mr. Jones was righteously indignant but he did not realize the iniquity of our course in all its ramifications, dips, spurs and angles as thoroughly as some of us in the field do.

The Government's system of Indian schools is unexcelled—I think I might truthfully say, unequaled—in scheme and scope, anywhere, for any race. The plan embraces day schools, reservation schools and non-reservation schools. The policy is to take the little ones into the day schools, give them a few hours instruction each day and then send them home to the parents in the evening. The reservation schools take them from the day schools after a few years and carry them through the course up to the 4th or 5th grade. From there they are supposed to be promoted to the large, splendidly equipped, industrial schools, located in the midst of our best civilized environment, like Carlisle in Pennsylvania, Haskell in Kansas, Chilocco in Oklahoma, Phoenix in Arizona. Here the trades are taught and the very best of instruction given in farming and its kindred branches. One half the time is given to industrial instruction.

At the Chilocco school in Oklahoma, the one over which I have the honor to preside, special instruction is given in agriculture and kindred branches. We aim to attach the lads to the soil by threads of interest and surety of profit by intelligently directed labor. Besides farming we teach domestic economy, domestic science, domestic art, printing, carpentering, blacksmithing, harness-making, painting, baking, steam-engineering, electric engineering, plumbing and steam-fitting, masonry and music, both vocal and instrumental.

The system seems sound and perfect. But like almost everything else the dear Government does, where laws are seldom the result of judgment but of compromise, there is a flaw in the system and a most serious one.

If such opportunities were offered to the poor and needy of

our own race—and why not? Don't we owe our own some little attention?—how quickly the schools would fill, and how eagerly every chance would be embraced! Or, if they did not fill rapidly you know without the telling what would be done. Whenever there has been any trouble of this kind we have invoked the strong arm of the law and children of white parents have been compelled to attend school, even when their small earnings were needed to supply the family table.

But not so with the Indian. He is our kid brother, our pet baby, and he must have a code for himself alone.

Congress has persistently refused to pass a compulsory law affecting the Indian. It is all well enough to make the white Americans attend school, but Indians never. It is right to compel white parents to send their children to school, but Indian parents must not be so harshly treated. We attend to the whites on the score of civic duty and perform our duty without regard to parental protest or convenience. But Indian children not only do not have to go to school unless they want to, but even if they do want to we cannot take them into our schools until the ignorant parents' consent has been obtained. I know that effort after effort has been made by those connected with the Indian Office and others to secure the passage of a compulsory law, but always without results. Why? I don't know.

In consequence of the failure on the part of Congress to act in this matter we have a grotesque system indeed.

Take Carlisle for instance. Carlisle is a splendidly equipped institution, capable of accommodating 1,000 students. The education this school is capable of giving to any boy or girl is worth \$5,000. It is offered to Indians only, without money and without price. One would naturally suppose these red children would be keen to grasp the opportunity. Nearly all have money—not earned—and nothing of business nature to keep them at home. The unsophisticated would suppose they would pay their way and be anxious to enter on the first day. But they are not.

Every summer the superintendent drafts his employees into service as collectors. He provides money for all necessary expenses and away they go. Let us follow two of them. It is considered best oftentimes to travel in pairs. They invade a reservation and hand their credentials to the agent. He reads, frowns, fidgets and frowns again. He is not pleased.

"All right!" he mutters at last. "You may go out and see what you can do. I want to warn you, though, that you must not take any children belonging to reservation schools."

"Haven't you got some advanced students who ought to be transferred, Major?" ventures the collector—the prettiest one.

"No," declares the agent, scowling fiercely.

"None who have passed the 4th grade?" persists the pretty one. You understand of course, that these particular collectors are ladies. If a mere man had been so bold he would have been told long before this to attend strictly to his own business or leave the reservation.

"No, that is, I've got some past that grade but we need 'em here. We've got to keep some old ones in our schools to do the work."

"But don't the rules say you must transfer to non-reservation schools when they have passed the 4th grade, or when they are twelve to fourteen years of age?"

"Don't give a" — begins the agent but corrects himself, "Can't help that," he continues, "They can't go."

"What children may I take, Major?"

"Any you can get to go, who do not belong to our reservation school, after securing the parents' consent, and after complying with all regulations, who are over eighteen years of age."

"But the Office rules say we can't enroll children who are more than eighteen."

"Can't help that," replies the Major.

The collectors leave the agent, discouraged, but determined.

Right here I think I hear you say: "But why didn't the agent help these ladies? I should think he'd want to send his advanced children out into the field of growth and greater opportunities."

There are several reasons why the agent should remain either passive or become antagonistic. First, he has ambitions. He wants to build up his own reservation school—to enlarge his own principality and sphere of influence. Then, the old Indians generally are either totally indifferent to schools, or openly oppose civilization's encroachments, and as the agent has to live with the Indians why should he incur their ill-will by compelling them to do what they don't want to do, particularly when there is no authority therefor?

Our pretty, brave collectors drive from home to home on the reservation, showing pictures of the school, describing it, urging, coaxing, begging ignorant, superstitious, old Indians to consent to accept for their children free that which thousands of white parents toil and starve to buy for their dear ones.

These ardent collectors are not alone. Each day they meet representatives of other schools. Chilocco, Haskell, Genoa, Morris, Pipestone, Rapid City, Pierre, Mt. Pleasant, Flandreau, these and others all have their agents out hustling for children, drumming up business (there were 15 collectors at one agency at one time last summer). This makes the competition keen. Being zealous collectors they work to win and in many cases methods are not what they should be, but—it is results that

count. The old Indians swell prodigiously. They are important personages. Publicly they strut and openly brag. Being shrewd politicians they organize into clans and make graft of the collectors' necessities. In other words they "hold up" the collectors for feasts, for fees as interpreters, guides, drivers, etc. And the poor collectors, being driven to it, pay and smile and gather in every child they can get, going out into the highways and hedges and bringing in the lame, the halt and the blind, the little and the big, the old and the young—any old thing and every old thing that can pass the parents and agent and doctor, for they all count and if we do not fill our schools we must close, because they are maintained on the per capita basis.

Because of the expiration of the time limit set for speakers, the reading of the remainder of Mr. McCowan's paper was deferred until the fifth session of the Conference, in the proceedings of which it will be found. (See Index).

The PRESIDENT.—In all good paintings there is light and shade. We had this morning the light: I think you will agree just now we have the shade; so we have the elements necessary for a good picture.

Mr. SMILEY.—I was very much interested in the speech of the last gentleman. He hits upon a good many of the weak points in the Indian service. A good many of those things I know personally are true, and yet I think it a very exaggerated statement of the service. There are a great many difficulties in managing Indian affairs. We have to have people appointed at Washington and they go off where they cannot be controlled, and it is the easiest thing for an agent or any other employee to play the mischief and to do things that are not right. Criticism comes from all over the country to that effect. The President of the United States, who is, we all know, a thoroughly honest man, has stated to me twice, that he would see to it that the Indian service is put on an honorable basis and that no man shall be appointed to any office who he thinks is in any wise unfitted for it, no matter who recommends him. The President says this and I believe he will carry it out. Mr. Sherman has stated rightly the grand work the United States has done. No race in the world has ever been treated so magnanimously as the United States has treated the Indians. Most of the other nations, when treating with subordinate nations, have crushed them.

I believe that work is the saving thing for the Indians. We

have coddled them too much as the last speaker said; there is no doubt about it. Let us treat them so far as possible the same as we treat our own people. Put them on their mettle; make them struggle, then we will have some good Indians.

The meeting then adjourned.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 19, 1905.

The PRESIDENT.—This morning's session is to be devoted to the Philippine Islands. The question whether or not we ought to have our sovereignty over the Philippines is as purely an academic question as the question, very hotly discussed at the time, whether the Louisiana Purchase was right or not. The occupation of the Philippines is past history and our questions have to deal with the present and the future. The question for us to consider this morning is what ought we to do for the Philippines, and on that question, the largest freedom of discussion within necessary limitations of time, is permitted, encouraged and desired, in this conference. The first speaker of the morning has had large acquaintance with all aspects of the Oriental question, but in spite of his great ability I venture to say, will not be able to tell you all he knows in half an hour.

We will now hear from Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University, who has been Special Commissioner of the United States War Department to investigate questions of currency, internal taxation, and police in the Orient, and who has large acquaintance with all Oriental aspects.

Dr. JEREMIAH W. JENKS.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: When I was asked to prepare this paper, the subject suggested was "Difficulties in the Administration of Dependencies." As our chairman has said, that question was rather too broad, so that I found myself compelled to limit it and to entitle my paper "Some Difficulties." Naturally also, I had to select the difficulties which I should present, and I have attempted to select those that it was on the whole best for an influential conference like this to consider, so far as my judgment is concerned. I have no doubt that many of you will find that I have not treated some of your pet difficulties. In that case, I hope that you will take the opportunity to bring those difficulties forward when your turn comes.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF DEPENDENCIES.

BY PROF. JEREMIAH W. JENKS.

Some four years ago, in speaking with one of the high executive officials in Java regarding some important reforms that were

clearly needed there, I asked him why they were not put through. His answer in substance was, "Because most of the officials at home don't know, and the others don't care. We are too far away." Two months before the same story had come from officials in India regarding their government, and I doubt not that our people in the Philippines could properly make a similar charge.

In all the affairs of life the near and immediate make the vivid impression; the remote appear dim. An accident which takes the life of our next-door neighbor is far more shocking than the breaking of a dike of the Yellow River in China which destroys thousands of homes, drives a million of people into destitution, and drowns thousands like rats. Likewise regarding remote dependencies. Furthermore, the near has better means of making its presence known. A persistent seeker after a pension, or an active committee from a small city, seeking an appropriation for a post-office, two years ago made much more trouble for many a Congressman than the thousands of half-starving Filipinos whose farm cattle had died of the rinderpest, whose crops had been eaten by locusts, and whose huts had been destroyed by hostile insurgents. The owner of a beet sugar factory in Michigan, worth a hundred thousand dollars, would plead his needs much more effectively because he could pester Congressmen personally, and could also influence directly some votes, than could hundreds of owners of small sugar plantations in the Philippines whose wishes could be voiced practically only officially through the Philippine Commission, and indirectly through the President's message, or at the most, a hearing before a committee, and who had no votes that affect Congressmen.

The home legislators naturally often forget to act, and in their forgetfulness they fail also to remove the hampering restraints imposed upon the officials of the dependencies. The special interests at home, on the other hand, which may come into conflict with those of the dependencies are listened to at the expense of the dependencies.

With this disadvantage, however, goes sometimes an advantage, for in so far as discretion is left with the administrators in the dependencies, little as this may be, they are likely to be given a somewhat freer hand than is the case with local administrators at home, and whenever the officials are themselves wise and discreet men, their work can be done with greater efficiency than under the cramping influence of the rigid rules and the official red tape which are likely to be found in home administration.

But, besides the lack of immediate interest, the conditions in dependencies are usually not well understood by home legislators. The time of any faithful Congressman is so fully occupied

with attendance on his committee meetings, with the prompt answering of his large correspondence, with the necessary immediate attention to his constituency, that he can not get the time to keep himself well informed on many matters. Even members of the committees that deal directly with the dependencies must largely take their opinions at second-hand, through the proper executive officer of the government, or through reading of reports, and conversation with well-informed people. Under these circumstances it is natural that if members of Congress or of Parliament favor the administration and believe in its sincerity, they will be likely to accept its views. If they are of the opposite party or are disposed to doubt its wisdom, they lay especial emphasis upon the opinions of outside observers. One need not question the sincerity of legislators, but being merely human beings, although doubtless considerably above the average in ability and even in diligence and care, their judgments are likely to be mistaken.

Moreover, from the natural desire for power which every man has, as well as from their feeling of responsibility, many Congressmen feel it desirable not to deprive themselves of the right to meddle continually in even minor affairs of dependencies, by giving large discretion to the local officials. Nevertheless, the local administration, which has to solve difficulties promptly as they arise and which is thoroughly conversant with the peculiarities of a climate, of an economic situation, and of a people, and in consequence, of an entire civilization vastly different from the home civilization, finds this necessity of working under strict rules laid down by the home legislature a most serious difficulty.

Of perhaps more consequence in the long run is the difficulty which arises from the sentiments of the people of the home country regarding questions which spring from the difference in civilization of the dependent people. We all recall, for example, how much feeling there has been at times in the United States regarding any action on the part of the Philippine authorities which would seem to recognize even temporarily the institutions of polygamy and of slavery among the Mohammedan Moros of the Island of Mindanao. We believe that our government stands for the best in civilization, and that neither of those institutions can be tolerated by Americans; but the Moros, of course, who have been born and trained under different creeds and customs, naturally believe sincerely in their propriety and beneficial effects. Then our counter beliefs make us trouble. We believe also in religious freedom, but both slavery and polygamy are recognized by the religion of the followers of the prophet. We believe in local self-government, but in our own home country the question of slavery was for many decades believed by the

majority of our people to be a matter of state regulation, while the institution of marriage still remains so. There can be no doubt that if we were to give the Moros self-government, both of those institutions would remain. How shall we deal with such problems?

The English meet with similar conditions in their dependencies. How do they deal with them? Both have recognized the institutions as social evils, which are to be rooted out eventually. But both have believed that it is wiser to secure, so far as possible, the good-will of the peoples by tolerating these institutions for a little time. They have in some colonies already abolished personal slavery, though in some they still recognize the absolute power in most regards of the former native rulers and gentry and their right to demand from their peoples forced labor for certain public purposes, such as working on the roads, and even in certain localities for working state plantations and for cultivating land belonging to the state, although leased to private individuals. Gradually, however, in the Orient as the years go by, through their influence with the local rulers whom they have made also practically English and Dutch officials, and through the proper training of the younger heirs to these local sultanates, principalities, magistracies, and other official places, they have secured by persuasion the abolition of the worst of the abuses. There seems to be little doubt that in the not distant future, they will succeed, as in certain cases they have already succeeded, in persuading first the rulers to give up some of their dominating power, as well as to give up plurality of wives, and then through their influence to impose similar restrictions upon the peoples. In this way the ends of the higher civilization have already been in part attained, and ultimately they will be fully attained so far as these two evils are concerned,—and that without war, without serious friction, without any abolition of the free institutions of the countries concerned, while at the same time useful lessons have been given to the native peoples in the direction of self-government for wise ends.

In certain parts of India matters have not yet progressed so far, especially in the native states. The British government has fairly well suppressed the thugs whose religious training led them at times to strangle others. It has suppressed the suttee through the influence of which custom hundreds of native widows were burned, often in accordance with their own desire, at their husband's death, but it has not yet thought it advisable in the native states to forbid plural marriages where they are recognized by the native religions, nor to change to any noteworthy extent the native local forms of government. I recall the vigorous impatience with which the British resident in one

of the Mohammedan states one day denounced the missionaries for interference with his work, though he later spoke, perhaps more warmly than any other official with whom I ever talked on the subject, in favor of the powerful and beneficent influence of the missionaries' work in India. But on this occasion he angrily told me that the missionaries gave him more trouble than all other people in the state put together, and cited a case which had come before him that morning. A well-meaning, devoted missionary, who had far more regard for what she believed to be the moral welfare of the people than for law, native or English, had refused to give up to her father a native girl of some thirteen or fourteen years of age, whom, during the time of famine a year before, she had saved from a death of starvation, and whom she had kept in the interim in her missionary school. She said the father, if the girl returned to him, would sell her in marriage. The father had, however, the legal right, and the girl wanted to go with her father. From the point of view of public sentiment in England it is quite possible that the missionary was right. The girl would doubtless lead a higher life if she were to remain in the missionary school, but from the point of view of the British resident there was no choice. The law settled the case, and when the missionary attempted indirectly to carry out her purpose of keeping the girl by charging the father for the board of the girl during the year of her residence in the school, some \$30 or \$40, a sum far beyond his ability to pay, the Resident lost patience, ordered the girl surrendered, and was ready to denounce the missionaries and their work. He realized how at that time in that state any radical interference with Mohammedan law and custom would not merely increase the difficulties of English administration, but might well lead to revolt and serious war. The English want no repetition of anything resembling the Sepoy rebellion, and they believe that they are working as rapidly as the conditions will permit toward the upbuilding in India of a high civilization.

I recall with interest also the humorously despondent tone in which some of the officials in Java commented upon the opinions of the "old women of both sexes at home" whose views on various questions of social morality had interfered with certain regulations regarding the management and control of the troops which the Dutch officers and the Dutch government in Java considered essential for the health and military efficiency of both Dutch and native soldiers. They said the views were right for Holland, but wrong for Java; and they felt that they were as conscientious and had as high a sense of social improvement as had their critics, while they believed that they understood much better the circumstances with which they had to deal.

To the same effect at times are remarks of our officers in the Philippines regarding the attitude of many of the people of the United States concerning the army canteen. No one else has an interest so great as theirs in not merely the military efficiency, but also in the moral character of the soldiers as a necessary condition to high efficiency. And these officers feel that, with the responsibility resting upon them, with their reputations, their future advancement, possibly with even their lives at forfeit, if they decide wrongly, and with also what they believe to be their far greater knowledge of conditions concerning the soldiers, they should be allowed to use their best judgment in settling that question.

When the regulation of the opium importation and traffic in the Philippines was under consideration, and an able commission had been appointed to investigate the subject in Japan, China, the Straits Settlements, Java, India, in order that our own legislation might be wisely guided, a petition was circulated among the American missionaries in the Far East as well as among the citizens of the United States, praying for the immediate prohibition of the traffic. A young woman missionary in Japan, when asked to sign the petition, said that President Roosevelt, with all the means at his disposal to learn the circumstances, and with all the responsibility resting upon him to make a right decision, had been unable to make up his mind without the appointment of a special commission to assist him in studying the question, and she thought that for her to sign a petition which implied that she knew what was best, would be an act of foolish, conceited presumption. I have no doubt that the members of the Philippine Commission and others who are responsible for the government of the Philippine Islands and who are conscientiously trying to do their duty, wish that many others would take a like modest view of their ability to form an intelligent opinion on questions regarding the Philippines which they have not carefully studied.

There is, also, another very serious difficulty which comes from the differing types of civilization and differing social ideals in the dependencies. Far more than we are conscious of the fact, all of us are creatures of our environment. Not merely the style of houses in which we live, the cut of the clothes which we wear, the food which we eat, our methods of social entertainment,—but also our habits of thought, our moral convictions, our religious beliefs come to no small degree from the customs that surround us. Some of us even, perhaps, lead what are considered moral, upright lives, largely because of the restraining influence of social custom, though we are scarcely conscious of that fact. It is easier to resist temptation than to endure the

social condemnation which would be certain to follow a flagrant breach of social custom, i. e., we drift with the customs of our set. In remote dependencies government officials, especially of the lower grades, frequently have this restraining influence removed. There is no society for them. They have the tastes, the weaknesses, the passions of their natures to control, with no public opinion, such as exists at home, to condemn them if they yield to the temptations which surround them. They are alone in a different civilization, and many vicious customs are looked upon by even the best of their native friends as normally proper, if not even praiseworthy. So, too, certain other customs, as for example, the moderate drinking of intoxicating liquors which may be of relatively little harm at home, provided the habit does not grow, become in the enervating climate of the tropics a serious menace to efficiency, if not to life itself. One of our observant consuls in the Far East has recounted various instances of young Americans of good families, good training, and at home of good habits, who, without the restraining influences of American society, and under the influence of new and seductive temptations, not merely ruined their characters, but lost their lives through dissipation. There are a good many similar examples to be found in the Philippines, both in the army and in civil life, although we may well be surprised to find so few. The higher officials in the more responsible positions recognize the danger, and in consequence they urge the payment of good salaries and the extension of privileges of the right type, so that men who are not only of high character, but also of mature years and judgment, and with the restraining influence of family life, may be induced to accept such positions. But strong men in good positions at home will not go into such positions. I knew one good place, in Manila at that, not in the provinces, refused by four or five excellent men, though they were offered a salary twice or three times what they were getting here. It was finally taken by a young man at a salary of one-third or one-quarter that offered the older men. They were unwilling to give up secure life positions; he had only a small place to leave. I am very glad to be able to report that he has made good.

We need particularly to recognize the difficulty of getting strong men, and to use what influence we can toward making the conditions better.

At least two high officials connected with the Philippine service have said to me that the people at home were ready to recommend men for positions in the Islands whom they would not dare to recommend here where they were known. Men are at times appointed on strong letters of commendation which speak

of their ability and experience, but which fail to note that they are also drunkards. That sad, disqualifying fact is learned after the government has paid out hundreds of dollars and wasted months of valuable time. If you have any weak friend who has failed at home, do not recommend him for service in a tropical territory, as many other good people do. Tropical territories do not make good reform schools. And if you hear of cases of dissipation among the officials inquire carefully into the facts before denouncing the administration. The fact is that the Government has earnestly tried to make its appointments on merit and merit alone. I have known of many individual appointments. I have never heard the question of party or influence raised. The one demand has been for efficiency.

Some of the attacks upon the Philippine administration in this direction read as if only our country had such failures, and as if only the government were to be blamed, and the conditions not at all. But like conditions produce like results. Only three or four years ago an English official in Burma, of considerable rank, proved a defaulter. An investigation showed that he had been stationed practically alone among natives, in an extremely difficult position, and that he was given the duties of an official high in rank who would usually receive a large salary. The burdens of the work and the loneliness were so heavy that he needed relaxation, and in his case this took the apparently innocent form of stamp and curio collecting. He had been a faithful official for several years; but finally, to secure the money to gratify this desire of collecting, which had become a passion, he used the government funds. Of course he was condemned and punished, but the Burmese papers, in giving an account of his crime, while they condemned him, condemned with equal emphasis the government which had placed him in a post with so great responsibilities, with so meager a salary. It is not unusual to hear of younger men in the more remote and less important positions in India who likewise succumb to the temptations of dissipation and immorality. To be sure the standard of the Indian civil service is very high. It is possibly true that it as a whole ranks higher as regards intelligence and character than any other extended service in the world, but the British government has secured that service largely by paying high salaries, granting long leaves of absence, giving liberal entertainment allowances, and using every effort to make the life attractive and to secure men of capacity and character, who are willing to devote themselves to that service as a career,—and even then they sometimes fail. Some people think the administration of the Philippines extravagant, but the English government has found it cheap to pay much larger salaries than are paid in the

Philippines, and to treat their officials in other ways far more liberally than we treat ours.

Some of our teachers and other officials have gone to the Philippines in the true missionary spirit; but we cannot yet run the government successfully on the missionary basis. The millennium is still to come. We must give adequate compensation, not on the basis of Filipino wages, but of American wages, and of the sacrifice required. Otherwise we cannot get permanently the best service. We have secured, on the whole, better men than we could expect to get for the inducements offered. They have gone as patriotic pioneers at a sacrifice, often at the personal request of the President. This cannot be a permanent policy. We must do better hereafter.

Although we Americans as a rule have dilated much in popular discourses upon the doctrine of equality, it still remains true that the question of race prejudice is a very important one in most social and political relations in all countries. If in any dependency the inhabitants have customs that are decidedly different from those of the dominant country, and especially if the people belong to a different race or color, there is usually the inclination on the part of the rulers to see with great clearness the weaknesses of the people of the dependency. In some cases this difference of race results in harsh treatment; in others, while the officials conscientiously attempt to deal fairly and gently with the subordinate people, there is still a certain contempt for them, especially on the part of the lower officials, that is extremely annoying to the natives. This is particularly the case, naturally, where there has been among the people a fairly high degree of civilization, though of different type from that of the ruling people. The contempt of the rulers is matched by that of the ruled. In India the members of the Brahmin caste, while they recognize the superiority of the English as regards military power, nevertheless look with contempt upon the English as they do upon other castes among their own people from the view-point of intellectual culture, religious training, or social customs. With somewhat less emphasis, perhaps, but still to no small degree, the ruling castes in the native states in India, Mohammedan or Hindu, while they submit to the Englishman, do not recognize his superiority. Even in Java and in the Federated Malay States the Malay chiefs have much of the elaborate ceremonial etiquette of the Orient which gives to them a feeling of superiority in refinement and culture as compared with the brusque Englishman or Dutchman whose military power has compelled submission. It is probable that in our own experiences in the Philippines we have met with less of this feeling than either of these other nationalities, because the Filipinos have for

centuries been under the influence of the Spaniards; and on account of their Christian religion, crude and superstitious as their beliefs are in many regards, their civilization differs much less widely from ours than do the civilizations of most other Oriental peoples. There can be no doubt, however, that in some cases, owing in part to the excesses of our soldiers and of the adventurers who naturally were the first to flock into the Philippines after our army took possession, the Filipinos at first were inclined to look with contempt upon the Americans. Even now many an educated Filipino doubtless feels himself superior to the educated American. That is the natural feeling of race superiority which most people who have had any education feel, and the Malay peoples are certainly not apt, as a rule, to underestimate their own abilities. On the other hand, the customs of the educated Filipinos and of the Americans are not so dissimilar but that there can be and is much sympathy among them. Our commissioners and higher officials as a rule have associated with the Filipinos on terms of equality to a degree that is very rarely, if ever, found in the English colonies except in the case of the very highest native officials. But the differing viewpoints of any of the Oriental peoples as regards many questions of morals and of law, must prevent for a long time to come the complete removal of this race prejudice, if indeed it can ever be removed. Although many Americans are not so trustworthy as we might desire, it is still true that the ideals of the American and of the Englishman demand honesty in business and truthfulness in speech. The Oriental, whatever his religion, is likely to place courtesy above truth, and to prefer to say the pleasant thing, or what seems at the moment to be the expedient thing, to telling an unpleasant truth. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule.

It is an easy matter, the officials of India say, to prove anything you wish to prove, by any number of competent witnesses, provided you are willing to pay them even a few cents each for the desired testimony. It is the opinion of many Americans that the Filipinos have much of this same characteristic. The remedy in the one case as in the other is thought to be the introduction, however gradually, of Anglo-Saxon ideas and ideals through education in the schools, and through the indirect influence of upright judges, conscientious officials, and truthful citizens.

The difficulties arising from race difference appear also in the attempt to use natives as officials. Their training leads them to acts not permissible under European or American law. We have had many complaints made against the native constabulary which it has been thought best to organize as state police in the Philippines. They are charged with cruelty and rob-

bery, connivance with criminals. Doubtless some such cases have been found. But surely nothing else could be expected for a time. The remarkable fact under the circumstances is that so few cases have appeared. The criminals have been vigorously punished; and in time the natives will act according to western methods.

But the Philippines are not exceptional in these regards. I have known similar cases under British rule. One native petty officer, who under his orders dared not "torture" a prisoner, simply made him march up and down before a line of sentries day and night till he was ready to make the required confession. Another gave his man plenty of rice and honey to eat; then refused him water, but allowed a bowl of clear, cool water to stand before his cell just beyond his reach. The required information was soon elicited. Such actions are to be expected at first from such peoples. They must be promptly punished, and so far as possible prevented. But, on the whole, in spite of the difficulties, it is wise, and even in the long run, kind, to use, under careful restrictions, native police, and as rapidly as possible give them higher standards.

When we denounce our soldiers for cruelty, let us try to put ourselves in their places and see how we should act. In many cases their lives were at stake when they were charged with cruelty to prisoners. They must get information which the prisoner had regarding hidden rifles or run the risk of ambush and slaughter by those very rifles. How many of us would hesitate to give the water cure to get information to save our own lives?

I have thus enumerated some few of the difficulties which all of the nations who have to deal with dependencies, especially with Oriental dependencies, must meet. There are other difficulties, possibly some greater than these. These are the ones that it has seemed best to me to bring forward here. The fact that such difficulties are found need not and ought not to discourage any country upon which has been imposed the burden of dealing with dependent peoples. Rather it is best to recognize frankly the difficulties and to support cordially those who have them to overcome. For us Americans who have in our dependencies many problems that are new and important, it will be the part of wisdom:

1. To recognize our own ignorance, and to attempt to overcome it by careful, non-partisan investigation, and by a determination not to prejudge actions or conditions on the basis of an experience of our own far different history.

2. To be willing to do our full duty toward our dependencies by treating them fairly and even generously, although justly, whenever there seems to be a conflict between their interests and

those of this country. We should not permit local private interests here to interfere with the development of an interest of national importance there.

3. To send to these dependencies as officials men of the highest ability and character, and to be willing to pay enough both in salaries and in other allowances to secure the best men for the positions.

4. To have, then, enough of the spirit of self-denial and the good sense to be willing to give to those officials discretion and power so that they who are on the ground, who know the conditions, and who must bear the responsibility, may act promptly and wisely. We should, of course, hold them to an account of their stewardship. There can not be too careful and rigid an inspection, but this does not imply a hampering interference.

5. To endeavor to develop in ourselves a broad-minded tolerance so that we can recognize that in our dependencies acts may be beneficial, and in consequence right, that under the differing conditions of our own country would be injurious and in consequence wrong. At all events, we should recognize that there are difficulties, and the greatness of those difficulties, so that while we shall condemn any wrong-doing or selfish or unjust actions on the part of the officials in our dependencies, we shall have sympathy with the work of our conscientious administrators and shall stand ready to give to them our hearty support.

The PRESIDENT.—You will remember that Professor Jenks was sent out by the War Department as a Commissioner to the East, and I think he affords us a fine illustration of the kind of men we would like to have represent us always. (Applause.)

Some years ago I saw a picture in a "Harvard Lampoon" of two young ladies walking along a road. They came to a milestone on which was inscribed "I M. from Boston." One young lady turned to the other and said, "What a beautiful tombstone, and how simple and fine the inscription, 'I'm from Boston.'" Perhaps it is because I am from Boston that I regard the Boston "Evening Transcript" as one of the best evening newspapers in the country, and although I am a New Yorker, and have a pretty large circulation of all sorts of newspapers, wise and otherwise, in that metropolis, I take the "Daily Evening Transcript," and hope I may be pardoned for also adding that from no newspaper do I get better, clearer, and more impartial views of what is going on in Washington than I get from the Washington Correspondent of the Boston "Evening Transcript." We are now to have the pleasure of hearing directly from that correspondent,

who I am very glad personally to meet on this occasion, Mr. Robert Lincoln O'Brien.

MR. ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN.—In the whole range of American industry this is the age of the standard size. On nearly all our typewriters the "universal key-board" has put into straight jacket an arbitrary arrangement of the alphabet. In our railroad operations the tendency towards standardizing is constant. The very cards of our library catalogues have been thus conventionalized.

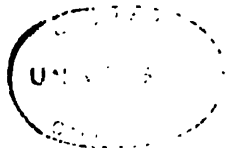
The development of this principle in the industries and arts fortunately admits of little limit. But it is a serious question whether the mental processes of the human race can be similarly standardized, and yet that is implied in no inconsiderable part of American colonial legislation today. The principle which works so advantageously in our industrial system has developed, it seems to me, a national habit of mind which applies to things political. There must be a standard, we have come to think, and since everything American is the best, the question is settled.

Chinese exclusion affords an illustration. Personally I sympathize with Gov. Taft's beneficent government in excluding the Chinese from the Philippines. That question I do not purpose to discuss, nor even that of Chinese exclusion from the United States, but rather to suggest that while the two are entirely different questions, they have been judged by our law-makers as if they were one and the same.

The Chinese were excluded from San Francisco because they live so cheaply as to undermine the standards of the American working man. In the Philippines they are the superior type of laborers. Here, their coming might be objected to, because the Mongolian does not promise to weld into our common American citizenship, but instead threatens to remain an isolated element in the body politic. No such contrast exists in the Philippines. The Chinese question there and here are thus wholly different.

Sugar planters of Hawaii need Chinese laborers, and the same appeal will soon come loud from the Philippines, vastly more than any employer in this zone. But the American trade-union which really controls our policy, takes no account of these differences in economic conditions. Hence all discussion of repealing exclusion laws for Hawaii and the Philippines is purely academic. It is a mere incident that the Taft administration thought it best to keep the Chinese out of the Philippines; the American labor-union would have kept them out anyway.

The application of our coastwise shipping laws, decreed for July first next, affords another illustration of the same principle. The man who desires to ship freight by sea from Savannah to



New York must do so under the American flag. That works well. Except in an occasional coal strike, it must be regarded as one of the most wholesome measures of protection. The shipper has the American railroads in case the steamship does not treat him well, a competition insuring him generous terms from any monopolist that might gain control of the pathways of the seas. But since the Philippine Islands are a part of the American domain, it required no real effort to get through Congress a bill extending our coastwise laws to them. That is another story. If a man should buy a Cook's ticket from Manila to the United States, via Suez, he would subject the skipper to a fine of \$200.

We talk about Manila as the entrepot for our trade in the East. The standardizing of our inter-island shipping laws is depriving us of such advantages as Manila naturally possesses, even in its own archipelago. A British vessel, under our treaties, can unload freight at any Philippine port, but she cannot carry it from one to another—from Manila to Zamboanga, for example. The result is that the Hongkong factor can run his freight into Zamboanga at a lower cost than our merchants can reach that port from Manila. If any American has a commodity which he wants to distribute through the Philippine Islands he should today establish his store-house in Hongkong.

Only a few days ago the Manila "American" complained because the ever-welcome mails in that distant corner of the world arrived by an American liner eight days after they might have come under a foreign flag. The situation was taken to Assistant Postmaster-General Shallenburger, who was quoted as saying: "The Postoffice Department is controlled to some extent by a spirit of patriotism. If the good folks in the Philippines who are complaining would stir up their patriotism a little I think they will appreciate the position of the Postoffice Department and be satisfied. We are doing the very best that can be done."

I believe the Philippine Islands are entitled to the best transportation facilities that the science and civilization of this century afford. Today, Hawaiians pay the ship owners' fine to take them, in cases of emergency, to the mainland of the United States, before they can get an American vessel. Not only does this greatly restrict the opportunities for transportation in our island colonies, but by driving foreign nations to retaliate in kind, it usually accomplishes no net advantage.

The Taft government has fought the application of these laws with all the vigor at its command, but without avail. The great American demand for making everything uniform, upon the American model, controls in Congress, and those in administration circles who have the direct responsibility for Philippine welfare regard it as a highly serious question whether the islands

can ever be developed under these restrictions. Nor could Congress be induced to repeal them.

England has succeeded as a colonial ruler to the extent that she has taken account of local conditions. Our best successes have come where we have done this. Our special Philippine currency, on the 32 to 1 ratio, and with Spanish landmarks on its face, although it continues to provoke the sullen resentment of our Chauvinists, is one of the best colonial schemes we have ever developed. Gov. Taft was wise, as well as considerate, when he made Rizal's anniversary a holiday in the islands. It was a mistake, against which he and his patriotic associates long held out, to transfer Decoration Day from this continent to a people with whom its significance would always be exceedingly slight.

But administrations cannot alone hold out against well-settled national tendencies. American public sentiment must be educated to help, and that is why I am saying what I am today.

To do this, one paragraph from John Stuart Mill merits attention. He asks:

"What has made the European family of nations an improving, instead of a stationary portion of mankind? Not any superior excellence in them, but their remarkable diversity of character and culture. They have struck out a great variety of paths, each leading to something valuable; and although at every period those who travelled in different paths have been intolerant of one another, and each would have thought it an excellent thing if all the rest could have been compelled to travel his road, their attempts to thwart each other's development have rarely had any permanent success, and each has in time endured to receive the good which the others have offered. Europe is, in my judgment, wholly indebted to this plurality of paths for its progressive and many-sided development."

We are trying to develop a piece of Asia much as we do America. For example, I have a book in my hand usually bound in leather, which weighs several pounds. It is adorned by almost numberless half-tone cuts, and known as volume one of the Ethnological Survey Publications, on the "Bontoc Igorot." Its considerable cost was met out of Philippine revenues. It will interest some Americans! The more civilized population of Luzon does not care for pictures advertising to the world the deformed feet of pack-carrying tribes of their mountains. Not two per cent. of the people who paid for this book would have voted for its publication. Hundreds of Americans will find salaries in doing similar things for the Filipinos, which, with their low earning power, they do not want any more than the laborer in the ditch would care to be compelled to pay for scientific and hygienic devices which prove useful in your own home.

The scientific survey project, which was recommended to Congress last winter, had the merit that it was proposed to pay for it at our own expense, and not theirs. Here are some of its provisions: Under anthropology, one head ethnologist at \$4,000 a year, \$730 for his subsistence, and \$2,000 for outfit, native help, local travelling expenses, etc. Three field parties at \$7,160, each to have one ethnologist at \$2,400 and one assistant ethnologist at \$1,800, besides native helpers. This scheme provided \$484,800 for marine hydrography, \$70,000 for topography, \$55,000 for geology, \$29,000 for forestry, \$28,000 for botany, \$64,000 for zoology, and \$28,000 for anthropology,—all good things for peoples who can afford them.

Lord Timothy Dexter's shipment of warming pans to the West Indies must be regarded as entirely characteristic of the American attitude. Our legislative warming pans, however, have not in all cases found a molasses crop upon which they could be advantageously employed as ladles.

Our consular reports are full of warnings that the failure of Americans to get a larger share of foreign trade is due to their desire to standardize the world's needs. It is no wonder that an ingenuous manufacturer addressed the War Department when the last Philippine tariff bill was in preparation, asking that the metric system of the Philippines be displaced for our weights and measures, because this would give American manufacturers an inside track over other exporters. Of course, the War Department refused to do this, but I am by no means sure that the proposal would not have had some strength in Congress. Our weights and measures are actually pushing into the Philippine Islands, adding another to the existing superfluity of arbitrary units, which the metric system aims to correct. Our army advertises in the Manila papers for supplies, to be purchased there, in American units. The Taft civil government, with its steady insistence upon native rights, makes use of either metric units or some of the better known native measures, which were in popular use before the adoption of the so-called "French weights."

This standardizing tendency affects the discussion of the larger colonial questions. A Mississippi Valley Congressman, on the recent trip to the Philippines, explained to the natives that they were not ready to govern themselves, in which I think he was right, but he gave as a reason for this conclusion, that they did not have a George Washington to lead them, or a common language. One of the native papers pertinently pointed out that he might have summarized this idea more forcefully by saying, "You are not fit to shape your own destinies because you are not like me and my ancestors."

This is one of the most persistent of human conceits. The Chinaman who wrote disdainfully of the Europeans because they did not eat with chop-sticks, will find imitators to the very end of the world.

In this country we realize that the free interchange of commodities within the States has been a source of untold economic benefit. Accordingly, to establish free trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States appeals favorably to liberally-disposed Americans. The very phrase sounds well.

But are we sure that this impression does not result from a transference of American conditions to another quarter of the globe, or in short, that it is not a piece of this all-prevalent standardization? Free trade with the Philippines may mean one of two things. And I shall speak entirely of conditions as they will exist after the compact to admit the products of Spain on as favorable terms as our own, has expired. Ten years is a mere foot-note in history, and let us regard that period as ended.

The Philippine Islands may then be included within our tariff wall, just as are Arizona and Oregon. That is not only the simplest plan, but the one that we have heretofore invariably followed.

Two objections appear to this. The open door in the East, with which the life-work of the great Secretary Hay was so intimately connected, thereby vanishes. We can then make no protest against any other power which owns Asiatic territory, or can gain a predominant influence at Peking, from pushing the same bolt.

A greater objection is that our tariffs are not adapted to the Philippines. A tariff is a coat, a garment, made to fit economic and industrial conditions, as interpreted through the agencies of a representative government. Does any one suppose that there is an identity of industrial interests between this great republic of the temperate zone, and a fringe of tropical islands on the coast of the eastern hemisphere? It would be more natural for them to import things from places nearer at hand. The application of our tariff would swing them into our trade cycle, with results which would be wasteful.

The second proposal is for the Philippines to have a tariff of their own, uniform against all the world, and for us to maintain our existing tariff, uniform against all the world, except to admit the products of the Philippines free of duty. That would be liberality unheard of. Several British dependencies give English goods a preferential tariff, for which they get technically nothing in return, but in reality, the British market, free to everybody, is their chief reliance, the benefit of which they wish to recognize.

Now, if while getting nothing, we open our ports to Philip-

pine products, we subsidize the colonial experiment. Of course, the Islands would prosper under that arrangement. But how much would British India give, for example, in cash payments or trade opportunities, if while she maintained tariffs against the United States we should give her products absolutely free admission here. I suppose Germany could pay \$100,000,000 a year for such an exclusive privilege. Under modern conditions, access to national markets is a thing of value for which nations are willing to reciprocate in kind.

I should have no objection to our rich country's doing this for a poor colony, were it not important that we start our colonial system on sound economic lines. There can be little question that the United States, instead of ruling over 8,000,000 Asiatics, will eventually count 80,000,000 subject people, perhaps extending its empire as far as Russia and Great Britain have done. A policy which Americans so readily approve cannot stop with a single archipelago, when it is of such affirmative value to the army, the navy, the office-desiring fraternity, and always to some special commercial interest. It is the first step that counts, and we have taken that.

Viewed from this larger aspect, the taxation problem cannot be ignored. There is an old Dutch proverb that the man succeeds in business who keeps his own books. As a colonial governor we ought to know what we are doing. Free trade for the Philippines is a proposal to relinquish taxes upon products which coming from other places would yield handsome streams of revenue. Enormously stimulated as the sugar and tobacco industries would be in the Philippines, we should, according to the protective principle, be depriving American labor at home of the opportunity of producing their equivalent, and cheating American revenue of what logically followed from having other people produce them. We should be making a permanent gift to the colonial policy, just as the philanthropist might offer to pay the expenses for any municipality that would adopt his name. With a large colonial empire such as we are destined to have, this is an important consideration.

Another phase of this free-trade proposal deserves attention. The privilege of free ingress to our markets would undoubtedly lift land values in the Philippines, because that would be a peculiarly favorable piece of tropical territory by reason of its approach to American markets. Who is to get that advantage? Nominally the natives, but just now, we hear a significant appeal for the removal of the legislative restrictions designed to keep the land in the hands of its small proprietors. With a people so weak economically as the Filipinos, to remove the present limitation on land holding, and to admit free their products to the United States, would encourage American corporations gradu-

ally to acquire extensive areas, upon which the native would live as a tenant, or as a peon. Experiences in Hawaii should teach us to go slow with this change.

I confess that I do not understand a certain American attitude regarding colonial trade. A prominent Senator once called my attention to the great volume of business between the United States and Porto Rico today as conclusive evidence that its annexation was profitable. The Bureau of Statistics brought out a Bulletin under the caption "Do Colonies Pay?" in the early days of the expansion discussion. What it proved was that whenever obstacles to trade are removed, trade increases, a somewhat elemental truth. Between Porto Rico and the United States commerce has increased, just exactly as would it with the Argentine, or Portugal, or Iceland, if the tariff barriers on both sides were taken down. The United States and Germany could do an enormous business next year, if each were to grant the free admission of the other's goods. I cannot understand why the increase in trade which follows the removal of tariff barriers should occasion any surprise or be worth a moment's comment, much less of national self-congratulation. Every time we lift the obstruction at this end of the line, if our interests are diplomatically conserved, we should increase the outflow of goods in the other direction.

In spite of some inadaptability of the American temper for colonial government, due to our chronic optimism, I am not without a feeling of considerable satisfaction that the United States has become an Asiatic power, that the course over which Magellan sailed is today threaded by an American cable, and that American influences are finding their way into this oldest and greatest of the continents. But we must not approach Asiatic problems with too much assurance that we have everything in the way of civilization to give, and that to "Americanize" that continent or any part of it, is the full measure of our duty. I fancy Asia will not Americanize very fast; it may modernize, as Japan has modernized, but along Asiatic lines. There is something in the Asiatic mind and temperament that is permanently and persistently different from the Occidental. It will never follow the same grooves. Asia will seem to us remorselessly cruel, slavishly superstitious, and usually indifferent to the most appealing of economic arguments. But in spite of all processes of Americanization, it will be Asia still. Matthew Arnold's lines remain true:

"The East bowed low before the blast,

"In patient, deep disdain:

"She let the legions thunder past,

"Then plunged in thought again."

Let us not try to standardize the races of men, but rather let us approach our colonial responsibilities with the largest tolerance of the opinions of those who think differently from ourselves. Let Congress give wholesome discretion to administrative officers on the ground, and not decide everything by a too hasty application of the American formula. Our mistakes come in doing so; our success in avoiding it.

The PRESIDENT.—Our next speaker is a gentleman who was formerly secretary to the Philippine Commission, and who has just returned from an extended visit to the Philippine Islands, Hon. James A. LeRoy, now United States Consul at Durango, Mexico.

Hon. JAMES A. LEROY.—I have been moving about so much of late that I have been utterly unable to prepare a formal paper; therefore, I shall not object if questions are asked or I am otherwise interrupted at any time.

In the course of the paper last night, which opens considerable discussion with reference to the Indians, I think one of the arguments against our retention of the Philippines which was there urged was that we were too sentimental a people. So far as our experience goes up to date in the Philippines, I do not think that argument applies very well. The trouble in the Philippines today, so far as there is trouble—and on the whole we have been making a great deal of progress, there have been accomplishments in a short time which we may well be proud of—but the trouble, so far as there is trouble there now, the underlying cause of dissatisfaction on the part of the Filipino, which dissatisfaction has been somewhat strengthened in the past year, comes from our race prejudice, our lack of sentimentality, our lack of tolerance. We have seen that most notably during this past year and a half in the conduct of the constabulary. To put it plainly, the constabulary, in a considerable number of the provinces, is today not well organized; it has not the men it ought to have; it is not getting that sympathetic contact with the people which it should have; it is not obeying the law which Governor Taft and his colleagues laid down in organizing that body. This is not a general charge against the constabulary; but it is true in several provinces where conditions at present are not good.

That is the chief unsatisfactory element in the situation. On the other hand, the one department of government in which we are making progress and making it rapidly and making it in a most notable degree, is the educational department, and why? Because the men in charge of that work are the right men for the most part. Quite as notably as we lack men who work sym-

pathetically and co-operate with the Filipino in the constabulary force, just as notably do we have them in the educational department. We have here men of better culture, men of broader talents, and men the success of whose work in each town depends absolutely, in the first and final analysis, in getting hold of the people, in working with the local officials, in getting the children into the schools. And the results of the educational department's work during the past year have been altogether the most remarkable thing since America had anything to do with the Philippines. The enrollment last year went from something like 260,000 up to 510,000. That did not mean over half a million students at any time in the public schools, but it meant that there were at one time about 375,000, and that the total enrollment during the year reached over half a million. If we can reach each three years in the primary schools 400,000 students (and to do that we need more schools, more teachers, more material, and more money than is now available), then during the nine years of the Filipino student's life from seven to fifteen, we can reach practically all, if not all, the Filipino students of primary school age. The best of those graduates of three years of primary training, those who are most comfortably placed or who betray most interest and intelligence will, of course, go on into the intermediate and high school courses. It is in these courses that training in the arts and in agriculture can be given, and is already beginning.

There is some element of truth, of course, in the argument that the government of the strong hand is the government needed for any dependent people. It is easy to reach that conclusion in the very first analysis, and it is a conclusion often enforced upon those who have had considerable experience with such people, who see many things leading them, to believe that first of all power is needed, a display of power, and a practical, paternal government. But there goes along with this so-called "practical" view of government for these races almost always, and almost inevitably, the assumption that those peoples, dependent peoples, or what you may call them, are inherently and permanently deficient, are really incapable of progress. Now a man cannot obtain progress working with a people of that sort unless he believes in their capacity to progress. And the trouble in the Philippines today with our government is that, where in 1900 we started out with a civil force which, largely through the force of the example of its chief, who made his subordinates hew to that line, largely through that force, I say, were sympathetic with the work, interested in it, believed in its success,—in the main today we have in the civil service, as we formerly had in the army in the Islands, a large, I will not say a large majority.

but a large proportion of officials and employes who are not sympathetic toward the Filipino, who do not believe in the Filipino's capacity to develop and who are unfit for the work in which they are engaged, outside the educational department.

For those who think that the government of the strong hand, the show of power and the display of that power where necessary, would either have accomplished different results in 1898 and 1899, or would accomplish them now, I have simply to say that, in 1898 and 1899 our failure to show tact is what led us into trouble. It is true, in one sense, that the failure to show force and resolution led us into trouble, because we had no policy but a drifting policy, and we drifted into trouble, without anyone in the Islands or here seeming to know whither we were going. But so far from the government of the strong hand being the only thing that could remedy that trouble, and being the sort of government that is needed today to deal with the problem, I remember very well, from some personal experience in 1900, that the army, after having overcome the active, organized opposition in the Islands, yet found that the problem of order was no more settled than before. A year after our army had swept away the organized bands that had actively opposed it, front to front, we had a still worse problem on our hands. Our men were ambushed, there was secret warfare, guerrilla warfare; we had practically the whole of the archipelago against us, and pretty nearly united against us, and the army men throughout the whole island were then pessimistically saying that this warfare was not a matter of a year or two or three years, but of ten or fifty or one hundred years. If we had continued to apply simply the strong hand to the situation in 1900 and 1901, we should have been fighting there yet—if the people at home would have allowed it.

Those who are in favor of a policy of that sort forget that conditions at home do not permit it. We spent quite a few millions between 1898 and 1901 in the Philippines, and to continue indefinitely along those lines would cost so much money that I rather think there would be a great many people at home object to it. Those who take that view as to the proper government in the Islands forget also that the Filipino would not tolerate it. We have not given to the Filipinos political concessions wholly out of hand; in part we gave them because they made us give them, with their knife at our throat. We had to give concessions to the Filipinos in 1900 and 1901; we were disposed to do so, to be sure, but we had to give them in order to keep them quiet. That is the one thing in the Philippine situation that more than anything else gives promise that in time the policy of giving them concessions which imply that they will develop a capacity to

meet them, will succeed. The simple fact that they demand such concessions, and the fact that, today, when things do not go right there, they are stepping on our toes and criticising us and coming out against us in their periodicals, telling us our faults, is a thing that gives hope for the Filipinos.

There are a great many things in the history of the Philippines that critics who propose the government of the strong hand forget. The Filipinos are the only Christian people in the Orient. It is possible, of course, to take the view that this is a mere surface Christianity, that it does not go down beneath the surface, and in many ways this is true. The Christianity of the Filipino differs from the Christianity of the United States. But that this people have been tremendously modified during more than three hundred years of Spanish rule, is beyond all doubt. To those who compare the Philippines with the other tropical possessions of the Orient, to those who read what travellers in former years used to say when they came to the Philippine Islands, their expressions of amazement after leaving Java, India, and other possessions in the Orient, it need not be said that the Filipinos are to some extent a unique people in the East, that Spain wrought there a work to some extent unique in the history of colonization. Perhaps most of all it is the position of woman in the Philippines that differentiates that Oriental people from all other Oriental peoples. The leaders of these men have had European education, and they have European ideals of government. They are not typical Filipinos, some will say, and will declare that the mass beneath has remained unchanged. But those men are the spokesmen of their people, they can marshal those people, and they did marshal them against us. Politically, we must listen in large part to what those men want, because they can control their people. And it seems altogether fair to suppose that those men represent what the mass of their people may become with the opportunities which they have had. They are the aristocrats of the Islands, in the main, the men who have had the opportunity.

The chief defect in our Philippine record to date, and one which Professor Jenks alluded to, is precisely that element of race prejudice—the lack of tolerance. We fail to recognize to how large an extent the Filipino has developed. We do not display sufficient patience in studying either his history or his present aspirations, or in listening to what sometimes seems very foolish talk on his part. This defect of ours has been shown chiefly in the police and military department of government; but it enters into other departments of government. The chief need in the Philippines is better men as officials and representatives of the American people. The best thing that a conference of this

sort can do, that any discussion of the Philippines among thinking people at home can do, is to stimulate, so far as it can, the sort of public sentiment with reference to the Philippine Islands which will not only tend to hold up to a higher standard the men in the Islands, but which will inspire the sort of missionary spirit which takes right men out there.

I have said that some elements in the present situation are not pleasing. They are not. We have lost ground in the last year, so far as the political situation is concerned. We have lost ground, because, socially and in other ways, we have been displaying this same feeling of race prejudice, and we shall only regain that ground as we conquer that feeling, as through the proper directive officials, and by putting the right spirit into the force of our American subordinates, we compel them into obedience to the policy we have there outlined, the policy that Secretary Taft inaugurated. That policy is a difficult one, in any event; it is one for which no man can predict success, it is one impossible to dogmatize about. The best men, the leading men of the Philippines, have assimilated in part Occidental ideals; they are the only people to work out the conception of a republic in the Orient. The fact that they have done so gives hope that we may succeed with what we have undertaken. But we cannot succeed with it unless the men that we have in charge in the Philippines believe in the success of that undertaking. That is the chief defect in the present situation, and it is a defect that needs a remedy, and a defect that public opinion in the United States must help to remedy.

It might appear that this was a rather pessimistic view of the situation. It is not. We have been there but a short time so far. We shall learn as we go on; we are learning, we have learned. The experience of the educational department is the strongest argument toward an optimistic view of the situation now, and that points to the necessity for a belief in Filipino capacity. In such a conference as this, where the relations of our people to other dependent peoples are discussed, it seems pertinent to say that, by broadening out as we shall through our contact with this problem in the Orient, we may lay aside something of that lack of tolerance that we often display, something of that tendency to standardize that Mr. O'Brien has brought out so well. We may tend to get over that, to get over some of our own narrowness of vision; and as we mingle more with the problems of the wider world, we may find that incidentally, coming back home to our own problems with the Indians and the negroes, we have been sufficiently broadened by our experience with other people to help us toward a better solution of our own home problems. That may seem like most rank optimism to

some people. I know, when I ventured to suggest it in 1902, I was very severely criticized by certain publications for even having such a thought. It is true that our experience and relations with the Filipinos thus far have, perhaps, complicated our own race problems at home; but they have brought out more plainly the fact that our deficiency lies in race intolerance. In the Orient we shall gradually find, as we come to study those peoples there, not alone the Filipinos but others, we shall gradually find that we are not altogether such a superior people as we have supposed, and we may tend to look upon our so-called dependent people at home with considerably more tolerance in consequence.

So far as the material development of the Philippines is concerned, I think a great many of us have erred so far in supposing that the Philippines are relatively so tremendously under-developed. They are under-developed; the capacities and possibilities of the archipelago have been but little realized. Yet relatively, I believe, they are much further developed than we have been inclined to think, or as we may assume from the mere statement that out of seventy-odd million acres of lands only seven or eight millions at most have ever been put under cultivation. I think disappointment is in store for that element among us which looks for tremendous development of Philippine riches, at least at any early date. Possibly we may find the element which expects large material returns from the Philippines reversing its position at no distant date and clamoring, in its disappointment at lack of speedy material returns for abandonment of the Islands. That is one reason why I am not apprehensive that our building of railroads and launching of development enterprises in the Islands will involve us in indefinite retention of them. I believe our broader interests, even on the pecuniary side alone, lie in the fostering and protection of the new spirit of nationality now abroad in the Orient. Under one aspect, our attitude of hopefulness toward Filipino nationality is part and parcel of our sympathetic attitude toward Japan, of our opposition to the partition of China. In a new and broader way, this will be simply fidelity to our old ideals at home which have seemed of late to many perturbed souls among us to be much in danger.

The PRESIDENT.—We are going to have two brief addresses, one giving an account of the Philippines from one who has recently visited there, another an account of the Filipino students in this country by the superintendent of that work. I have now the pleasure of introducing to you, Dr. John B. Devins, D.D., editor of the New York "Observer," who has published a volume of his observations. He will try to put that volume of several hundred pages into a ten-minutes' talk. I hope he may succeed.

Rev. JOHN BANCROFT DEVINS, D.D.—It was my pleasure at one time to be associated in newspaper work with a city editor, whose advice to young reporters was to study carefully, every day for the first year, the first chapter of Genesis. His reason was this:

"If you were going to report the creation of the world you would require several volumes to do it; you will find it well reported, however, in one chapter in the Bible." The need of condensation is apparent at this time.

The difficulties in the Philippines, Mr. Chairman, have been presented very thoroughly this morning, but one difficulty has not been mentioned that, I think, explains a great deal, and that is the awful climate in which Americans have to labor.

There is a story, for the truthfulness of which I would not vouch in Mohonk, though I do in New York, about a Filipino who died away from the Islands. His friends wished to carry his body home, but as they could not afford the expense they cremated it. After being the usual time in the retort the door was opened to take out the ashes. Imagine the surprise of the friends when they found the man sitting bolt upright and heard him say: "Shut that door, I feel a draft." The crematory heat had simply brought him back to the Manila temperature, or somewhere near it, and made him feel perfectly at home, so long as the door was shut. I can understand that feeling very well, Mr. Chairman, although we were in the Philippines just after the hot season.

One needs a new weather term for use in our New Possessions. When one is not dying from the heat, he is suffering from the rain, at least a part of the time. The other day in the Manila papers there was an advertisement reading: "Wanted: an owner for a twenty-foot launch, found in our back yard." The yard was half a mile away from the water when it was not raining, but the rainy season had come and the boat had been carried away.

Then there are difficulties in the Philippines due to disease. It was my pleasure to go through the San Lazaro Hospital with the Superintendent of Health. We went first to the leprosy ward, with about two hundred patients. The authorities are planning to segregate them now and put them on an island by themselves. The next ward, the small-pox ward, had perhaps a hundred patients. In the cholera ward there was only one patient. We talked with her awhile and went on to the plague ward. A patient had just died, and we went to the morgue to see the body. Leprosy, small-pox, cholera, plague! It is said that the Ganges water is so bad that germs cannot live in it; perhaps that explains why I am here today, sir.

The difficulties in the way of getting a correct idea of the Filipino character are very great. One can learn anything he wants to find out when he goes to the Philippines. There are as many views of the Philippines as there are classes in the different departments of our Government. Of course, the War Department does not have the best opportunity of finding out the best that there is in a man; it is not possible to get on terms of intimate friendship when two rifles are pointed toward each other. Much is made of the policy of kindness which we have heard described this morning in glowing terms. May I be permitted to express the opinion that that policy did much to cause misunderstanding and to prolong the war? A soldier told me, for instance, that his regiment was ordered to protect the water supply from the river. His regiment was on one side of the stream and the insurgents on the other. Orders came from American headquarters in Manila: "Do not fire a gun." By and by the Filipinos learned of that order. Then they would march down to the river, point their rifles across the narrow stream and in the most exasperating way taunt the American soldiers. Finally they would kill the sentry. The Americans would then retaliate and kill some of the Filipinos. The next morning would come this inquiry from Manila: "Explain why you disobeyed orders last night, and fired on the insurgents?" The trouble was, the soldier said, the Manila officials only gave orders to one side of the river; if they had given orders to the insurgents as well as to the Americans it would have been all right.

The Filipinos are very childlike. I was in an interior town when a village presidente had poisoned about twenty members of a Constabulary company. He invited them all to be his guests, but the corporal had friends in the village and went to dine with them. When he came back he found his soldiers in great distress, suffering excruciating pain. He drew his gun on the presidente, put him under arrest, called help and removed his soldiers to a place of safety. Then he asked the presidente why he had poisoned his guests?

"Salvadore told me to do it." Who was Salvadore? Salvadore was an insurgent who told the presidente if any constabulary came his way to poison them, and steal their arms and bring the arms to him. The presidente was awaiting trial when I came home. The authorities told the presidente that he would have to stand trial for the murder.

"How am I to get out of it?"

"Find Salvadore," they replied, and the whole country was turned upside down in order that the criminal might escape the punishment which ought to go to Salvadore.

The children in the public schools are interesting. They never had games before the Americans went there. A teacher told me of her success in teaching them how to play games. Soon she found one of the boys swearing, and said to him:

"Why! are you swearing?"

"Yes," he replied, undaunted by her question, "what shall I say when I miss a ball?"

We went to many schools of various grades and saw how the children are taught. This is from a primary school:

"Peter, carry that pencil to Dr. Abbott and as you go say what you are doing." Peter starts off and says:

"I carries——" and hands go up.

"What is wrong?" asks the teacher.

"He said 'carries'; he should say carry."

Peter: "I carry those——" the hands go up again, but by the time he gets the pencil to Dr. Abbott, he uses entirely proper language. He is taught not only to use good English, but later to name the parts of speech which he has used.

We heard in the high school at Iloilo a class of young people discussing Benjamin Franklin, and I was invited to ask questions.

"How many scholars would like to be Benjamin Franklin?" Many hands were raised.

"Benjamin Franklin was a wise man; a wise man is a rich man. I want to be a rich man."

"Benjamin Franklin was a wise man; a wise man is a strong man. I want to be a strong man." Each boy began like every other, using a different adjective in the latter part of the sentence. Finally a little girl said:

"Benjamin Franklin was a wise man; a wise man is a helpful man. I want to be a teacher and help my little Filipino sisters as I have been taught by my American teacher."

The Filipinos are fond of learning. We may soon have more scholars than we have places to fill; just now the educated Filipinos are rapidly displacing Americans. As soon as a man can understand telegraphy, for illustration, the American operator is discharged. The sentiment, "The Philippines for the Filipinos" is carried out in every department, so far as possible, throughout the Islands.

The great need in the Philippines today is true men who will stand for what is right, no matter how great the temptation. And many such men there are in every department. But there are other men there too. Did you read in the papers this week about the divorce case in the Philippines? A man married a Filipino woman, and after a little child was born, the regiment came home and the father left his wife and child there. The

Government, however, stepped in and said: "You cannot leave them there; they are your charge." And a divorce has been granted. In his decision the judge gives the custody of the child to the wife and imposes upon the lieutenant a hundred pesos a month alimony.

The missionary efforts in the Philippines are worthy of all praise. They have true federation there, while we are talking about it. Noble men are there, like Bishop Brent, and Dr. Rodgers and Dr. Stuntz, Dr. Rossiter, Mr. Hillis and others. The Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists are working in different parts of the Islands, not interfering with one another, but, noble men as they are, working in harmony and starting a great work. So far they are only at the beginning, it is true, and,

"Others shall sing the song,
Others shall right the wrong,
Finish what I begin,
And all I fail to win.

"What matter, I or they?
Mine or another's day,
So the right word be said
And life the sweeter made?"

(Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—It is rather a surprise to me that we had so many Filipino students in this country that we have a superintendent of them. We are now to hear from Mr. William A. Sutherland, of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Superintendent of Filipino students in America.

THE FILIPINO STUDENTS.

BY WILLIAM A. SUTHERLAND.

It is my belief that the first visit of a new member to this Conference, as in my case, should be as an auditor; and especially is it fit that we youngsters should tarry in Jericho until our beard shall grow; and should sit at the feet of Gamaliel and listen. But I am in the spirit of the old negro woman at a camp-meeting down South, who in an access of religious fervor declared: "I am all on the altar of the Lawd; I am willing to do anything the Lawd wants me to do—just so long as it's honest." So I am willing now to say to you that I believe in my heart that the

American people is capable, and even now is doing, the square and honest thing by the Indian and other dependent people.

I had the opportunity for several months of living near one of the large tribes of Indians in New Mexico, but it is not as a friend of the Indian, but as a friend of the Filipino that I come to speak to you this morning. Right here I would desire most especially to call your attention to the fact that of the seven and one-half millions of people in the Philippines less than one-tenth of that number are uncivilized in the sense that the American Indian is uncivilized. The other nine-tenths are Christians and civilized by contact with and precept of their former sovereigns. It was my great privilege to act, during my stay in the Philippines, as private Spanish interpreter to that greatest and best friend of the Filipino people, the then governor, Wm. H. Taft, and if it should some day, as seems entirely possible, be the good fortune of this country to secure him as successor to the present beloved incumbent, Theodore Roosevelt, I do not believe a worthier, wiser, or better man could be found between our oceans.

As interpreter also to one of the Filipino Commissioners, José R. de Luzuriaga, it was my duty to be present at all of the sessions, public and executive, of the Philippine Commission, and I can assure you that there is no pose nor party politics in the deliberations of these men. And if so intimate, and, I trust, unbiased knowledge and contact taught me anything, it taught me the absolute honesty and sincerity of purpose of these representatives of American Government; it taught me to believe that Americans are capable of uplifting an inferior race, and that they are now doing so. But this is not my theme, though I feel that it could be enlarged upon, and also the wonderful, the magnificent part that God has called upon this nation to perform in that greatest of all national dramas, the future of the four hundred millions of China, when at the very door of China he placed in the arms of fair Columbia, unexpecting, almost unwilling, our little brown brother. Thus is disposed of satisfactorily the first of the trinity of requisites for civilization spoken of yesterday by our respected Chairman,—a just government.

For the third element, a moral development, the foundation has been already provided by the Catholic Church, to which one can almost say that the Filipino owes all that he is, in superiority to other Oriental races.

The second element now concerns us,—a general education.

Before I landed in the Philippines, as every thinking man would do, I wondered whether it was all worth while. Was it worth while, as our Boston friends would say, to have turned our back upon our own experiences of liberty and freedom and

that euphonious old myth, by so many claimed to be exploded, of "the consent of the governed"? Was it worth while to send our boys, and even our girls, ten thousand miles across the sea to undertake a task so new, so tremendous, and perhaps so thankless? And I said to myself, "I shall spy out—not the land, for there is no question that it as fair and as fertile as any the sun shines on; I shall spy out the people, and if the people are worth while, and if the race is not a decadent race, but one susceptible of progress, and one which, though at the cost of time, treasure, and even blood, can be raised to our ideas of Christian civilization, then I shall say that it is worth while, that no sacrifice can be too great, no cost too heavy, that we may be called upon to pay for the redemption of this people, and through them, it may be, of hundreds of millions of others of the Oriental races." And while I do not presume to say that it will be today, or in the next generation, I do believe that the time will come and the American people will see to it, that fair Columbia will say to dusky Filipinos: "Go your way; you are now prepared to stand alone among the free and independent nations of the earth."

Of course there is much to be done; but the most has been done, and we are many and mighty. I know there are many among us standing ready to tear down where others build up. I have no doubt that in connection with the Indians, just as I know has been the case in the Philippines, one of the great, if not the greatest, difficulty, before the American Government has been the pessimism on the one hand, and the cupidity on the other of Americans themselves. So many of us think that there is no good way but our way; that there is no good man but a white man, or a dead Indian; that unless the Indian, the Hawaiian, the Porto Rican and the Filipino adopt as a whole and immediately, our ways of thinking, acting, working and of praying, that he is lost, and our work a failure. This type is somewhat exemplified by a drunken soldier whom I once met on the streets of Manila. As he lurched up to me he said: "Pardner, for ten cents a head I'd kill every black nigger (meaning Filipinos) from here to the barracks; not because I need the money, but just because I feel that way." Then there's the other and perhaps more pernicious type, the exploiter. He is typified in the remark to me of an intelligent ex-soldier (who, by the way, afterwards attempted suicide in a fit of desperation brought on by dissipation). He said: "We fought for this country, and many of us died for it; now they won't let us work it."

But to get to my subject: The Filipino students in the United States. This movement is but a part of the general educational movement of the Philippine Government. The Filipino may oppose our plans for harbors, sanitation, constabulary, coastwise

trade or tariff, but he never opposes our plans for his education; he stands today with open arms, and mind alert and eager to accept every provision made and every burden imposed in behalf of education. Where in history can be duplicated this people— anxious to change their own language, and who already have so unanimously responded to the effort to furnish them the bread they crave? When I left the Philippines two years ago this month, in charge of the first hundred students sent to this country, there were in the public schools of the Philippines 124,000 pupils. One year later there were 263,000. This year unofficial estimates place the number at 500,000, and if there were teachers, school-houses, and supplies enough it is estimated there would be next year 800,000. The cost of education in the Philippines last year for 7,500,000 people was only one-sixth what was expended for the Indians in this country the same year, yet there are but a scant 300,000 Indians, or one twenty-fifth of the Filipinos. There are now in the United States 178 Filipino students, of whom eight are girls. These students are between the ages of sixteen to twenty-one, and are appointed after competitive examination. They are scattered from Boston to Los Angeles, and among others are attending the following schools: Cornell, Cincinnati, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Purdue, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Georgetown, George Washington and Notre Dame Universities, the Agricultural Colleges of Kansas and Michigan, the State Normal Schools of Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Lowell, Armor and Lewis Institutes, and Holy Cross College, and others. Their support is provided by the Philippine Government and not by the United States Government. It might be well here to state that which many are in ignorance of, namely, that the expenses of the Philippine Government and of the so-called American Government in the Philippines are derived solely, except for the army, from revenues derived from the taxation of the Filipino and from duties paid by him upon goods imported into his country.

The Filipino students in the United States are serious, hard-working men and women, some of them of exceptional intelligence, and many leading their classes. I need only to ask you to question their instructors at their schools in proof of these facts, and to mention that as their adviser and in charge of all their affairs, almost my difficult task is to keep them from over-studying, and to make them take sufficient time from their studies for outdoor exercise. These students come from every one of the forty different provinces of the Archipelago, and when they return to their homes at the end of four years in America, I do not believe it will be as with many of the Indian boys, to their

old habits and standards of life. I should be glad if members of this Conference who live near where these boys are would take an interest in them and get acquainted with them. They are very sociable, and I know it would be mutually interesting and profitable. Should any one desire a list of these students and the institutions they attend, I shall be glad to mail it to them.

Before concluding, I should like to say that I do not believe the truth of the statement attributed in yesterday's papers to Senator Dubois and to other members of the Taft party recently returned from the Philippine Islands, if they said as reported that the Filipino is at heart an enemy of the American. It is but another evidence of the small value of "Pullman car investigations," as they call them in New Mexico and the Southwest, on account of the visit of Congressmen to that section to see whether 1,000,000 Americans were ready for statehood that had been promised and due them for fifty years. The Filipino is not the enemy of the Americans, and I do not believe that he is waiting merely for an opportunity to appeal to arms.

The hardest work has been done, but there is much to do, and it is through education, chiefly industrial education, more than all else, that I believe it can be done. I cannot go into the other needs of the Filipino and our duty toward him, but it makes me covet for the Philippines that great aid and influence that this Conference has given the Indian during the last quarter of a century. If anything is to be done beyond making interesting reading the reports of this Conference, it must be something definite, something tangible. Some years ago one of the large church denominations started a fund for education, called the "End of the Century" fund. The goal was first placed at \$5,000,000, then at \$10,000,000, and finally \$20,000,000 was gathered together for this magnificent work. It occurs to me that it would be possible to collect such a fund, possibly of \$5,000,000, for the industrial education of the Philippine people. There are 1,200,000 Filipino boys and girls of school age, eager, willing and ready now to take this instruction. Their Government can scarcely find funds to provide for one-third of that number. The Government is now expending for education all that its resources will permit, and nothing is being spent by the American Government or the American people to forward the cause of the education of these wards of ours in the Philippines. If American people and American philanthropy should undertake such a work and should place such a fund in the hands of a board such as handle recent large benefactions for educational work in this country, this fund, if collected, should be dedicated exclusively to industrial education of both boys and girls, for woman to an extent nowhere else found in the Orient, is the equal in

every respect of man. If this Conference should see fit, by resolution, by the appointment of a committee, or otherwise, to investigate, and if approved, to further this plan, making possible the teaching of the Filipino to learn to work with his hands, which is far and away more important even than to teach him to work with his head, then indeed, and not merely in name, will the Filipino have found a helping Friend in the Lake Mohonk Conference.

The PRESIDENT.—We shall now have a free parliament, speeches to be five minutes in length.

Dr. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.—It is about forty years ago since I first began to teach the Japanese, and to be with them as friend and adviser and as a modest student of their civilization. The Japanese have given an object lesson of what Asiatic and Oriental races are capable, but what I think is equally important, Mr. President, is that the history of the last thirty-six years in Japan has shown what can be done with the Japanese people or any Oriental people, when you approach them in the right way. I believe that all attempts to civilize the Indian, or the negro, or even a cannibal, to say nothing about Christianized peoples like the Filipinos, or those with an ancient civilization like the Japanese, are doomed to failure at the start if we approach them as masters. If we try to go in with the idea that our Christianity, which contains, along with what Jesus taught, a mighty mixture of nationalisms, traditions, and superstitions, and declare that ours is the only religion—we are doomed to failure.

There is a difference between embalmed religion and living religion, between historic truth and living truth, between quickening truth and merely traditional forms of truth. Against the latter, that is truth petrified in a historic framework, the Japanese, Chinese and Hindoos are going to organize all their forces, intellectual and spiritual. We must, first of all, understand that the Asiatic man, each in his own land, believes that his civilization is not only ancient, but far better than any other. The Japanese has that idea ingrained in him, and the only men who ever have succeeded with the Japanese are those that have become servants and sought to learn why the Japanese is proud of his civilization. Why, look at ourselves, and at our origins. Fifteen hundred years is but a small space in the long, human story, yet only fifteen hundred years ago, our fathers were dirty, greasy, unlettered savages, who came in contact with the Romans and Greeks. Through Christianity and the evolution of life, and the constant help of God Almighty, they have come to be the most progressive and foremost nations of today.

How many things we borrowed from the East—even our religion! The idea of our trying to get the Orientals to accept the traditional forms of an Occidental religion is perfect nonsense, and time will show it. Only the Spirit can give life. But, if we go like Guido Fridolin Verbeck, who trained many of the men that have made the Japan of today, feeling that we are servants and have come to help, and are ready to step down and even gird on the towel and pour the water, even to the washing of feet, yes, even to be considered as servants, we shall, by indomitable patience and truth, win men. Yes, we shall win like him. That is why Verbeck won. He was servant of servants.

Christians today are understanding the difference between embalmed truth and living truth. Let us go with the truth of life, even in the spirit of Him who came not to destroy but to fulfil. If we go to the East, or to any community, with the idea that we are necessarily superior, and that our school methods and our Anglo-Saxon inheritances are, in all respects, necessarily better than theirs, we are committing a costly blunder. I speak of what I know. With all due respect and modesty, the last person I want to have tell me about the Japanese, is the person who has just arrived from the islands, or who has not lived there long enough to correct his first impressions. I love to hear a missionary who has lived the larger part of his days there, and I am not certain if the missionaries had been listened to, there would never have been any such war as we have had. We must know how those people—the various peoples to whom we minister—think, and what are their hopes and fears, their likes and dislikes, or our money will be wasted.

So, I humbly pray God Almighty that he may help us to think about this thing, and realize the truth, even teach our boys and girls, young men and women, who go out to be teachers, that they must, first of all, go as servants, understand the ways of those we would enlighten, and even learn of them. The same course of reasoning that will make me go one way will certainly make the Chinese go another. The logic that is my meat is another man's poison. Only love avails to change aright. The various races of people are not the results of five years or fifty years; they are the outcome of thousands of years of natural and divine influences, and we must realize that, or we are doomed to failure. I therefore ask this great assembly to teach our teachers, our young missionaries and ourselves, that unless we stoop down and enter into their feelings, we shall never succeed; but with work in the right spirit, success is certain.

Mr. T. H. TIBBLES.—I simply want to say that we ought to think seriously of this last address; we certainly shall put it on

our hearts and carry it away with us. Nobody, unless he went as a servant, has ever done anything. Dr. Griffis has said, we must go to the Orientals as equals at least and never as superiors, or we never can do anything. Think about it; this is the most profound thing that has been said in this audience.

Mr. JOHN L. WHITE.—I came from Indiana University, where there are four of these Filipino students that you have heard about this morning. They are exceptionally bright and enter into the college spirit with the same degree of enthusiasm as characterizes any of the American boys who are there.

They took part in the flag rush and they are also excellent students, as Mr. Sutherland told you this morning. I know that personally I was very glad to sit next to one of them during a certain examination that I vividly remember.

Rev. PAUL DE SCHWEINITZ.—I venture with some hesitancy to express a thought which has been impressed upon my mind during the session yesterday, especially last evening, which may perhaps be an old one here, but which I have never heard voiced at least at this session of the conference. In dwelling upon the dark side of the work I have been impressed by this; the whole trend of the discussions has seemed to be that we could civilize these various people by education. I think that the weak point in the position is that we overlook the necessity of first Christianizing them. We forget in our own history possibly that we had the Gospel brought to us before we became cultured and refined and civilized and I do not believe that our government or any other power will really thoroughly civilize the Indians or any other people unless the church succeeds in bringing them one by one and individually to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as their personal Saviour.

Brigadier-Gen'l G. A. GOODALE.—I must differ with some of the views as expressed by Mr. LeRoy in his remarks this morning. I believe the consensus of opinion of those best qualified to judge, those who have been in relation to the Filipinos in the past five or six years, that political concessions to those people have been premature and that the strong arm of the Government was withdrawn from them at too early a period. As evidence of this several of the provinces have been returned to military rule by the Civil Commissioner in the Philippines.

Mr. TIBBLES.—I want to tell you something about the students in Nebraska University. My partner was the Lieutenant Colonel of the First Nebraska Infantry that went to the Philippines and when he came back he sneaked a Filipino back with him, who

had served him faithfully while he was there. When he came back we went out to see what we could get for him and we got him a job shovelling dirt on the streets. After he had worked there awhile the ladies in Lincoln took an interest in him and began to teach him English. Then we got him a position in a department store to tumble boxes around and unload things, and the proprietor found him so proficient he promoted him until he became their shipping clerk at good wages. He went to Nebraska University; he is there paying his own way, while these other students are paid for by their government. I know those students personally and I want to say they are the equal of the Nebraska students and they are the finest students in the world!

Hon. GORHAM D. GILMAN.—I would like to speak a few words with regard to the expediency of method in Christianizing and civilizing which has been raised here this morning.

I think it will be admitted by the friends of Christian Missions at Hawaii, that a possible mistake was made in the earliest efforts to Christianize and civilize the people of those islands, in that at first, the efforts were almost entirely devoted to the work of Christianizing them. "To Save Souls" was the mission for which they embarked from Boston.

It is true that later reinforcements brought in some Christian mechanics and professional men to interest the people in the simpler and better way of living, yet it is a fact that the energy of the missionaries was mainly directed to the saving of individual souls, in which they were most wonderfully blessed with success.

It appears to me, and I think I speak with some experience from a residence in missionary land, and as a business man in most hearty sympathy with all mission work—that the best and most permanent success in mission work may be looked and hoped for from united forces of consecrated labor and should be directed to Christianizing and civilizing the people among which the work is going on,—so far as it may be possible and practicable. That the two methods should be kept well in view, the Bible and the school house are the best pioneers for the foundation of religion and civilization.

The gentleman from Honolulu, who was expected to speak here today is the son of a Christian missionary at the Hawaiian Islands, who was a person, who, if he had established himself in Wall Street, New York, would have become a power by his integrity and ability as a business man. He made one of the best missionaries because he was one of the best business men.

The PRESIDENT.—Before we close, the Treasurer has a word he would like to say to you and we are always glad to hear from the Treasurer.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—I simply wish to announce that we have made a good beginning, but only a beginning; about one-sixth of the Conference have given me about one-fourth of the amount for which I have asked and when the other five-sixths report, as I expect they will, we will have all that we asked. I have made this announcement very brief, because although I did not expect to speak, I want to say a few words on the final paper of last night.

I never knew a better illustration of the old adage that partial truth may be a whole lie. When I listened to that striking paper, with its vivid and picturesque rhetoric, I thought of Saul among the prophets and asked myself the question, Is Elbert Hubbard among the school superintendents? With the statements of the evils incidental to the reservation system, I have no fault to find; we have known those evils and have been fighting them here for twenty-five years. The reservation makes laziness, makes thriftlessness, crime, drunkenness and the people and the Government of the United States have not been able to do as they would because they must administer Indian affairs through this reservation system, which was made not to work but to hold positions for officials and to prevent progress and keep the Indians always Indians; but with the estimation of the Indian character as given in the paper, and the estimate of his future possibilities, a great many of us here differ and differ very strongly. The gentleman informed us that the old Indians and the full bloods were lazy, vicious and incorrigible, that our treatment of the Indians in the past was not a "century of dishonor," that they were an inferior people disciplined, punished and removed by the action of God. In his God I recognize my devil. Some twenty-six or twenty-seven years ago, the God of the gentleman from Oklahoma conspired with certain officials in Washington, officials on reservations, and land grabbers in the West, to deprive the Poncas of their land, and they did it in such an atrocious way that when Mr. Tibbles (who is with us today), brought the story to Boston, we were set on fire with indignation. We could not believe it was true and some of us Eastern sentimentalists, among whom was Governor Long and Edward Everett Hale, and other people equally able were appointed a committee to investigate the matter; we found that the half was not told. Here commenced the first campaign for Indian citizenship and reform that I know of; we found the evils were incident to the reservation system; we

have been denouncing it and fighting it ever since. The system is such that if this choice company gathered from all over this land could be put onto a reservation subject to its rules, subject to the tyrant who controls inside its walls, that fence out liberty, the gospel and education, and fences in idleness, barbarism and paganism, in the course of a generation it would not be much better than some of the worst of the Indian reservations. It is almost impossible to do anything for the Indians with that system working against us; but we are hoping for the time when the system shall be overthrown. I will not denounce his statements of the evils of reservation life, I would strengthen them rather. We do not wish to pauperize the Indian, but rations and annuities prevent their working, and the numerous school superintendents, agents, inspectors and department officials at Washington who do not wish to lose their stipends, prevent a change. We have had Christian Indian Commissioners who have given up their positions because they could not control their department, select their own employees, nor appoint proper men; their decisions were overruled and their plans defeated; so much for the reservation.

But, as to the character of the Indian, if the gentleman from Oklahoma was right, why Bishop Whipple was wrong, Bishop Hare was wrong, Mary Collins was wrong; three generations of Riggses who have produced splendid results in the Santee Indian schools were all wrong. The best answer to his statements is found in the colony of former cannibal and pagan Indians organized in Metlahkatla. They, from being cannibals, in the lifetime of one man have been organized into a community that cannot be equalled in this country; between fifteen hundred and two thousand Indians. A large percentage of them are moral, sober, industrious God-fearing people. They use no liquor, they have learned the trades of civilization, they are perfectly self-supporting, make their own clothes, build their own houses, machinery and boats; and this was all done through the teaching of one man, William Duncan. Most of them were old Indians and full-bloods, and yet we heard last night that they were incorrigible, that they would not work and were vicious, lazy loafers. They would be lazy under certain circumstances as the whites would be; but the Indian has all the possibilities of manhood. (But what is the gentleman doing as an Indian School Superintendent if he has this belief of the Indian's possibilities? Why has he wasted sixteen years of his valuable time trying to train a nest of vipers, incorrigibles? I should not work where I did not believe I was going to accomplish anything. A man cannot do good work where he does not believe in his material and when he does not believe the people are capable of growth.)

I have lived with an Indian, a man who, when he was seventeen years old, had never seen a white man, never heard a word of English, yet fourteen years afterward, he graduated from Dartmouth, high in his class. He graduated at the head of his class in the medical school where he had thirty white college graduates as classmates. He lived in my home five years and I have never seen a higher type of Christian gentleman; I have seldom met an abler man, and he was a full-blood Indian, that unimprovable type that we heard described last night.* (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—It was not exactly in order to take part of the session devoted to the Philippines to discuss the Indian question, but you have just voted that Mr. Wood should have that privilege, only you voted after he took it instead of before.

I am going to bring up one other Indian matter, a message received from the Chickasaws of Indian Territory. It will be read for your information and then referred, without further consideration, to the Business Committee.

The Secretary read the following telegram:

Tishomingo, I. T., October 18th, 1905.

President Mohonk Indian Conference:

Chickasaws appeal to your Conference to secure solemn treaty obligations of government for separate state, that prohibition may continue. One is necessary for the other. Give us Sequoyah.

DAVE SEELEY (for full-bloods),

FRANK O. SMITH (for mixed bloods),

WILLIAM H. MURRAY (for inter-married).

Committee of Citizens.

Adjourned until 8 P. M.

*Mr. McCowan refused to permit his paper to be printed as he read it to the Conference. The paper as printed has been rewritten by him; and while the sentiments are the same, the matter is materially different, as the original paper has been changed by omissions and additions. My reply was to the paper as originally written and delivered.—F. W.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Evening, October 19, 1905.

The PRESIDENT.—Our topic this evening is Hawaii. The problem in Hawaii differs radically from that presented by any other community before us. The people of Porto Rico and of the Philippines are a homogeneous people, and though the North American Indians are not homogeneous in their separate tribes and in their separate reservations, they are relatively so. In Hawaii, on the contrary, we have an exceedingly heterogeneous population; in round figures, 47,000 native Hawaiians, 61,000 Japanese, 20,000 Chinese, 15,000 Portuguese, 8,000 Koreans and 5,000 whites, of whom I believe only about 3,000 are Americans. So the problem for America is how 3,000 Americans shall civilize 151,000 who are not Americans; how far they are civilized may possibly be a question. That is not all. Of these 151,000, who are not whites, the suffrage has been given to 47,000 native Hawaiians and I believe can be acquired by process of naturalization by the 15,000 Portuguese, but it cannot be, under present law, exercised by either the Japanese, the Chinese or the Koreans; in other words out of 160,000 population, speaking broadly, about 100,000 are disfranchised, not by reason of lack of intelligence, not by reason of lack of property, but by reason of race. The franchise is given practically wholly on race lines in Hawaii, not on lines of property and only in a limited degree on lines of education. These are the facts, as I understand them—the speakers who follow me and who know the facts will correct me if I am wrong; these are the facts which present to us our Hawaiian problem. What is our duty toward the population of 47,000 native Hawaiians, partially Christianized, partially civilized, 61,000 Japanese, 20,000 Chinese, 8,000 Koreans, 15,000 Portuguese, and 5,000 whites?

The first speaker to address us tonight is Professor Frank A. Hosmer of Amherst College, lately president of Oahu College, Honolulu.

CONDITIONS AND NEEDS OF HAWAII TODAY.

BY PROF. FRANK A. HOSMER.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: In discussing conditions in the Hawaiian Islands it should be understood from

the start that they are on a different basis from your island possessions. Unlike Porto Rico and the Philippines they came into the Union by the free will and request of the thinking citizens of the group and Hawaii is today an integral part of the Union, a regularly organized Territory.

This audience is familiar with the story of Hawaii. It has been practically your only American colony for many years before annexation. For half a century every President of the United States, except one, has maintained that no other nation should establish sovereignty over those islands. Webster, Legare, Seward, Bayard, Blaine, and Foster, as Secretaries of State, made it plainly understood by other powers that the influence of the United States should predominate in the islands and that they should gradually drift toward a political union with our government.

The United States needed the islands for the protection of its western coast and also for the commercial supremacy of the Pacific. The importance of their location, though apparent now, will of course be largely augmented by the completion of the Panama Canal.

The United States gained financially by the bargain in that the value of the government lands and other property turned over to the Federal Government was largely in excess of the local indebtedness assumed by the United States and, in addition, the revenues from customs duties of the port of Honolulu have amounted each year since annexation to over a million dollars.

On the other hand the islands have gained in stability. There is no longer a constant fear of foreign encroachment and seizure. The aggression of Great Britain, France, and other European nations, acute at times, was successfully withstood. A rising power in the Orient had for some years cast longing eyes upon our islands. When in 1893, aroused by the inefficiency and maladministration of the native queen, the thinking people overthrew the monarchy and established a Provisional Government, Japan hurried across the Pacific two warships, the hold of one of which, the Naniwa, contained 20,000 stands of arms. There were on the islands at the time over 20,000 Japanese laborers, about 1,500 of whom were located on a plantation within a short distance from Honolulu. With an army of 20,000 men and two cruisers Japan could easily have seized the islands and made them a part of her territory. The danger may be estimated when we recall that the expedition was commanded by the then Captain and present Admiral Togo, now a name to conjure with.

The well-laid plans of the Japanese were checkmated by the prompt action of Hon. John L. Stevens of Maine, United States

Minister at Honolulu, who, as you all know, raised the American flag and proclaimed a protectorate.

History will some day recognize the services of John L. Stevens. Mr. Blaine had sent an able man to watch a strategic point.

The Japanese were sullen and some breaches of international etiquette were committed by them and wisely condoned by our Provisional Government. A Japanese convict, sentenced to life imprisonment for murder, escaped from Oahu jail and swam to the Naniwa. When the Provisional Government requested his delivery, it was intimated that the deck of a Japanese warship was Japanese soil and we had no jurisdiction. After some days' delay, however, the convict was let loose upon the wharves, where he was taken by the local police but he was never formally surrendered.

So we may repeat the islands by annexation to the United States have gained in stability.

It was well understood by the leading minds of Hawaii that annexation and the consequent enforcement of American laws, not suited to our conditions, would interfere with our financial well-being. But so strong was the earnest desire that the stars and stripes might float there, that financial considerations had little weight. The American element had always been loyal, especially so during the Civil War when many sons of Hawaii, like General Armstrong and General Dimond, tendered their services to the government at Washington for the upholding of the Union. Again during the war with Spain our Hawaiian Republic refused to pass any act of neutrality but threw open its ports to the United States warships and transports on their way to the Philippines, giving aid and comfort just as any other American community would have done.

The mistake made by Congress in conferring at once unrestricted suffrage upon the native Hawaiian has resulted in harm chiefly to the native himself, but this has been sufficiently dwelt upon and is generally understood.

The United States coasting and shipping laws work hardship in that only vessels sailing under the American flag can carry passengers or freight from one American port to another—a regulation adapted to the mainland of course but largely reducing for us means of communication with the Coast, there being at the present time only five steamships in the passenger trade between Honolulu and San Francisco. The application of these laws is turning away tourists from the islands and diverting trade from California to British Columbia.

The public spirit of the Territory has been shown in that when the Federal Government failed to provide adequate lighthouse

service, the local government has maintained lights at its own expense and in addition, during the last four years, over \$130,000 has been expended by the Territory for dredging and enlarging the harbor of Honolulu.

Governor George R. Carter, in his last annual report, a state paper of marked ability, declares that "the dredging of Honolulu harbor was felt to be of vital necessity, and the maintenance of the lighthouses was simply from the fact that the people of this Territory, when told that Congress had made no provision for this service, were humane enough to desire to protect the lives and property, not only of American bottoms, but in the vessels of all nations of the world." The lighthouses have within the year been taken over by the Federal Government and the service is improved and an appropriation has been made for increasing the depth of Honolulu harbor, but the harbor at Hilo, the only possible harbor on the large island of Hawaii, is still in urgent need of a breakwater to render it safe to shipping.

Again the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce calls attention to the fact that it is now time to take sanitary precautions in Hawaiian ports, preparatory to the opening of the Panama Canal. No frosts of winter ever aid in stamping out disease there, and continued health is the price of eternal vigilance. As this concerns the entire Pacific Coast, the Territory should be assisted by the National Government.

All these and other details will without doubt be attended to by Congress in due time but they are of small importance to the islands when compared to the matter of labor supply which is the one imperative need of the islands today.

The soil and climate of Hawaii is peculiarly adapted to the raising of cane sugar, cane being one of the few indigenous plants of the group. Sugar represents 97 per cent. of the exports of Hawaii today. So close is competition throughout the world that the most improved methods and very expensive machinery must be employed. A mill costs almost a million dollars; and there are required costly pumping stations, wells, reservoirs, tunnels, steam-plows, railroads, rolling stock, fuel, fertilizers, etc. The small farmer cannot compete. Sixty million dollars are invested, nearly three-fourths of which is in American hands. And the community is not divided into two classes, as sometimes represented,—great sugar barons and their dependents. The stock of these plantations is distributed among the people and represents the savings of the industrious commons.

Governor Carter calls attention to the fact that "most tropical sugar growing countries either possess an indigenous laboring population, available for the cultivation of sugar cane, or have within easy reach people who are readily obtainable for tropical

field work." There is no such population in Hawaii, agricultural labor being distasteful to the native. For years it has been necessary to promote immigration and immigrants have been brought from Germany, Portugal, the Madeiras and Azores, Galicia, China, Japan, and Porto Rico, and in addition Americans, British, and negroes from the United States have come in small numbers.

The Governor reminds us that since assisted immigration is prohibited by the United States immigration laws, it is quite impossible to direct voluntary emigrants from Europe across the continent and two oceans to Hawaii on account of the great distance and the expense of transportation. Also, with the exception of the Portuguese, the supply of whom is no longer available, white laborers are found to be unfitted for tropical field work. This has been demonstrated again and again, faithful attempts having been made under seemingly favorable conditions. White men cannot and will not stand the work in the cane fields.

Before annexation Chinese coolies composed the chief labor supply. Since that event the Chinese have been replaced to a large extent by Japanese and even the immigration of Japanese laborers is hardly sufficient to balance the number of Chinese and Japanese who are continually returning home. Some relief to the labor situation should be given at once. Governor Carter therefore suggests that "it would be of great advantage to the agricultural interests of these islands if there could be a modification of the Chinese exclusion act permitting the immigration to these islands of a limited number of Chinese agricultural laborers, such laborers to be restricted to agricultural labor and domestic service, and strictly prohibited from engaging in mechanical and mercantile pursuits; such immigration to be so regulated that the identity of each laborer may be ascertained and a record kept thereof, and that he may be required within or at the expiration of ten years from the date of his arrival in these islands to depart therefrom, and that such laborer be not permitted to go from these islands to the mainland. The organic act takes care of that now. No Chinese can go to the mainland from Hawaii."

The Governor goes on to show that "under the existing laws of immigration it is impossible for Hawaii to get immigrant classes from Europe or other occidental countries. Hawaii is 5,000 miles from the point where the great numbers of immigrants land in the United States. Hawaiian interests have tried the experiment of bringing immigrants from Atlantic ports of the United States to Hawaii and have failed. We are therefore forced to take immigrants from the Orient or go without, and

to go without means the ruin of Hawaiian industries, a condition that the Congress of the United States cannot afford to permit."

Even with Chinese laborers the islands cannot rival Louisiana because the long distance from the market adds heavy cost of transportation to the expense of production.

The recent Chinese boycott of American goods calls public attention to the dissatisfaction of the Chinese government with the present exclusion laws and touches the interests of the cotton manufacturers of New England, the cotton planters of the South, and merchants on the Pacific Coast and throughout the country.

I am informed on high authority, no less than that of the Chinese minister himself, Sir Chentung Liang Cheng, that the Chinese government, while demanding respectful treatment of the upper classes of Chinese visiting this country and while acquiescing in the exclusion of the coolie class from the mainland and even the Philippines, is willing to compromise on the admission of Chinese laborers to Hawaii and that this request is incorporated in the proposed new treaty with the United States government. I am disclosing no confidence because ex-Minister Wu Ting-Fang has lately made public the same statement.

"The Chinese government," he said, "agreed to the exclusion of coolies but it urged as the main points of a new convention that the better classes of Chinese be treated on an equal footing with other aliens, and the admission of coolies to Hawaii," which he regarded as of the utmost importance.

The granting by Congress of this request will satisfy the Chinese government, cause no injury to American labor, and save the labor situation in the Hawaiian Islands.

A matter of great satisfaction to all friends of Hawaii is the healthy condition of the public schools and the higher institutions of learning. Hon. A. T. Atkinson, lately Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Territory, states that for the year ending June 30, 1904, the total Asiatic pupils in our schools amounted to 4,570. The total Hawaiians, Americans, and Europeans amounted to 14,729. "If we eliminate all the pupils of Hawaiian blood," continues Mr. Atkinson, "viz. 8,111, we have a residue of American and European blood 44 per cent. in excess of those of Asiatic blood and this, with the Hawaiian blood, gives an overwhelming majority against the Asiatic blood. This Territory, as far as its school statistics show, is not becoming Asiaticized." Our schools have been accomplishing what is being done all over the mainland, assimilating a heterogeneous population and making Americans of them.

The **PRESIDENT**.—The next paper will be presented from a gentleman who was for many years a merchant residing in Honolulu, and who was thereafter for a number of years, the Hawaiian Consul-General for New England, residing in Boston. Mr. Gorham D. Gilman has a cold which makes it impracticable for him to use his voice, and his paper therefore will be read for him by the Rev. Dr. D. P. Birnie of Rye, N. Y., but formerly pastor of the Union Church at Honolulu.

Dr. D. P. **BIRNIE**.—Ladies and Gentlemen: I share your disappointment that Mr. Gilman is unable to speak, for you are very well aware that no paper carries its full value unless the man who wrote it is able to read it, and so as you listen to these words I am going to ask you to remember this, and to put behind the words the splendid personality of our friend, of the Hawaiians' friend, Gorham D. Gilman!

THE LABOR QUESTION IN HAWAII.

BY GORHAM D. GILMAN.

Time was when the labor question was not a disturbing one,—when the demands were slight and the remuneration tempted the native by enabling him to procure the new things that were introduced to attract his trade. As new opportunities developed for using the fertile fields and rich valleys for the production of a world-demanded product, came the call for a larger number of workers.

In the early years of the sugar industry, the Hawaiian was a willing contributor of his labor,—not only the men, but the women also. The laborers were well cared for and labor unions and labor agitators were not thought of.

In those days no one anticipated that the feeble industry would ever attain to its present enormous proportions and become the chief source of the wealth of Hawaii.

When the first real sugar plantation of Hawaii was started at Koloa ("Great Cane") on the Island of Kauai in 1835, it was under great difficulties. Not a yoke of broken cattle could be found to draw the plough, and a string of men had to be utilized to break the sod. But under the genial and gentle management of Mr. Hooper of the firm of Ladd and Co. of Honolulu all difficulties were overcome and a crop was harvested. It was on this plantation that I was for a time a practical worker and overseer.

Now, with the steam plough, chemical analysis of soils, and

centrifugal machine, irrigation canals and all the other resources of modern agriculture, Hawaii stands among the foremost producers of sugar in the world.

As the number of plantations increased, the demand for laborers also largely increased, and the Hawaiian did not respond to the call. The general climate of Hawaii is as near perfection for the ease and comfort of life as is to be found in the world. Hence the Hawaiian is not naturally inclined to work hard. When he can combine work and play he is ready to enter in. He loves the excitement of cowboy life and driver of cattle, he makes a good sailor, and is ever ready along the wharves to load and unload cargoes, but when that is done he wants his pay, and quickly seeks his pleasure in the spending.

His disinclination for continuous work in the fields is not unnatural. Nature has provided liberally for his needs. Moreover, aside from his disinclination to work, the Hawaiians are decreasing rapidly in numbers and his labor if given would be insufficient to meet the immediate demand.

The absolute necessity for labor compelled the planters to look abroad for help. A colony was brought from the Portuguese Islands which proved a substantial addition. Their descendants are still on the islands, a happy, industrious part of the population. The King himself, in his tour around the world, announced his purpose to be in favor of immigration.

The next importation of some thousand Chinese was necessary to meet the demand for labor caused by the passage of a reciprocal trade measure with the United States, which gave great impetus to sugar cultivation. The importation of the Chinese was generally satisfactory to all parties,—it was never abused into conditions of peonage or slavery, and continued until the annexation of the islands to the United States.

Hawaii, on coming under the laws of the United States, found the Chinese Exclusion Law came into force, and what was claimed to help the labor of California proved a great detriment to Hawaiian interests.

The shutting out of the Chinese compelled the planters to turn to Japan for help, and somewhat over 61,000 of that people are now in the islands,—nearly one-half of the entire population. The largest colony of the Japanese in any foreign country is that in the little territory of Hawaii. There are those who feel that it would be unwise to increase further this already large number of Japanese elated and self-confident over the success of the late war. Who can foresee the relations which may govern the future trade of the Pacific?

It may be asked, did not the people and planters of Hawaii realize the probable effect of the Exclusion Law when they sought annexation? Most certainly they did, but annexation was

of paramount importance, since it gave to the islands all the territorial rights of the United States, a stable government, the protection of the flag and all it represented, and the people knew the great price they would have to pay for all they desired, and most willingly paid it.

Still, they hoped that a more enlightened labor policy would supplant that of the "sand lot" demagogue of San Francisco, and that equal rights and privileges would be accorded to every stranger who came knocking at our door, and that no one worthy to enter would longer be kept out. No exclusion of one people when all others were received.

Most of the investors, who have brought this chief industry to the prominence it now holds, are the children of the missionaries and their connections, born on the islands and eager for the best interest of their birthland. They have devoted their lives to the good of the people, and not alone to self-aggrandisement, and are most loyal Hawaiians and Americans.

Under existing circumstances, the very life of the plantations is threatened; without labor at a living rate they must fail. Under the present exclusion laws, it is a serious question what can be done. No one is so laborious, so tractable, so faithful and easy to get along with as John Chinaman. Other nationalities have been tried and found failures. The Japanese are the next best, but not the best adapted for the purpose.

What Hawaii needs today is an adjustment of the labor legislation, specialized if you please (not portioned out as equally fitting the coal fields, or the lumber forests of the mainland), by which foreign labor may be introduced where no other is possible. Such legislation could be made acceptable to government and people, all unjust servitude could be prevented, and the laborers made contented and productive.

It may be asked why this repeated plea for the Chinaman. Why is he so much desired? For very good reasons. He is a more quiet person naturally,—he is much more amenable to regulations and rules covering labor than other nationalities,—he is more generally industrious. When married to a Hawaiian wife he makes a good husband and father.

The Japanese have more frequently the opposite qualifications, and consequently are more independent and less easily under necessary management. Expensive attempts have been made to introduce laborers from abroad, which have proved most unfortunate failures.

An exception may be made with regards to a comparatively recent importation of laborers from Korea,—some eight or nine thousand persons.

These are not under the restriction clause and their coming seems to have been of much benefit to all parties interested. It

is interesting to note that a goodly portion of the immigrants are Christians and connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, coming to a large degree from the Missions of that church in Korea. The testimony is quite emphatic that as a class they are a most desirable acquisition.

It appears to the friends of Hawaii that there should be a modification of the exclusion laws. There is no necessary conflict between Hawaii and California on this question. If common report is true, the fruit growers of California, the lumber men of the Northwest and the home-keepers along the Pacific Coast would be glad for John Chinaman's services and would have them but for the labor unions.

If the Chinaman could be allowed to come to Hawaii, it would be under such regulations that he could be kept from passing to the coast, and would be of inestimable help in carrying forward a great American industry, which would benefit the whole people.

The Chinaman in Hawaii even as a plantation laborer has an opportunity of acquiring information, instruction and a knowledge of affairs. They have their newspapers which disseminate the news of what is transpiring in the world.

Is it strange that suffering as they do because of the treatment they and their countrymen receive under the exclusion laws, that the Chinese in Hawaii have raised and forwarded for the boycotting of American goods in China \$30,000 and expect to make it up to \$50,000? The Chinese, in the islands, who enjoyed the benefit of Christian influences support a missionary in China and several churches and missionary stations in Hawaii, and are as a class, well disposed and quiet citizens.

One great factor in the development of Hawaii in less than a hundred years has been the perfectly free access to the country to all people. Perhaps in no country, whose population is so diversified, is there such a commingling of interests and so little spirit of caste, prejudice or opposition.

The friends of Hawaii ask for a "Square Deal" in the interests of fair play and honorable treatment. They believe that the exclusion act is an act of injustice to the islands and indirectly to the homeland as well, and would respectfully ask that this conference may deliver an opinion favoring a modification of the laws, at least, so far as Hawaii is concerned.

THE PRESIDENT.—We have had history and political economy, now I judge that we are to have some prophecy. The topic of the next speaker will be, "Future Government in Hawaii" and the address will be by Professor Charles H. Hitchcock, of Dartmouth College, eminent geologist, who has visited Hawaii on several occasions and resided there for a considerable time.

THE FUTURE OF HAWAII.

BY PROF. CHARLES H. HITCHCOCK.

The author speaks as a visitor, having journeyed there for scientific purposes in 1883, 1886, 1899 and 1905. The third visit was extended over a twelvemonth. Perhaps his conclusions may be styled the "observations of a careless traveller," and they certainly express the sentiment of an independent thinker in nowise connected with any Hawaiian organization.

My general views may be expressed in the following proposition: The conditions existent in the Territory of Hawaii are tending to establish a government constituted of citizens originating in every part of the world, both Occidental and Oriental.

1. The time of the supremacy of the native Hawaiian is passing. The original Hawaiian nation became Christianized, and the missionary organization which brought about this grand result withdrew from the field. With the decay of the Hawaiians there has come in a host of other nationalities, the American, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, etc. The following figures will express the changes in the population from 1872 to 1900:

Hawaiians, decreased from	49,944 to 29,787
Part Hawaiians, increased from	1,487 to 7,848
Chinese, increased from	1,938 to 25,672
Americans (United States), increased from	889 to 2,682
Europeans, except Portuguese, increased from	849 to 4,600
Portuguese, increased from	395 to 15,675
Japanese, increased from	0 to 61,115

Total increase 56,897 to 154,056, over 35 per cent.

2. Hawaii is now a territory of the United States, subjected to all our distinctive laws.

3. The Enabling Act prescribed universal suffrage for all males, except Orientals, of twenty-one years of age in 1899; and that all males born after that date in the islands should have the right of suffrage at the age of twenty-one.

The following figures indicate the nationalities present in 1900:

NATIVE BORN.

Hawaiians	29,787
Part Hawaiians	7,843
Caucasians	7,283
Portuguese	9,163
Japanese	4,881
Chinese	4,021
Negroes	178
South Sea Islanders	60

63,216

FOREIGN BORN.

Of European ancestry, Austria, England, Germany, Ireland, Scotland, Scandinavia, Spain, Canada and the United States		4,544
Portuguese		7,728
Chinese		21,741
Japanese		56,234
Pacific Islands		593
		<hr/>
		90,840
		63,216
		<hr/>
		154,056

I have no figures to show the number of voters qualified at the present time to exercise the right of suffrage, but it is evident that the Hawaiians are in the ascendant.

4. As the changes in the voting list will be based upon the children, something can be learned from the statistics of school attendance. All the children receive an education in English and the official proceedings of the Legislature are in the same language. The following statistics of the school attendance for 1904 are taken from the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction:

Hawaiians	4,877
Part Hawaiians	3,234
Americans	877
English	205
Germans	321
Scandinavians	125
Portuguese	4,345
Chinese	1,650
Japanese	2,920
Porto Ricans	556
Other foreigners	189
	<hr/>
	19,299

Of these 10,457 are boys and 8,842 are girls.

The Hawaiians and part Hawaiians are still in the lead, 42 per cent.; the Asiatics amount to 22 per cent.; all Europeans 30 per cent. The school attendance represent that part of the population which is permanent. Hence upon comparing the children with the previous lists, it is plain that there will be no material change in the nationalities of the voters for the next quarter of a century, unless extraordinary and unexpected conditions should arise. The decrease of the Hawaiian element may be offset by the increase of the part Hawaiians.

5. If education improves the intelligence of voters, there must be a gradual improvement in the quality of the future citizens; and to say the least these future voters will not be inferior to those who now exercise the right of suffrage. As a rule students adopt the principles taught them and as the best of instruction is afforded every child in Hawaii, these oncoming citizens should be equal to the great bulk of the voters in the United States upon the mainland.

Teachers tell me they see no difference in the capacity of the children of any nationality in Hawaii. All are alike intelligent; and the kindergarten children affiliate perfectly with each other, both in the school and play room. All goes smoothly unless some ill-advised child refers to the difference of race. It is hard sometimes for good American people to be patient when a Chinese boy excels their own children in scholarship, as is often the case at Oahu College.

6. There is a dominant element in Hawaii which corresponds well to the so-called missionary party, amounting to about 16 per cent. of the population.

They are the Americans and English, or the Europeans, the same people with ourselves. They are as competent as ourselves to discuss civic and economic questions. The Social Science Association of Honolulu are as competent to discuss the philanthropic phases of the Indian and other dependencies' affairs as are the members of the Mohonk Lake Conference.

In the earlier days, men like Dr. Judd and Dr. Richards saved the Hawaiian Kingdom from oppressions of foreign nations, and from the assaults of the vicious whalemén.

The strength of the present generation was well tested when President Cleveland ordered them to submit to the rule of Queen Liliuokalani. They declined to yield to his behest, even when it was supposed the navvies had been ordered to enforce the demand. These people are church-going, conscientious, philanthropic. Central Union Church, Honolulu, is not excelled in its good character anywhere. They have organized and sustained services among the Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and have built chapels for them all. They sustain home and foreign missionary societies (on two successive Sabbaths in '99, the plate contributions amounted to \$10,400 and \$10,300.) They have established kindergarten schools, Hawaiian girls' schools, Oahu College, Mills' Institute for Chinese. They have services for soldiers, seamen and prisoners in jail, and lend helping hands in many other ways. The descendants of the missionaries have a society holding social reunions and they raise a large sum annually for benevolent purposes. There are also the Y. M. C. A., the Associated Charities, and many other philanthropic organizations.

The high character of the dominant class was illustrated in their efforts to stamp out the bubonic plague in 1900. The moment a case was discovered and the patient died, the occupants of the house were removed to quarantine and the building burned. One day the fire connected with the cleansing got beyond control and the whole of the district occupied by the Orientals was burned; 10,000 people were compelled to go into a sort of extemporised quarantine, till the danger of infection was over. Not another case of the plague occurred after that.

7. This dominant class have become wealthy through the investment of their frugal savings in the raising of sugar. The original stock has increased in value many-fold through judicious management in the natural expansion of the business. In 1904, 97 per cent. of the exports were of sugar, amounting to \$24,359,385. Other commodities are coffee, fruits, pineapples, sisal, rice, vanilla and rubber.

The Government Department of Agriculture is urging the people to enlarge the other industries, and not rely so completely upon the sugar business. Many of the citizens advocate similar doctrines, as is evidenced by the following extract from the "Hawaiian Parable":

"It has been the history of Hawaii to depend upon one industry and lose it. First we sold sandal wood; then we were supported by the whaling business; both failed. Then came sugar and it is still the stay and prop of our social fabric. But when the tropical world goes into sugar, some of it commanding cheaper labor than ours, are we not, as a one-crop country, certain to meet the ancient fate of Jamaica? If so, what is our duty now? To wait until the disaster comes and then start in to build up new industries among the ruins of our capital or to begin now in the creation of enterprises that will save us, and sustain and more widely diffuse our prosperity, if sugar has to go?

Happily the men of light and leading in this Territory, who are not tied up to one crop, are starting diversified industries on every hand. Foreseeing, they are forearming. Sisal and pineapple ranches are being established; of pineapples the present year's output will be 50,000 cases from Oahu alone; tobacco has proved its case, so has vanilla. Rubber groves are growing as fast as the price of rubber is increasing; bananas sell at better figures and are a sure crop. It should not be a long process of evolution before the vast, vacant acres of all the islands will yield specialized export crops as well as the daily living of the farmers."

Others have considered the questions of the importation of Chinese for laborers, and the removal of the prohibition of the

transportation of freight and passengers in vessels owned by foreigners. I will consider only the question involved in the query whether the white man is fitted to labor in the tropics. Those opposed to the introduction of the Chinese laborers say bring in the white men for laborers; pay higher wages, etc.

Kidd says: "The attempt to acclimatise the white man in the tropics must be recognized as a blunder of the first magnitude." It is conceded that so far as the climate is concerned Hawaii is a healthful place for white people. It is due to the trade winds and the moderation of the heat by cold currents from near the American coast, deflected towards Hawaii. It is on the temperate side of the tropics.

The experiment of small farming has been tried at Wahiewa and Ewa and has not been a success. But in my estimation the failure is due to other causes. The small farmers have become specialists, or else large or ranch farmers at Wahiewa, the colony has become specialized to the raising of pineapples. The settlers are prosperous, but they are not small farmers. A canning factory, employing 30 to 40 workmen, is the outcome.

I explain the result thus: Men who are enterprising enough to take up land in a distant country, will soon be able to hire cheap labor to do their work, and thus build up some industry.

It may be compared to the differences between the farmers of the eastern and western United States. In New England a small farm of say, 100 acres cultivable land, may yield an income of \$1,000. In the West, where land is much cheaper, the farmer discovers that he can cultivate 1000 acres without difficulty, only employing more help. So he runs a ranch and obtains a larger income. And he, like the sugar planter, seeks for cheap labor.

The foreign laborers, as the Portuguese and Chinese, learn the same lesson. They come first as plantation laborers, engaged for a limited period. Subsequently they acquire holdings and engage in the diversified industries, raising the fruit and vegetables, supposed to be the exclusive province of the small farmer. In fact they become the small farmers, while the white men, brought over to engage in these small industries, have become directors of other industries and are not willing to be simply workmen of the cheaper sort.

Judge S. B. Dole, formerly President and Governor of Hawaii, has just given his views upon the "paramount policy" that shall prevail in the islands. Scarcely any person in Hawaii has a better understanding of this subject than Judge Dole. I will present extracts from his communication.

"Editor Advertiser: The sugar men are at the present time anxious about the supply of labor for their important enterprises. That this is a subject that is vital not only to such enterprises, but

also to the prosperity of all other industrial and commercial operations and to a satisfactory condition of the public finances, is undeniable.

The proposition that the gradual development of our voting population in intelligence, conservatism and numbers, is necessary to all legitimate interests, cannot, I think, be successfully assailed; nor that, to accomplish this satisfactorily, it is more than desirable that such development shall be from without as well as from within; in other words, through additions to our numbers by immigration of the right kind of persons, as well as by the improvement of those already here by such educative influences as are available.

Perhaps this proposition does not appeal as forcibly to the sugar planters, who are generally wealthy or expect to be, and may choose their residence and the location of their families, as to other citizens, many of whom are here for good and who look upon the schools of the Territory and the quality of its social, political and business conditions, as their environment, affecting the family life and prospects of their boys and girls and their own material prosperity as well. As a matter of fact, few of the sugar men move away from these islands. Their children usually grow up and are partially educated here; and they may be said to be practically as much interested in the future of the island community, as anyone else.

While every proper measure for inducing men of the Caucasian race to come here with their families with the intention of remaining should be adopted, there is probably no scheme which promises so well as the inducement of an opportunity to acquire land in fee simple and of a quality that will promise a reasonable family support with reasonable industry in its cultivation. The right kind of persons are likely to come with such inducement and they are likely to remain if the inducement is borne out by the conditions.

There is understood to be available labor of high character from Europe, if a reasonable inducement of land in fee simple is offered.

Although this proposition should be inviting on other grounds than that of mere direct business results, let us look at it on this ground, which is probably almost the sole one on which the planters will consider it.

There are on many of the sugar plantations hundreds of acres which are so situated or of such a character as to be substantially unavailable for the agricultural uses of such enterprises. They comprise side hill land, small gulches, rocky land and places inconveniently situated. Much of such odds and ends would be acceptable to the homeseeker in connection with the steady demand

for his work which would be a part of his inducement. There are also generally extensive areas used as pasturage, for which there is less need now than formerly, which if cut up for the homeseekers would certainly fulfill a more important purpose than furnishing pasturage. Some of these lands are owned by the corporations in fee simple, others are leasehold. Both kinds could be used for this purpose if the proprietors endorsed the plan, as in the case of leased land the government, under its long-established policy of land settlement, would, without doubt, make the necessary arrangements.

If such a plan should be carried out, some labor of a reliable character would be obtained immediately; more would be provided for the future, as the children of the settlers, even though having the benefit of our public schools, would naturally, after leaving school, seek the kind of occupation their fathers had followed, and would seek it near home. Without doubt a few of these would be ambitious to learn trades and would be lost to the ordinary work of the fields. Others would be restless and would wander from one place to another, or even leave the islands for the chances of the mainland, but it seems most likely that the majority would follow the occupation of their fathers and be drawn to stay at their childhood's home.

Can anyone doubt that if this plan had been followed with the Portuguese immigrants thirty years ago the condition of the plantations in regard to labor at the present time would have been far less precarious than it is?

The pressing danger is that unless something effective is soon accomplished in the lines above indicated, and in all other possible ways, to promote the permanence and healthy growth of a community made up of American and European elements, we shall lose our opportunity and shall be compelled, in a few years, to witness the foundations of control and of public sentiment steadily moving away from our hands into those of Oriental citizens, born here and graduating from our schools in yearly increasing numbers, a most credible addition to the voters of the Territory, but without the traditional views and hereditary intuitions necessary for the political and social management of local affairs."

8th Condition. In Hawaii members of the less-esteemed nationalities have filled important stations. The Hawaiians have furnished representatives of the bar, the clergy, judges, etc. They are not merchants. There are Chinese and negro lawyers. The Portuguese and Hawaiians make excellent policemen.

9th Condition. There are no people in the world so ready to affiliate with the Hawaiian and foreign elements as the dominant wealthy class. Therefore, I repeat my original proposition that

the Territory of Hawaii has all the conditions necessary to form a government made up from all nationalities—whether American, European, Chinese or Japanese. It will be a government whose only merit will be the test for the filling of every position of trust. It must be a sort of federation of the different nationalities—for as mankind are set in families, they have also guilds, churches and social distinctions.

It is right that the native Polynesian Hawaiian should, so far as he acts well, have a voice in his home government. That is esteemed a duty by the English Government for the Maoris in New Zealand, a race kindred to the Hawaiian, who elect a certain percentage of the New Zealand Legislature. At present the conditions seem to grant the Hawaiian the control of both the Territorial Legislature and the Delegate to Washington. The latter office should by preference be given to some American who has the ability to legislate for large financial and mercantile interests.

The PRESIDENT.—In a moment I am going to violate the Golden Rule. I do not like to have anybody to call on me without giving me notice, but I am going to ask one gentleman to speak to us and he has not had any notice that he is going to be called upon. May we have the pleasure of hearing for five minutes from Rev. W. M. Kincaid, D.D., the pastor of that church in Honolulu, of the services of which we have heard testimony?

Dr. Kincaid spoke briefly, touching on the labor problem in Hawaii, and giving an interesting description of the present religious institutions there. He spoke in high terms of the attractive qualities of the native Hawaiian people.

The PRESIDENT.—We expected to hear from Hon. William R. Castle, but because of a sudden illness he is not able to be here. He has sent a paper which has been referred to the publication committee and which you will be able to read in the report of the proceedings.

Paper of Hon. W. R. Castle of Honolulu, formerly Minister to the United States under the Hawaiian Republic:—

CONTACT OF THE HAWAIIAN WITH CIVILIZATION.

Many years after his visit in Hawaii, Mark Twain said: "No alien land in all the world has any deep, strong charm for me

but that one; no other land could so longingly and beseechingly haunt me sleeping and waking, through half a lifetime, as that one has done. Other things leave me, but it abides; other things change, but it remains the same; for me its balmy airs are always blowing, its summer seas flashing in the sun; the pulsing of its surf beats in my ears; I can see its garlanded crags, its leaping cascades, its plummy palms drowsing by the shore; its remote summits floating like islands above the cloud-rack; I can feel the spirit of its woodland solitude; I can hear the splash of its brooks; in my nostrils still lives the breath of flowers that perished twenty years ago."

Perhaps the abiding impressions of so many years would have been less vivid and pleasant had it not been for his contact and association with the native Hawaiians.

The shores of Hawaii are washed by ocean currents from the northeast, which, with the trade winds blowing nine months in the year, give to it a delightful climate, almost unequalled in any part of the globe for salubrity and equality.

It is more than probable that these physical conditions affected the character and temperament of its inhabitants, while the beauty and grandeur of its scenery and the terrific sublimity of its natural wonders must have influenced the formation of the manners, customs and religion of its people.

During the period which elapsed before the arrival of the American missionaries, the various chiefs, on Hawaii as well as the other islands, were subjected, and Kamehameha united the entire group under his own despotic sway. He apportioned the various lands among his own adherents upon a species of feudal tenure. The fee remained in the king, but the lands were held by the chiefs subject to the payment of certain annual dues; furnishing soldiers in time of war and laborers for works undertaken by the king in times of peace. The king also retained certain large and valuable lands for himself, which were cultivated and occupied by his own tenants. The lot of the humble native was, however, extremely hard. He practically had no rights, although the chiefs vouchsafed a sort of protection to those who adhered to their respective standards. The irresponsible and despotic character of government was, however, illustrated by the constant action of the chiefs. If, for instance, he found an occupant whose cultivation was better than that of others and who had made something like a home out of his holding, the chief, with the right of might, if he so desired, would take for himself all that was good or valuable. Oftentimes the poor tenant was left without anything to keep himself and his family from starvation. Should the chief enter the humble home of a native and find the wife, or a daughter, of uncommon prom-

ise or beauty, she would be taken for the use of the chief or to be given to some favorite, and any opposition or murmuring was punished with death.

Religion consisted largely of propitiatory offerings to gods, or friends, whose enmity must be averted. For the common people the future offered no hope. A system convenient to brutal and selfish chiefs and priests was that of the Kapu. By this, certain fish, fruits, vegetables, and the best of all things were forbidden to the common people and reserved exclusively for the chief. The violation of a Kapu was often punished with death, sometimes of a cruel and lingering nature. The shadow of the king was Kapu and for anyone to cross this shadow, even unwittingly, was to merit death. Like some customs of the Hebrew religion there were also periods or places of special Kapu. At times, all were ordered to remain in their houses and even showing one's self in a doorway was punished with death.

Under these stern customs the condition of women was indeed most deplorable. They had absolutely no rights. They were slaves to the men and were punished with death for the slightest deviation from laws of which they were sometimes ignorant. Unlike conditions which exist in parts of the East, where, although women are regarded as slaves and far below the level of men, they are still guarded and protected and where the home has some of the features attending that institution in civilized countries, in Hawaii her only hope depended on the caprice of her lord. The relations of the sexes were very loose and there were some observances and customs accompanying the rites of hospitality which seem absolutely incredible and are repulsive beyond belief. In view of the condition of women and the state of society formerly existing in Hawaii, it is remarkable that some of the most noted chiefs of the early days were noble women. The names of Kapiolani and Kaahumanu are as illustrious and will be remembered in Hawaiian history as long as those of Kamehameha and Kahekili and others whose renown is that of the successful warrior.

The Hawaiian chiefs seemed of a different class from the common people. They were of magnificent physical build, most of them exceeding six feet in height, being very muscular, sometimes fat, and oftentimes weighing 250 to 350 pounds. They were also intellectually large and their claims to dignity and nobility were not only recognized by the Hawaiians but by visitors who came to the island. With such characteristics they could not avoid seeing that their religion, at least, was barbarous and that they were in other ways inferior to the class of foreigners who came in ships for trade or discovery. Their contact with civilization to that extent very much weakened the hold of the

old superstitions upon the chiefs. Consequently when the American missionaries arrived in March, 1820, the first news from shore was that Kamehameha the Great was dead, that he had been succeeded by his son Liholiho and that the ironbound Kapus had been abolished. But the decree abolishing the Kapus was yet a long way from complete emancipation of the people from the ancient customs and superstitions, and the missionaries, while ably seconded in their efforts by the chiefs, had a hard and weary task to redeem the nation and give to it the blessing of civilization. The use of liquor, and the diseases introduced by the sailors of trading ships from eastern countries, had proved a very serious drain on the life of the nation and it is probable that there were in 1820 less than two hundred thousand inhabitants left.

They were urged when they could to build wooden houses and to live on floors, instead of on the ground in their little grass huts, but conditions in that country are so different from America that, oftentimes, the teaching failed in its object. A frame building would be erected, with the floor from three to five feet above the ground, whereupon the family camped under the house, reserving the floor, which they did not like, for occasions of state. This was often productive of sickness and disease from exposure, the sides of the house being open, unlike the closely-thatched grass hut. No amount of teaching could make a trader of a man who had no fitness for trade, nor could he be taught to economize, when he had never been possessed of anything with which to economize nor had the necessity for economy ever been felt.

The Hawaiians by nature are an exceedingly hospitable people and the ancient customs of the country induced them to give away in the rites of hospitality everything they had. This habit of former years is changed to some extent today, but for many years it continued, with the result that after a feast or entertainment of guests the family would have nothing left. Such a people could not be financiers nor merchants and such a thing as a successful Hawaiian mercantile establishment is unknown.

During the early days and until a comparatively recent period, the will of the chief was the supreme law and obedience was exacted in the most abject manner. The common people were not allowed to question this despotic will in any way. Such was the custom and training of ages, till it had become nature and this nature could not be changed in a day. One of the efforts of the American missionaries was to teach the chiefs the idea of right and wrong, and to make them understand that manhood has certain inalienable rights which no power could rightfully deprive them of. In response to this teaching and in accord with

the convictions of the chiefs and king a constitution or bill of rights was proclaimed in 1839. While extremely crude and insufficient in many respects yet the right of the humblest man, woman or child, to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness within certain limits, was fully recognized. Laws were made to protect these rights, but it was many years before the king or chief could learn to respect the laws and to understand that there was such a thing as individual right.

But the ideas of liberty and right grew, and in 1848 the king, by an act of authority, compelled the great body of chiefs to give up the lands which they had acquired through old conquests and by descent; in return for this he gave them in fee simple portions of the surrendered estates, but subject to the right of the common people to an absolute grant of their little holdings, which were occupied for agricultural purposes as well as dwellings. The king then retained certain lands for himself and for his successors on the throne, in addition to the lands which he already held as representative of a great family. The remaining lands were turned over to the minister of the interior to be the public lands which were then to be offered for sale to the people. This was the origin of the land system of Hawaii. In 1852 a new constitution was promulgated by the king, which provided for a legislature having two branches, representatives and nobles. The latter were hereditary and to be appointed by the king; the former to be elected every two years. Things, however, were somewhat out of joint. The people did not understand what elections meant. They did not understand the power given to them with its responsibilities, and before many years serious trouble ensued, and when Kamehameha V. came to the throne, in December, 1863, he resolved to reassume the old autocratic power and make a change. A constitutional convention was called, but after months of stormy sessions it was dismissed and the king, in August, 1864, proclaimed a new constitution curtailing in many respects the grant of liberties in 1852. The National Assembly was reduced to one house, nobles and representatives sitting together, the elective franchise for the latter was limited to those who had a degree of education, a certain amount of property and a certain income derived from lawful sources. The constitution contained dormant powers which might have been used by the king with great injury to common right, but as long as a Kamehameha occupied the throne things went on all right, for they were wise in their day and generation.

The king of this line appreciated the weakness of Hawaiians and always appointed at least a majority of their cabinets from well-known and reputable white men. When in the latter part of his reign, Kamehameha V. was urged to make the gov-

ernment Hawaiian in fact as well as in name, he replied, "The Hawaiian is not able to govern and is not fit to exercise authority," and he thus dismissed the proposition and continued to govern through a cabinet of careful and conservative white men, selected from various foreign nationalities.

Upon his death, and after that of his successor Lunalilo, Kalakaua was elected, against the bitter opposition of most of the natives, who wanted one of the old line of high chiefs. In a few years, after he had ingratiated himself into the good will of the Hawaiians, by promising to make the government of the country Hawaiian in fact, as well as in name, pandering to the worst elements and seeking to revive many of the ancient heathen customs, he began to assume powers that were possible under the constitution of 1864, but incompatible with the well-being of any self-respecting people. In this course he was sustained, as was his successor, Liliuokalani, by a large majority of the native Hawaiians, who unfortunately thought they saw in the course thus pursued the restoration of the ancient Hawaiian rule and the domination of the red man over the white man. It was opposed by only a small number, but they were the most intelligent portion of the Hawaiian people. The determined pursuing of this course brought about the inevitable result, and the government was wrested from the native, and that which must necessarily have come sooner or later happened and Hawaii was annexed to the United States in place of becoming attached to any other foreign power.

The reign of Kalakaua brought the Hawaiian to the front and the opportunity was then given him to show that he had not only assumed but had assimilated the civilization of the Caucasian. With regret, for I have grown up, and have an intimate acquaintance with the Hawaiians and most sincerely love and admire their many pleasant qualities, I cannot avoid having seen that they failed to exhibit the qualities necessary to successful administration. They have had the necessary instruction both in schools and from training and observation. A large majority of government officials have always been natives. They have been clerks and assistants in many lines of business. They have occupied well positions from which the Caucasian has risen to direct and command. But when the responsibility and discretion required in directing affairs, either public or private, has been placed upon them, they have failed.

But it cannot be said that the work of the American missionary is a failure, for it is the result of that work that Hawaii was for many years a respected member of the family of nations. The conditions of the individual and the family have been raised until in all respects they are equal to that attained in the enlight-

ened nations of the earth. All are equal before the law and the administration of the law is just. None are favored more than another. Property is safe, and its rights, or rather the rights of the individual to acquire and hold and to accumulate are respected.

A complete and sufficient civil and social system had been developed suitable for the requirements of its mixed population before annexation. There was no grand jury, none was needed. The accused had the right to face his accusers in the preliminary proceeding. He was not subjected to the possibility of arrest and indictment without examining the witnesses against him. There were no restraints on the alienation of property or on its acquirement. There was, in fact, as well as in name, absolute freedom and equality.

But the old Kamehamehas were right, and the Hawaiian was not yet fit to govern. As Kalakaua continued his efforts to centralize power in himself, to minimize the influence of the white Hawaiian and to create a government of natives who would simply register his will, he was opposed by the considerable body of whites born in Hawaii and others who were citizens and who knew no other Fatherland. He was compelled to yield and a franchise for electors was devised, depending upon education and an income derived from a lawful source, or holding in fee a certain amount of real property. The upper house was elective, the qualifications being considerably higher than for representatives. Under the republic which succeeded the monarchy in 1893 and continued until 1900, this system of requiring substantial qualifications for electors continued and with salutary results. The Congressional Commission sent to Hawaii in 1898, Messrs, Cullom, Morgan and Hitt, made a very careful examination into conditions and unanimously recommended continuing in Hawaii these restrictions to the elective franchise. Mr. Hitt said to the writer and others: "You don't need to have us show you how to make laws to govern Hawaii. It is admirably done now." But Congress in its wisdom disregarded the recommendations of its Commission and gave practically universal suffrage. The results have not been encouraging for good government. The native Hawaiian voters hold control, and appeals to them are ineffective, if race questions arise, and they are brought to the front constantly, or if some loud talker with foolish propositions catches their ears. It has not been possible to elect as delegate to Congress any man who commands respect in Washington.

An eminent member of the House said to me, "If you Hawaiians cannot send a man who will at least command a hearing, Congress may devise a different system of government for Hawaii." It was of little use to retort that Congress is responsi-

ble because it would not adopt the recommendation of its own Commission which recognized the safe results secured in Hawaii after years of experiment.

The Hawaiian is essentially a people which requires wise legislation and careful treatment to be assured of its rights and to be protected in its contact with more robust and aggressive nations. They have not so decreased as to render them unworthy objects of the nation's care. There are still about 30,000 of a pure Hawaiian parentage, and about 8,000 of mixed native blood. It is an interesting fact that with almost no exceptions the part Hawaiian aligns himself with the native race. This is less often true when intermingled blood is not Caucasian. The Chinese marry native women frequently, and nearly without exception make good husbands and take good care of their families. The children are a sturdy race, usually combining the better qualities of both parents and making good citizens.

The total population of Hawaii today is practically 155,000, of whom 64,000 are native born and 91,000 of foreign birth and parentage. The distinctive Hawaiian will soon be a thing of the past. There will be a new race. It will not be Hawaiian in the old sense, but it will belong to Hawaii. What that race is to be will depend largely upon the wisdom with which Congress deals with its new territory. There is no question that with the Chinese, the Hawaiian will hold his own. Should the Chinese, therefore, be admitted into Hawaii? The presence of that people has not been in conflict with the best interests of the Caucasian. On the contrary, the white mechanic has made a better living with more Chinese in Hawaii. It has been for the reason that the white man will not go into the field and become an agricultural laborer. He cannot be a rice planter, and with the recent decrease in the numbers of Chinese as a result of the Exclusion Act, that industry is rapidly dying out. He will not enter domestic service, and so in the lines requiring the largest number of laborers, in the lines approaching drudgery, there is no conflict. But when all industries prosper there has been an active demand for the mechanic and he has been almost wholly native Hawaiian and Caucasian. The Japanese have been competitors with white labor and have driven out the natives far more than has been the case with the Chinese.

In this paper, I have not dwelt on present conditions, except as they relate to the native people. Time would not suffice for a full statement even, much less a discussion, of those things affecting the general welfare which ought to be changed and for which relief should be granted Hawaii. It has been my desire to very briefly touch upon some of the effects of the contact with civilization of that very interesting people. In speaking of the

failures, and of those things wherein the touch of light has not enlightened, I would not be understood as a pessimist, decrying everything, for the bright is more than the dark side. The individual has been raised to a higher plane. The family, as we understand the term, has been created. It is true that the Hawaiian will not work, if it is not necessary. "Why should I?" he asks. He does not have to fight for existence, as here. Life is very pleasant lying under the shade of the cocoanut, the banana, the mango or bread fruit. It is very easy to get enough to keep alive, why rush into a mad scramble for wealth? Yet there is an increasing number of natives who work all day long to support, educate and dress well their families. No sailors are as faithful and uncomplaining as the Hawaiian; none so bold and skillful battling with the waves. They are more generally appreciating the value of higher education, while at the same time there has never been a larger demand for technical instruction.

In this connection, it is worth noting, that the loss of revenue resulting from annexation has not been felt anywhere so severely as in the department of public schools. There is an increasing desire to become fit American citizens, while the love of old Hawaii and all that it means still continues. But, unfortunately, many, perhaps most, of the common people are gaining the impression that to be a good American is to thrust the hand deeply into the public crib.

With its 7,000 square miles of territory and great fertility of soil, Hawaii is capable of supporting a population of 500,000 or more. Like California and some other places, it is suffering on account of the lack of agricultural laborers. The Hawaiian can not be depended upon for that purpose, and if he could the number is far short of the requirements. He prefers the life of the city where he earns enough for his simple wants as stevedore on the wharf or along the railway; as a street laborer in the service of the government, as type-setter, carter, street-car conductor, driver, or in some of the mechanical lines. The women weave mats, hats, baskets and similar wares; sew, either dress-making or for the tailors. But the Hawaiian is not found in domestic service. That he will have none of.

Cultivation of the fields is left almost exclusively with other nationalities. On account of the great difficulty of obtaining Europeans, most of the agricultural labor is done by the Japanese and Chinese, the latter of whom, as before stated best coalesce with the native Hawaiian. The results of many years of experience seem to justify the common belief in Hawaii that the white man will not work in the fields of cane or at any other hard outdoor labor. Every inducement has been offered in wage as well as in profit sharing; still he won't come.

White labor has been introduced from Norway, Sweden, Germany, Portuguese possessions and other parts of Europe; but the result has been the same. After serving the period of the agreement in the field or in the sugar mills or at other agricultural employments, they have gone into the towns and picked up anything that offered. Later the same attempt has been made on the basis of share planting. In about all cases it failed. The supposed share planter often let out his field to a Japanese or Chinese cultivator. He then withdrew to the town, to reappear only when the crop was all in to settle up, pay his employer and pocket the remaining profit. If he wanted to do that, there is no reason why he should not, but it is not agriculture by the white man and it removes absolutely from the white man the right to object if industries are kept alive and prosper through the labor of the Chinese.

The Chinese are contented to lease lands for their purposes. The Japanese will to a less extent do the same. The white man wants to own the soil and the latter for that reason make the better and more stable citizen.

Strenuous attempts are being made at the present time, both by the government of Hawaii and some citizens, to induce the settlement of whites by grants of land, on easy terms, with the promise of a ready market for the crop, if that is salable and fitted to the soil and climate. So far no great success has attended these efforts, though all recognize that such immigrants will make valuable citizens.

But the Hawaiian land holder can lease to the Chinese and continue to own the soil. It has often been asserted that as long as he owns the land the Hawaiian lives and seems to have a tangible hold on life. But when it is sold, he goes to pieces.

If this is true, then the Chinese is the best immigrant for the native, and as there does not appear to be any difficulty in preventing his going to other American ports, it seems an injustice to prevent at least a restricted immigration of Chinese to Hawaii.

It is not easy to suggest wise remedies for existing conditions in Hawaii any more than at other places, but it is pertinent to ask why former laws and customs which were salutary and beneficial for Hawaii and Hawaiians and which are not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States nor with the principles of republican government should not be revived and allowed to continue for that territory. In so far as the people of that section are concerned, the former restricted relations with the Chinese were of benefit to the Hawaiian people and to the country in general. The regulations were humane and just to the Chinese and not inconsistent with the existence of conditions

necessary for the best existence of the white man. This seems to be clearly shown by the fact that up to 1900, when the laws of the United States went into full force in Hawaii, there was a large and continued increase in the immigration of Caucasians, and all seemed to find enough to do and were able to earn a livelihood, which made them stay in the country. But with the application of the Territorial Act and general laws of the United States, with regard to Chinese as well as other matters, the prosperity of the white man seemed to cease, and with the large decrease in the number of Chinese which has occurred since 1900, there has also been a corresponding decrease and migration from Hawaii of white men of the mechanic and laboring classes. With this condition of affairs it has become increasingly difficult for the native Hawaiian to earn his livelihood. In short, the changed conditions have unfavorably affected all classes in the community.

It would seem to be an act of justice on the part of the United States to expend in Hawaii at least as much of the revenue it now draws from there as remains over and above the necessary expense of maintaining United States Government. It is well known that since annexation took place, the United States, besides becoming the owner of public lands and acquiring thereby without further expense, sites for most of its official requirements, has withdrawn from Hawaii very much more than it has expended. The United States, for instance, assumed \$4,000,000 of the Hawaiian debt; it also paid \$1,500,000 toward the loss incurred from the sanitary fires in exterminating the plague which might otherwise have spread to California and other parts of the United States. But in addition to these amounts and the cost of maintaining the United States officials throughout the islands, it has had an actual profit of several million dollars. It would not be an injustice to the people of other parts of the United States if some portion of this excess, which is derived wholly from Hawaii, should be expended for education, for internal improvement and other needs in the islands; but such expenditure cannot be hoped for unless there is a sentiment created in the United States favorable thereto.

It would be a move toward better government in Hawaii if the restrictions of the elective franchise which existed prior to annexation might be restored. These things all seem to be within the power of Congress. It is not an answer to the proposition that if some of these things should be done for Hawaii, the inhabitants of other Territories might thereupon demand equal consideration. These conditions which exist in Hawaii are peculiar, as are those in the Philippines or in Alaska. They are not the same that obtain and control in any part of the main

land of the United States. Therefore, the reasons which might forbid consideration by the United States of the requests of some community, as in New Mexico or Arizona, would not apply.

In conclusion, the Hawaiian asks the kindly consideration of thoughtful people in the United States to requirements and conditions which are peculiar to that country. We believe that a careful and thoughtful consideration of these conditions and requirements will result in just action on the part of this great country and in relief to that distant section of the United States.

The PRESIDENT.—The last speaker of the evening is a gentleman who inherited his missionary blood from a missionary ancestry and who was a pastor in Brooklyn where I first knew him, was afterwards a pastor in Massachusetts, and whether he has been in Honolulu or anywhere else, he has always been a missionary and illustrated that truth wherever he has been which was put before us so beautifully by Dr. Griffis this morning, vital truth as distinguished from embalmed truth. We have great pleasure in hearing from Rev. Dr. Doremus Scudder, Secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

HAWAII, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

BY REV. DOREMUS SCUDDER.

Hawaii—six or eight tiny fly-specks on the world's map—bulks large to the man of vision with its many problems and mighty out-issuing possibilities. Mix intimately such diverse blood-strains as the Chinese or pure Mongol, the Mongoloid Korean, the Sinico-Malayan or Japanese, the Polynesian and the Caucasian, spice in the faintest trace of Afric color, and what sort of a man will crystallize in your test tube, is the ethnological interrogation we are facing in the Mid-Pacific. How evolve a system of peasant proprietorships out of vast corporate landed estates, is the industrial conundrum of our new Territory. Given a community composed of an overwhelming proportion of Asiatics, a goodly fellowship of native Hawaiians, a large number of Portuguese, all comparatively poor and dependent for support upon a handful of rich white Americans, how, first, are the homogeneous latter to transform the conglomerate former into an intelligent, independent electorate dominated by American ideals; and how, second, pending the achievement of this laudable aim are the elect few to retain control without debauching the many by force, by bribery or by fraud? This is two-thirds

of our political problem. The remaining third is, what is the select minority going to do with graft, when it invades its own ranks and threatens to divide its already slender column into two hostile bands: "For Plunder" and "For Principle"? As for religion, the historic Church of the Islands—call it Presbyterio-Congregational if you like or Union for short—is at it battling against the only real paganism, that of evil: the situation being complicated, partly by the active co-operation, partly by the side tilting of other Christian denominations, of Mormons and of Buddhists. It is a dainty little mix-up we have out there in the Peaceful Ocean, and yet we are not a whit discouraged.

First and foremost, I suppose because the saving salt in Hawaii is Puritan in essence and the Puritan never yet has balked at the impossible. Being no little of a mixture himself of early Briton, Italian (of the time of the Roman Caesars), Norse, Dane, Saxon, Norman-Frank, French Huguenot and sturdy Dutch Lowlander, to say nothing of the other complicating streams now invading the American mainland, he is apt to regard with little dread the coming racial human of the future. If a Chinese can in one generation level up a Hawaiian into a high-grade product of finer parts than either ancestor, why not set him at the task of toning into larger usefulness the mass of our national incompetents everywhere? Let the new race come in the Mid-Pacific to make clear to the world that it has nothing to fear but everything to hope for from a mixture of the sweet reasonableness of the Hawaiian—most attractive of God's nature-children,—the fervor of Japan's Yamato damashii, the Anglo-Saxon's worship of success-at-any-price, and the godlike, patient Chinese industry, which will yet put its owner first in the race if the Almighty Father's family does not meanwhile find its unity. You ask, will not such amalgamation cost? Of course it will, everything worth while in the world costs—heart breakings and home divisions, estrangements and enmities; but Hawaii, genial Hawaii, is doubtless the best theatre in the wide world for this world-wide experiment.

The role of a prophet is no sinecure and I shall not dare it in dealing with the future of our industrial system. Our Nation's honored President set out four years ago, so the press said, to make Hawaii white-American. Singularly enough the financial balloon which annexation sent floating to the skies, began to drop just about that time and with its subsidence a re-emigration of whites back to the mainland commenced and has persisted ever since. That for years Hawaii will continue to make sugar and to coin money thereby, seems the guarantee both of the magnificent systems of irrigation, largely paid for by years of good prices, and also of the remarkable scientific perfection

achieved in the production of this staple upon the islands. But three mighty factors threaten the supremacy of this industry, and therefore the continuance of present economic conditions. The first of these is free trade in sugar between the Philippines and Cuba on one side and the United States on the other—a measure of simple justice which our nation cannot long deny. The second is the coming demand on the part of the vast population, soon to crowd the Pacific Coast, for tropical fruits which Hawaii can supply more cheaply than any other competitor. The third is the gradual reversion to the Territory of more than a million acres of land now under lease, which in accordance with the present public policy of the United States must be parcelled out to the people. This establishment of the system of small farm holdings will necessitate diversified products, the most intensive cultivation of the soil of the islands and the most intelligent exploitation of their possibilities. The Territory with an area almost as large as the State of New Jersey should have no trouble in caring for an equal population—two millions of persons. Who shall they be? A most determined effort is being made to introduce Europeans, the latest word being to fetch over Russians—Doukhabors, captured prisoners, anyone so long as he has white skin. The success of this experiment is problematical. One of the leading authorities in Hawaii is on record with the opinion that it will take from three to five years for an ordinary American farmer to equip himself for successful work on the islands, because conditions are so different from those at home. This is a serious handicap, especially at this times when it looks as though the vast holdings in the Pacific States gained through fraud are likely to be made available for the people. The acreage throughout the West to be redeemed by irrigation will also seriously diminish the attractiveness to continental Americans of lands so far away over sea. Then there is that new El Dorado, Northwest Canada.

Meantime, how long can the pressure from Japan and China be resisted? Here we have the ideal intensive farmer ready to realize for Hawaii her industrial future. How long natural laws can be resisted is a question for professional economists. One fixed quantity in the discussion is the emergence upon the scene of more than 4,000 Chinese and 5,000 Japanese boys and girls, born American citizens upon the ground. These together with the Portuguese constitute a factor which cannot be disregarded and which creates the demand that they be trained as intelligent agriculturists to help take up the land as fast as it is opened and make the most of it. That to my mind is the one most imperative economic duty we Americans have in the Islands, and I am glad to say that the historic Christian Church there is alive

to this obligation, is planning to secure just out of the city of Honolulu 300 acres of land with soil of rare fertility, proposes to move thereon its three great schools and to make of them a splendid institution whose aim shall be to produce, first, men and women of Christian character; second, agriculturists and foresters able to cope with local conditions; third, mechanics; and fourth, Christian leaders not only for all races in Hawaii, but also for Eastern Asia and for Asiatics on our Pacific Coast, where the Oriental is increasing so rapidly. This Mid-Pacific Institute may have as glorious a career as any of our great mainland educational centres. The future then seems to promise a gradual passing away of the present economic anomaly of a few great landholders controlling the destinies of an army of ignorant foreign laborers, and the substitution therefor of many peasant proprietors, whose intelligence and Christian character it is the one imperative mission of the present generation to guarantee. Coincident with this change the Panama Canal will open and the Islands will slowly become the centre of a commerce which is to be the wonder of the coming centuries. The annihilation of distance and the enhanced frequency of communication will bring to clearer light the latent possibilities concealed in our marvelous climate, and Hawaii will take its rightful place as a home for the large class of the retired, the leisurely and the studious, whom considerations of health or of inclination will lead to seek the many advantages which the islands have to offer.

We come then to the most immediately pressing and perplexing problem of all, that of the Americanization of our complex electorate. There is no question that we have a large bribable element in our population—using the term bribery to cover all favors bestowed in exchange for votes. Way back as far as the election of King Kalakaua. Americans who should have known better are charged with having begun the practice of buying voters. We miss almost entirely in the islands what is meant in the mainland by the words “the people,” the sturdy, honest, independent, intelligent class of hardworking farmers, mechanics, day laborers, clerks, whom you cannot fool either all the time or very much of the time, who decide our great questions and when they grasp them decide in the right, who are the backbone of the Union, the owners of the public conscience, upon whom our future depends, whose voice is as the voice of many waters, the voice of God in our nation. It is impossible to legislate a nature-people into such a body politic at one stroke. And when you complicate the problem with the presence of the keen-witted, agile-conscienced Asiatic, you double or treble the difficulty. While this is true, it is a question whether the imperative necessity to train the weak laid by our

liberal franchise upon the strong does not outweigh the disadvantages of the condition into which Congress forced us by the grant of manhood suffrage.

Whatever be the truth on this mooted point, the one overwhelming feature of life in Hawaii today is the smallness of the force dominated by the regnant conscience of the mainland, the conscience that hates graft as the giant adversary of our free institutions, the conscience that holds bribery to be always and in all its forms the plague-pest of Americanism, the conscience that is determined to train every voter to yield to its own sway and no other. When one looks only at the greatness of the task, at the ten thousand Asiatics and nine thousand Portuguese born on our soil, at our twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand Hawaiians, all of whom are to be transformed into the image of the citizenship, whose ideals are Washington and Lincoln and Roosevelt, and that, too, through the medium of a handful of white Americans, it seems hopeless. But the experience of the few elections held since annexation and the vision, which faith in American institutions and in the American spirit inspires, leave no place for such pessimistic prognosis. That the entire country is interested in us gives mighty power to every stroke for the right out there in the mid-Pacific. Annexation has brought us into the Union. Its ideals are becoming Hawaii's, nay, are now Hawaii's.

We need then no special legislation other than the generous recognition of the fact that our isolation imposes peculiar burdens which should be lightened by a liberal expenditure for public improvements of the revenues raised on the islands by the general government. Hawaii also opposes the Chinese Exclusion Law, partly because of the local labor stringency, partly because we discern the commercial short-sightedness of the national policy, partly because it is believed to be bad politics and bad morals to discriminate merely upon racial lines. What we need in the Territory, however, is not so much more law as more of the true spirit of the nation, intelligent sympathy, frequent coming and going of the best people of the mainland, active financial support of our great missionary and educational institutions, in a word, closer communion between you on this side of the water and us on that, whose lives are one great endeavor to make America realize its ideal possibilities.

For the gist of the entire Hawaiian situation lies in the recognition by all true patriots throughout the mainland of the fact that the obligation to make our new Territory in spirit what it is in name, a living member of the mighty organism which we call the nation, rests upon the whole Union. It is no mere local question. Hawaii is a national asset. Fifty years ago Commo-

dore Dupont in his report to Congress wrote: "It is impossible to estimate too highly the value or importance of the Sandwich Islands, whether from a commercial or military point of view." Our nation believes this. The navy that can hold Hawaii, dominates the Pacific. When the commerce of the vast unexploited continents of Asia, Australia and the Americas in this great ocean of the future attains its majority, what this single and only mid-sea transshipment centre will mean to the world and to the nation which owns Hawaii, neither you nor I have the vision to forecast. The position of these islands at the focus of the greater United States brings to them today and will in coming time increasingly tend to accentuate there problems of great complexity and delicacy. Some of these may seem to regard only local interests, but in any large view because of the very location of the islands at the point where mighty nations and diverse civilizations meet, they exceed national limits and become of international moment. Hawaii of all places in America cannot live for itself alone. Today through its Asiatic population it intimately affects China, Japan and Korea on the one hand and the Pacific Coast on the other. If the idea of the Chinese boycott did not originate in Honolulu, it found such instant support there that it passed at once from the stage of suggestion to that of actualization. This suggests the influence our new Territory already exerts upon certain international questions. Hawaii's touch upon the world must be the touch of our nation at its best. As the figurehead upon the American Ship of State with prow towards the great Orient—that dominating force in the tomorrow of mankind—that this Territory should incarnate not only the grace of our civilization but also and pre-eminently the spiritual beauty of realized Christian ideals, should be a matter of national pride as well as the dictate of the public conscience of the United States.

The Conference then adjourned.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 20, 1905.

The PRESIDENT.—The Conference will please come to order.

The first hour of this morning is to be devoted to the consideration of Porto Rico by three speakers who have personal and intimate knowledge of the subject. The Porto Rican problem differs very radically from the Hawaiian problem, which we considered last night. In Hawaii we are dealing with a heterogeneous population, very largely Pagan; in Porto Rico we are dealing with a population which for centuries has been under the influence of the Christian church and government of civilized state. It is true we think America is a good deal in advance of Spain, but I suppose there are none of us who will deny that Spain is a civilized state. It is true that a good many of us think our form of faith is superior to that of the Roman Catholic Church, but I hope there are none of us who will deny to the Roman Catholic Church the appellation of a Christian Church. The Porto Ricans have been under the control of the Christian Church and state for centuries, and our problem is to know how we can bring the Porto Rican people, whose ancestry has been different from ours and whose faith is different from many of us, whose education has certainly been very limited and narrow, relatively speaking, how can we bring them into such harmony with American institutions as to make out of them a self-governing territory at first, and eventually a self-governing state. That seems to be in a word our Porto Rican problem. Our first speaker of the morning will be Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Professor of Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, and former commissioner of education in Porto Rico.

THE NECESSARY PLACE OF EDUCATION IN OUR PORTO RICAN POLICY.

BY DR. SAMUEL M'CUNE LINDSAY.

One year ago, just after completing a term of nearly three years public service in Porto Rico, I had the pleasure of addressing this Conference on the work of the public schools in that island. Today I invite your attention to the larger question of

perspective and ask what place must public education hold in any general policy which this nation adopts in its dealings with Porto Rico? Unfortunately there is no definite Porto Rican policy that has as yet been formulated with any clearness by public opinion in the United States. Such a condition cannot surely endure much longer. We owe it to Porto Rico, and we owe it to ourselves, to define more exactly our intentions with respect to the future development—economic, political and social—of Porto Rico and the nature of our mutual relations.

We have given to Porto Rico a good, clean, honest and efficient administration of public affairs within the limits of the organic act, which is virtually a constitution for the island. We have been generous in our financial conditions, though we have practically expended no money from our national treasury for Porto Rico. Free trade with the United States, together with the full use of her own customs and internal revenue collections less only the cost of collection and the cost of the federal judiciary in the island, has been for Porto Rico more substantial aid than any other territory of the United States has received from Washington. It is true the Foraker law has restricted somewhat the rapid economic development of the island, but this was done for the ultimate good of Porto Rico and not to give any advantage to the United States. With some slight modifications this law may well stand for a long time to come, and will continue to demonstrate the wisdom of the statesmanship that framed it. We need not expect the work of tutelage of a population 85 per cent. illiterate, and with a government that was bankrupt in every direction when we took over the island, to be a popular task, nor one that will bring us gratitude in return, except from the few who are intelligent and capable, until the whole mass is raised educationally to a point where free institutions and honest, impartial administration can be appreciated by those whose traditional history for four hundred years tells nothing of these things. This means a generation or two at least must elapse and then the results of American institutions in a Latin-American country will be tested by the transforming power of the American free public school. In that, and in that alone, lies the future hope of both Porto Rican and American for success in their relations to each other which became inseparably linked together by the Treaty of Paris.

We hear many rumors of discontent in Porto Rico. These usually emanate from disaffected individuals whose grievances can not well be harmonized because they almost invariably stand for the failure of their respective exponents rather than for any general failure of the Government or of general policies with respect to the Porto Rican people as a whole. It is pre-eminently the privilege of a Conference like this to aid the Government of

the United States as well as that of Porto Rico by a discussion of constructive measures which shall realize the program of President Roosevelt when he said to the teachers of Porto Rico assembled in the White House at Washington: "It is my earnest wish, as it was the wish of my lamented predecessor, and it is the wish of the people of the United States, that only unmixed good shall come to the people of Porto Rico because of their connection with this country."

If, then, the school has so large a task to perform antedating if not indeed conditioning the possibility of great progress in other departments of public administration, is it not pertinent to ask ourselves continuously whether we are doing all we can to further public education of the sort most needed?

The details of administration are necessarily unfamiliar to the bulk of our people by reason of the distance that separates us. The measure of self-government already accorded to the representatives elected by the people of Porto Rico to their legislative assembly gives them a large voice, especially in the expenditure of their public revenues. About one-fourth of the public revenues of the island are now being expended in the support of public schools, which are, however, wholly inadequate in number and in the provision made for the more costly forms of education, such as manual training and trade schools, to meet the needs of a people who have been so long deprived of opportunities which we regard as essential. Yet we expect them to take care of themselves with the same measure of efficiency that we expect of those who have enjoyed the blessings of liberty for two centuries.

In a country almost wholly agricultural, where the need of special training schools in agriculture is most imperative, we have not yet, after five years of civil government, extended to Porto Rico the benefits of the Hatch and Morrill acts for the endowment of schools and colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. The celebrated Morrill land grant act of July 2, 1862, has been appropriately called "the most magnificent endowment of higher education ever made by any government, church or individual," and its provisions have been extended to every territory in the United States, including Alaska. Its beneficiaries receive in addition to the original grant about \$40,000 annually. A request for similar treatment for Porto Rico has been made frequently by the commissioner of education for Porto Rico in his reports to Congress, and a measure embodying this request has passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives, but at different sessions, and it has not yet been possible to arouse sufficient interest in Congress to get this measure enacted into law. Congress should do a great deal more. In lieu of the original land grant it should vote outright a sum of not less than one

million dollars for agricultural schools and make it available not only for higher education to train teachers and support experimental stations, important and necessary as these things may be, but also for building small country school houses and equipping them to do agricultural work in addition to teaching the elementary studies of the primary school. The whole educational system is now organized in Porto Rico with this in view. The University of Porto Rico was established with only two departments—one a normal training school for teachers in the public schools and the other an agricultural department ready to comply with the conditions demanded by the Morrill and Hatch acts.

The success of our governmental experiment in Porto Rico means that the people must compete industrially and economically with our citizens and therefore they must receive a training in the public schools, not only as good as that which we provide for our own children, but enough better to make up for four centuries of development vastly inferior in its opportunities to that through which our forefathers have passed. Instead of criticising as relatively large the expenditure of one-fourth of the public revenue for public education, the constructive policy, urgently needed, will endeavor to find a way of increasing this proportion to at least one-half of the public revenues without curtailing the necessary expenditures for the maintenance of an honest and efficient government in every municipality as well as in the insular capital, and without lessening the necessary provision for the economic development of the country, through the building of roads and other necessary public works.

The increasing number of schools each year conducted in the English language and the progress in English in all the schools is alone of sufficient value economically to the people of Porto Rico in their present relations to the United States to justify the entire expenditure for public education. Special instruction in agriculture in all of the rural schools, hand and trade work in all the graded town schools, and trade schools of a special character with some additional provision for higher education, especially in the line of professional training, is urgently and imperatively needed.

One hundred and fifty American teachers, one-third of them graduates of American colleges and three-quarters of the remainder graduates of normal or high schools in the states, are now at work in Porto Rico teaching English to the children in the schools, to the teachers in special classes and to the adults of the villages in private lessons. Will any business man in the United States who has tried to do business with Porto Rico or any Porto Rican who has tried to sell goods to the American say that this is not profitable education? Will any one deny that the number

of such teachers should be doubled? They are a noble, self-sacrificing body of Americanizers and as a group better equipped for their work than any like number of public school teachers chosen at random from the public schools in our best American city.

The American teachers number only one in nine approximately of the public school teachers of the island, the other 88 per cent. being native Porto Rican teachers, an increasing number of whom each year are ambitious young men and young women, who have improved to the full their meagre opportunities, are appointed on merit alone, and give evidence of loyalty, enthusiasm and the other qualities of mind and heart which make the successful teacher. Cannot the United States afford to increase their number by adding from our national treasury at least one dollar for every dollar appropriated to public education from the revenues of the island by the insular legislature? With this aid in addition to the agricultural grant to which I have made reference, I believe the educational needs of Porto Rico could be satisfactorily met for many years to come, provided the insular legislature continued its present policy of voting one-quarter of its revenues for this purpose. The annual budget for education is now about \$700,000, and with the natural increase in taxable property this should become one million dollars at the same rate within ten years. A like sum voted by the Congress of the United States would not be a heavy burden to this country. With a million and a half to two millions dollars a year, and a million dollars for equipment for agricultural education and forty thousand a year additional for maintenance, sufficient sums for buildings for other than rural schools could be borrowed by the public authorities in Porto Rico and repaid in annual instalments extending over a series of years as at present, and the needs of the school population of a million people can be met in a way that will not bring the blush of shame to any American who twenty-five or fifty years hence reviews the days of small beginnings in our Porto Rican policy.

The PRESIDENT.—As presiding officer, I feel great hesitancy about expressing any opinion on the questions here brought before you, but I want, in a single sentence, to record my private conviction, first that the United States Government ought to see to it that the people of every territory unorganized as a state under the Federal Government, are provided with an adequate school system. (Applause.) And where the people are unable to provide that for themselves, the Federal Government should, for the time being, aid them in providing for it and specifically in the case of Porto Rico that the Federal Government ought to be

prepared to appropriate (I won't go into the detail) something like a dollar out of the Federal Government for every dollar the Porto Ricans pay out of their funds, until their school system is thoroughly established.

Our next speaker is Dr. Roland P. Falkner, the present Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico.

DR. ROLAND P. FALKNER.—When I learned that the Lake Mohonk Conference would again discuss the affairs of Porto Rico, it was with the information that these matters would be presented to you by one of Porto Rico's leading citizens, Dr. J. C. Barbosa. There are a few here present who know his keen intelligence and appreciate fully what we have missed through his absence, as there are many here who had the privilege of listening to these fruitful discussions from year to year who know how much he in turn has missed. There is none who feels this more deeply than Dr. Barbosa himself. It was his earnest wish to speak to the people of the United States through this Conference. He was at work upon his paper when he was stricken with a serious illness, from which he had not fully recovered when I left Porto Rico two weeks ago. His last words to me before leaving were to express his sorrow that he could not carry out his plans, and had he known that I should be present here, it would have been his wish that I bear his message of regret to the Conference.

It is perhaps a truism to say that the problem which confronts us in Porto Rico is that of the Americanization of the island. But is the matter clearly stated by this phrasing? What is it to Americanize a region? What is it that is essentially American? We feel that it is something admirably worth while; we instinctively prize our own Americanism, even when we distrust that of our neighbors, but we find some difficulty in reducing it to a formula. The nebulousness of our definition does not, however, always impose caution in our judgment, and the verdict un-American is pronounced very frequently by those who would be at a loss to explain what they mean.

In its application to Porto Rico these considerations have weight. Every verdict as to the success or failure of our work in Porto Rico needs a key. It can only be explained by the concept of Americanism which lurks half formed, but rarely defined, somewhere in the back of the juryman's head.

One class of critics, numerous both in Porto Rico and the United States, instinctively identifies Americanism with certain definite forms of government. No regime not wholly based upon the elective franchise can in the opinion of these persons be wholly American, and if not American must be wholly wrong.

To these critics the present Government of Porto Rico, where the upper house of the legislature is appointed by the President of the United States, and where a majority of its members are at the same time heads of executive departments, is an abhorrence. They have forgotten, if they ever knew, that in the primitive form of territorial government adopted in the early days of the republic, legislative bodies deriving their power from appointment were frequent. They overlook the fact that in nearly every legislative body in existence, except in the United States, a responsible ministry with the direct conduct of executive affairs constitutes an integral part of the legislature, and that publicists whose Americanism cannot be questioned have urged this plan in our own Government. They ignore utterly the fact that the only thing that keeps our own Government running smoothly in the absence of executive representation in Congress, is the presence in that body of legislators of long experience who have become thoroughly familiar with the needs of some one branch of the public service, each one of whom is an expert in his particular line.

None the less the strangeness of the Porto Rican constitution is a stumbling block to many, who cannot conceive that any good can come of a government so constituted. That such would be the view of the average Porto Rican is sufficiently obvious. As the desire for power is innate, so is it natural that we should chafe under any restriction, and the Porto Rican does not differ from the rest of us. These considerations, moreover, explain the natural sympathy with which so many of our people listen to his recital of his woes and repeat the statement of his grievances.

If this matter is fundamental, if true Americanism is definitely associated with certain forms of government which are not present in Porto Rico, then let us frankly confess our failure and amend our ways. But if true Americanism be something infinitely finer than mere forms of government, if here as elsewhere it is the spirit which quickeneth and giveth life, then the whole question of whether our labors in the Americanization of Porto Rico are bearing fruit, must be judged by wholly different standards.

I am no dialectician to offer you a definition of Americanism which shall please alike the patriot and the lexicographer. I can only humbly echo the oft-repeated sentiments of one whom we recognize as one of the greatest among us, that strict equality before the law, a fair chance for all, honesty and integrity in all matters great and small, are fundamental principles upon which the American body politic rests. When these principles pervade the public and private life of Porto Rico, the labor of Americanization will be completed, for the ideals of their people will pulse

in harmony with our own. It matters little what form of government may have been granted to them, it matters little how far the Spanish language may have receded before the English. These are mere externals and not vital.

Can we implant the ideals of American life among these people and if so what are the means at our disposal? What are we doing now and how effective are the agencies at work?

In a sense all our efforts are educational, but this education must proceed along many lines. It must be not merely intellectual, but also industrial and political.

In the line of political education it is the duty of the American people to give the Porto Ricans good government. The administration should be without scandal and without reproach. Has this duty been performed? In the reviewing the events of the past four years, we must remember that government must be administered by human agents. Mistakes may have been made, errors of judgment are not improbable, but all things considered, the record of our American administration in Porto Rico is singularly clean and upright. If there is any state or territory which can produce a fairer record it has not yet come to my attention.

Through its restraining influence over the action of the local governments, the insular government is gradually bringing an improvement in their affairs. Order and solvency are becoming normal. Each year the distressing deficits, due to municipal extravagance, are becoming fewer. In like manner the bodies charged with the local administration of schools—another branch of municipal government—have greatly improved their financial standing by a more intelligent use of funds and a more painstaking economy in the public service.

The industrial education of the people, which has been incident to the change of sovereignty and the opening up of new and unknown markets, has not been so satisfactory. The adjustment to new economic conditions, always difficult, has been impeded by the shifting to a new market. A people dependent in so large measure on the export trade must ship goods in a manner acceptable to their customers. Our ways are unknown to them and they have had to learn them by bitter experience. The three great articles of export are sugar, coffee and tobacco. The two last named require careful preparation for the market. The lessons have been learned in the tobacco trade, but not in the coffee business. In order to facilitate matters as far as in its power, the Government has recently established an agency in New York for Porto Rican products, charged with the duty of introducing the Porto Rican coffee to the American market. It is too early to predict success or failure. It is mentioned as an evidence of good will.

But the education which is coming to the people through political examples and industrial activities, affects mainly the adults whom we can hardly expect to be apt learners. It is not too much to say that the hope of Porto Rico lies in its schools, a statement oft repeated to me by representative Porto Ricans, and which I reiterate not in any sense of vain glory, but with a profound sentiment of responsibility.

We of the United States are prone to look upon the public school as a distinctly American institution. If not our exclusive possession, it is so intimately bound up with our concept of life and scheme of society that it seems to us, and is in truth, the clearest exponent of Americanism. It will be admitted, I would fain believe, without argument, that to lift a people from ignorance and illiteracy is in itself a work of Americanization. Now what is our problem in Porto Rico? It is simply expressed by the result of the census of 1899, that of the population over ten years of age only 16 per cent. could read and write. When we took hold of Porto Rico there were supposed to be on the rolls of the public schools 20,000 children. If this number actually attended, and if allowing about three years each of schooling, we may assume that 7000 learned annually to read and write, then the best that we could have hoped for the future would be that in some distant day 25 per cent. of the people could read and write.

The American Government took up the matter of schools vigorously. The schools have increased in number until in the past year we had some 62,000 children on the rolls, and 45,000 in average daily attendance. This progress has been obtained through the enlightened co-operation of the insular legislature, which has spared no sacrifice in behalf of education. Nor is there any slackening of interest in the general cause of education, and we can reasonably hope for increase of our appropriations with increased revenues of the island. What does this progress mean for the future? It means that considerably over one-half of the population is now receiving an elementary education. With increased appropriations this proportion will be increased. When our present school children reach man's estate the percentage of ignorance and illiteracy will be greatly reduced. The advance thus far made has been accomplished, moreover, with the strictest economy. Aggregate expenditures for all school purposes, insular and local, were last year somewhat in excess of \$800,000, or less than \$1.00 per capita of the total population of the island.

The problem of the education of Porto Rico is in the first instance to give an elementary education suited to their needs to the entire people. A very large proportion of the people live in the rural districts, and the only school accessible to them is the

wayside school where a single teacher directs the work of all the children. Excellent as such schools may be they cannot in the nature of things provide a very prolonged or extensive course of study. Two or three years exhaust the possibilities of advance in such a school. Hence in concrete terms, our task is in large measure to provide, if possible, such simple schools in the rural districts. And here I would point out a difference in the present treatment of this aspect of the question from that you heard last year. In the statement made then that 300,000 children were not having the benefits of an education, comparison was made with the legal school population from 5 to 18 years of age. This is usual, but not, in my opinion, profitable. It seems to me much better to compare school attendance with the effective school population, those who ought to be in school—here in the rural regions under discussion a period of three years in the child's life instead of 13. Figuring upon this basis, I find that in the rural districts which have schools about 50 per cent. of the need is supplied. But unfortunately in the country there are many other districts where there is no school, and where all the children are growing up in ignorance. These districts represent 22 per cent. of the population of the island. In the towns our schools are organized on the graded basis, providing instruction in eight grades leading up to the high and normal schools. But in them it is not normal for all the children to pass through all the grades. Even in the United States the 5,149,000 children in the first grade dwindle to 324,000 in the eighth. Assuming then four years as an average attendance in the town schools, I am gratified to report that we are furnishing an education to 80 per cent. of the town children. Everywhere the call is for more schools, and no more painful duty comes to the Commissioner of Education than the denial of these earnest appeals for more schools from all parts of the island.

Primarily a system of elementary education, it is none the less the desire of our people that the schools should represent the full American system of public schools. For the few who pass beyond the primary grades the facilities should be of the best, and the children fitted to continue their studies in the United States. How well this is being done is testified by the fact that the San Juan High School graduated last June four pupils; two of them, sons of an American official, are now students in Princeton, while another of mixed German and Porto Rican parentage is a student in Cornell. We go a step further than primary education. The legislature has recognized the need of a few persons of higher training, and has granted 25 scholarships for study in the United States. Not the least valuable of the results of this institution should be the contact with our people. There are few Porto

Ricans who visit the States and return to Porto Rico who are not active agents of Americanization, spreading a better understanding of our life among their countrymen.

If the school *per se* is a force working towards Americanization, how much more when we remember that these schools are essentially American schools. In a few of the larger cities, they are conducted in the English language. But whether conducted in Spanish or English it is the earnest desire, the unremitting labor of our department, to infuse into them the spirit of the American public school.

I said before that an essential feature of Americanism was equality before the law. Our schools are absolutely free without distinction of race, sex or social conditions. This is in itself a moral force in a community which has not hitherto known this thing. Under the old regime there was a pauperizing distinction between those able to pay and those who could not, with resulting advantages for the former and disastrous neglect for the latter.

It is American that there should be a fair chance for all. Our schools are giving this opportunity.

It is American that there should be honesty and integrity in all matters great and small. We are teaching it to our pupils by precept and example. We are requiring honest work of the teacher. We are effectively supervising his work by an intelligent and active corps of superintendents. Any one who had the privilege of attending our annual teachers' institutes would not fail to be impressed by the earnest and professional zeal of our teachers. The greater part of them are diligently endeavoring to improve themselves, and I have the testimony of eminent Porto Ricans by no means friendly to the administration, that in our schools a new spirit reigns wholly unknown to the people before. This spirit is believed to be the true seed of Americanism planted upon the most fertile soil which will some day blossom out and bear fruit worthy of its origin.

These are some of the forces working towards Americanization in our island. The work is not all fair weather occupation. Those intrusted with the administration of the island in great things and in small, must signally fail unless they are inspired by the missionary spirit. The work here must be for years essentially missionary work. The missionary must be content to see his work misunderstood at home, he must not complain if he is buffeted and reviled in the field, but must steadily and singleheartedly pursue his labors. His mission is to sustain by precept and example the highest standard of American ideals, his rock of safety, an abiding faith in the vitality and excellence of American institutions.

The PRESIDENT.—Our next speaker was special commissioner of the United States War Department to revise taxation laws of Porto Rico in 1900, and was the first Treasurer of the Island. He is now Professor of Political Economy at Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. JACOB H. HOLLANDER.—Ladies and Gentlemen: My attitude should be distinctly apologetic for presenting, not a formal address, but a series of brief and informal comments. It rises in a measure from the nature of my present activity. Last year when I was invited to come to Lake Mohonk, it so happened that President Roosevelt had asked me to make an investigation of certain conditions in the Indian Territory. When Mr. Smiley asked if I would speak about Indian affairs, I wrote that I could not, being then still in Government service; but that I should be glad to take part in the discussion of the West Indian problems. Since then my connection with the Indian affairs has terminated, but my West Indian connection has been renewed! So, although I might this year have been glad to have spoken about Indian affairs, I experience some embarrassment in discussing West Indian problems.

I spent a year and a half in Porto Rico, but that seems prehistoric now—it is fully five years ago and conditions change very markedly in Porto Rico. However, during the past summer and spring, in connection with other matters, I visited Porto Rico twice, once in April and again in late August. I cannot even claim the equipment of a six-weeks' visitor—against whom Dr. Lindsay warned you! I was in Porto Rico the first time not more than four days, and the second time a little less than forty-eight hours. But after all those glimpses in contrast with the time spent there before, and more particularly the circumstance that in going from Porto Rico I visited certain of the other West Indian islands, viz., Hayti, San Domingo, St. Thomas, Antigua, Barbados and Trinidad, passing in review islands under French, Danish and English rule, as well as the two island republics of the West Indies; I say this circumstance gives a certain perspective by virtue of which some comment may perhaps be justified.

I think within this small and intimate family circle, we may really admit that there is a spirit of discontent in Porto Rico. Nothing is gained, it seems to me, by closing our eyes to that fact. It is not of the proportions that sensational newspaper reports would have us believe; it is not a spirit likely to break out in political disturbance, but there is something different from that complete and united content with the existence of which we have been accustomed to comfort ourselves. What is its explanation? That is the problem, I think, with which such a body as

this should concern itself. We are here at the beginning, not as in the Indian problem, at the unhappy termination or near termination; here is an opportunity in the plastic, formative period, where policies may be influenced and indeed may be shaped, and where the advice and counsel of the Lake Mohonk Conference would not be merely large but influential.

In so far as the equipment which I have described frankly to you permits an analysis, I should say that Porto Rico, or rather the people of Porto Rico, like those of every other community, are made up of drones and workers. Now to the drones the advent of American rule was interpreted as a secular millennium. The waving of palm branches, with which General Miles' troops were greeted, was not any patriotic outburst at a new political order. It meant simply that this element of the community regarded American dominion as a sort of loaves and fishes wrapped in the stars and stripes; that from that time forward, there was to be no work, and bread and circus for everybody. Well, of course, that was not what American rule stood for and the disappointment was made keener by the unfortunate occurrence of a devastating hurricane, by a radical change in the currency system and by other abrupt incidents inevitably associated with a new political regime. This parasitic element of the Porto Rican community have accordingly found out that not only is their lot not easier, but if anything has been made more difficult, and that it is a cardinal principle of American industrial and economic life, that if a man will not work, he shall not eat, at least not very heartily, and certainly that he shall not play.

But there is a second element in the community whose state of mind is entitled to greater respect. This is the hardworking, earnest, and as far as any tropical people can be, industrious native. In so far as this class shows any spirit of disappointment, which is, perhaps, a more judicious term than discontent, it is precisely what is to be expected, I think, in the awakening of a people from an economic torpor. I suggested last year that the first cry of the child was not joy but pain. A people who have been in a state of economic repression, suddenly offered new industrial opportunities will, in their expansion, not evince happiness and delight and gratitude with what they have achieved, but aspiration, taking even the form of unrest and discontent for what lies beyond. I think this unrest is visible industrially, politically and even socially. Politically, the measure of self-government vouchsafed to the Porto Ricans—and for many years to come it should not, I think, be enlarged—has not made them display any large gratitude to the United States for what has been done, but has developed a legitimate striving and desire for larger political power. Industrially the same way. The fact that the day

laborer in San Juan is now receiving as much per hour as he did before, per day, does not lead him to pray in thanksgiving but to turn attentive eye at what the same labor in the United States is receiving, and to form a labor organization and to strike. That is perhaps a shock to our sensibilities, but it indicates economic and industrial expansion. In social life the same phenomenon is apparent. I shall not harrow your feelings by speaking of the conditions of residence in the metropolis of Porto Rico when the Americans came; certainly from our point of view they were trying. Since that time every steamer that has come north has brought its little body of Porto Rican boys and girls to American schools. There has been constant intercourse. The old insularity (because you could never convince the Porto Rican that Porto Rico was not, of all places, the one spot in the world where life was a blessing and joy), has disappeared and intelligent Porto Ricans have come to realize that there are things in their life, in their social life, distinctly, which were not present and to which they can attain.

I would, therefore, analyze whatever spirit of disappointment exists in Porto Rico into one part that was regrettable but inevitable, and one part that was annoying but wholesome. We may, I think, look forward to a continuation of this unrest. We shall never witness any profound demonstration of gratitude. We do not want that; that is not progress. Progress is striving for the beyond—economically, politically and socially. Certainly for the Porto Ricans, as well as ourselves, we should countenance that their grasp should exceed their reach, and that they should say so.

But there is another element in the situation and here we pass from the condition of interpretation and analysis to an attitude of suggestion. We cannot, perhaps, make the drones the workers, nor prevent the workers from developing aspirations, but we can influence tendencies wisely, and it is to this to which I wish to invite your attention. No one could visit in succession the French, the Danish, and, above all, the English islands, without feeling that here there were radical differences. The differences are two-fold. In each of these islands we find a unified colonial administration, and secondly a trained, professional colonial service. Now in the United States we have neither of those two elements, and I venture to prophesy that until we do have them we shall encounter difficulties much of the kind that confront us now. (Applause.) Whether we call them dependencies, or insular possessions, or unorganized territories, the fact remains that at this moment we are responsible for a series of inhabited areas, related in some way politically to the United States. We have Hawaii, we have the Philippines, we have

Porto Rico, we have Guam, we have the Panama Canal zone, we have one of the Samoan Islands, and in a measure, we have Cuba. I think I am fair in saying that no two of these, in the succession in which I have mentioned them, are under the administrative control of the same body in Washington. The Navy Department, the War Department, the Interior Department, the State Department, have divided them with no unification other than that which comes from the federal executive. What is the consequence? Not merely a disintegration, but an utter loss of the experience which tradition brings and of the gain which would accrue to one possession from the successes, the failures, and the experiences of the other. We are left in Porto Rico, for example, to go through identically the same experience which has been tried and has failed or has succeeded in Cuba; and similarly with respect to both in the Philippines. The Philippine educational problem is worked out regardless of the Porto Rican or the Cuban, and the fiscal schemes of both may be secured independent of either. That is radically wrong, and although we hesitate, perhaps, to recognize the fact that we are brought face to face with problems which are essentially colonial, it has gotten to the point where hiding our head in the sand is no longer profitable. If we are to administer areas which, contrary to our own preference, have come under our control, and if we will not blindly deny that we are likely to have similar and additional responsibilities, the proper thing seems to be to equip ourselves administratively in as efficient a form as possible.

But, after all, central administration is only one-half of the problem. On every hand you have heard that the greatest difficulty that would arise, that does arise, is the attempt to govern these possessions from Washington. Manifestly the difficulties which present themselves are, in the main, local, and an attempt to govern the Philippines, many thousand miles away, must be fatal unless a considerable degree of local discretion is entrusted to local officials. But that mere necessity of appointing insular officials vested with large discretion renders it imperative that those officials be men of high equipment and high capacity. I think I am safe in making the statement that in the experience of the United States, there has never been a body of men of the same number, appointed to positions of the same dignity, with as much care as in the case of Porto Rico. I make that statement deliberately, and I think it would be justified if it were possible to demonstrate it, that more care has been given by the President of the United States to the selection of the Porto Rican administrative officials than any other body of men of similar number and dignity, in the experience of the United States. And yet, ladies and gentlemen, there have been mistakes

made, and grave mistakes, and what is more impressive, there must be mistakes made. There are two classes of men who appeal for service or who are selected for service in our insular possessions. The first are those who are attracted by the missionary spirit, or by the expectation of constructive work at an initial period; and there are those who are urged for appointment. That latter indirection is, I think, as delicate as I can possibly make it. Now from the nature of things, the first group must be diminishing in number; the initial problems were fascinating, and still are, and will, in a measure, continue; but in a very little while, in five or ten years, the lines will have been laid and the problems that present themselves, although continuing along in difficulty, perhaps in greater difficulty, will not be of that same fascination as in the primary period. In consequence, the one class of men will be eliminated, or if not eliminated will be reduced; the second, those who go in a missionary spirit, will be available, but for lessening periods. You can induce an engineer to go to Porto Rico or the Philippines to take charge of road construction, in a sense of achieving things, for the good of the islands, but he will not stay there. Mournful as the outlook is, it seems as though our largest supply under existing conditions, must be from that large and inexhaustible class who seek the office, rather than who are sought.

How can we then improve the insular service? There are three essentials; in the first place you must provide, and I am now influenced entirely by the English and continental analogies, you must provide permanency of tenure. The second essential is the possibility of promotion, and the third is adequate compensation. Are these not, I appeal to you, elements which induce the best effort in any line of activity? What I mean to say is, that you cannot hope to recruit for the insular service the best material unless you make it clear to a young man that if he enters the service he is not exposed to political chance to be displaced upon the termination of his original appointment; in the second place, that if he enters the service and does first-class work, that he has a career before him; and thirdly, that while he is there he shall not be humiliated and rendered inefficient by an inadequate compensation. In my own experience as a teacher every year I have had individual young men come to me after graduating and ask whether they should enter the public service, and I have, in every case, urged in the strongest terms that they should not. I yield to no one in my sense of the honor and dignity and opportunity of government service. But as it now exists, the insular administrative service—and I refer, of course, only to that part not included in the civil service regulations—offers no career for a young man. No young man ought to be

advised to enter the diplomatic or consular service under existing conditions unless he is so circumstanced that he can leave it at any time. Precisely the same is true of the insular service. Until those conditions are changed, until the young man can enter the service, say in a junior grade, and be sure that if he displays the peculiar qualifications which that service requires, a career will lie before him, in the sense that a career in the British Colonial Office lies before him; until that time, I venture to suggest, we shall be dependent upon mere accident, aside from this missionary spirit, in obtaining first-class material. We have had first-class men in Porto Rico for brief periods, but we have had them only because the personal appeals of President McKinley and of President Roosevelt have induced such men to go there. Until we change that and have a body of young men whom we can always call upon, whom we can start in the junior grades and advance to the senior grades, we shall be dependent upon accident for efficient service. An independent colonial department, with a distinct insular service, rather alarms us. It has been suggested that an easier transition would be to make it a part of the State Department. It seems reasonable to hope that if in the future our consular and diplomatic service are organized upon a permanent basis, allied with it will be the nucleus of an insular service. (Applause.)

Mr. SMILEY.—I want to make one suggestion. I have noticed that many of our best speakers have referred to the fact that we cannot apply our American institutions and methods of doing business to our insular possessions, and that we must adapt ourselves to the conditions there and modify our methods in some measure, at least for a while. This company is mainly a Protestant company, and I address that portion of the company. We have in the Philippines a large and influential body of Roman Catholics. They have been working there for many years and it is not right to dispossess them; we must respect their views, and the Protestants should try to join with them in the elevation of the Filipino. In my judgment, Porto Rico is exactly in the same condition; Hawaii is a good deal in that condition; the Indian problem is a good deal in that condition. I hope in the future in treating these wards that have come to us suddenly, we shall recognize the good work done by the Catholics.

The PRESIDENT.—We have passed now from the consideration of the Porto Rican problem to two papers on the aspects of the Indian question, after which there will be an open parliament in which all the topics brought before the Conference—the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii—will be open for consideration.

One of the composites in the Indian life that has, perhaps, given us much of, shall I say dissatisfaction? certainly to the friends of the Indian, has been the condition of the Pima Indians. Dr. George L. Spining was sent out last fall by the President of the United States to make an examination into their condition and report to him. We have the pleasure of having him with us and we are to hear in fifteen minutes from him what he took a good many weeks to acquire, on the Pima Indians.

Dr. GEORGE L. SPINING.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: This debating about the difficulty of adapting ourselves to our dependent peoples reminds me of a story. Thirty-five years ago I found myself at work in the slums of a great city, and I had gathered together seventy-five or a hundred street gamins into a deserted beer hall. It required all the tact and wisdom that I could command to keep them still. One day a good brother, a doctor of divinity, who carried all before him, including a gold-headed cane, appeared there and desired to speak to these people, these little people. I said to him, "Just one minute, and in very simple language, doctor." Said he: "Children, I am about to relate to you one of my earliest reminiscences." "Whoop-ee, what be reminiscences?" cried one of the boys, and before there was time for reply, some one had shied an apple core and struck him squarely center. Then there was a silence, and a little, hatchet-faced fellow, a little bit of a brownie, and maybe he was at the bottom of it all, came, and looking up at that great height, said to him, "Don't you be discouraged, Mister, we will make Christians of these fellows yet!" I respectfully refer the moral to our brother from Chilocco, and to other brethren who are working so hard to adapt themselves to very difficult conditions. A little Scotch girl who was carrying her baby brother, who weighed about as much as she did, was struggling along and a gentleman passing by said to her: "Why, my child, you are carrying a great burden there." She replied, "No, it is no burden, it is my brother!" If I had to do with the list of questions propounded to those who propose to enter the service of the Government in connection with any of these people, the first question would be not ethnological, or literary, or geographical or mathematical, but that question would be, "Do you believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?" I hold that to be a prime qualification in any one who enters the service of the United States in connection with our dependent peoples. So much for my introduction. (Laughter). When I left this Conference last year I left as chairman of the committee which has been spoken of by Dr. Abbott, to go and visit the Pimas in Arizona. I might here, without violating any

confidence, refer to a previous interview with the President, where I had the privilege of laying out the condition of these people before him. After so doing, he remarked in his characteristic way, "There is a great deal of evil in the world which we cannot alleviate and there is some that we can. This is not politics, but this is righteousness, and this is what we are here to do!" (Applause). I was deeply impressed by the fact that we have a President who knows the difference between righteousness and red tape. "Now," he said, "I would like you to go to this reservation immediately or as soon as you can and make a thorough investigation of the condition of these Indians, and report to me." That meant something to me; it meant something to this Conference, that that report was to be made to the President of the United States, who has a heart to be interested in the condition of dependent peoples, and I want to say to you, brethren, who are engaged in the work in Porto Rico and among the Filipinos, and everywhere, that we have a President who has a great heart and an intelligent brain, and who is in sympathy, miles deep, with your work. (Applause). We had three interpreters and we drove about 100 miles across those desert sands, and up and down the Pima reservation. It is about fifty miles long, and averages twenty-five miles wide, and is twenty or twenty-five miles south of Phoenix, Arizona. It is traversed by the Gila River, from which these Indians from time immemorial have taken their water and irrigated their farms. These people do not belong to the class described by Supt. McCowan; they are hard-handed, hard-working people with families, agriculturalists, very honest people, have been self-supporting and have acquired individual and universal respect. They said, "We do not want your alms, give us our water! We were always self-supporting. We sent out train-loads of wheat here that we raised with our own hands, and we were living in comfort, until the Government allowed colonies of Mexicans and Mormons and other whites to come in bands and divert all the water from the bed of the Gila River through thirty different channels, leaving us with no water and leaving us to starve!" I hold in my hand a report. I do not care to go into that report very extensively; the report is signed by both members of the committee. I would state here that the other member of the committee was Honorable William A. Jones, the United States Indian Commissioner, a most honorable gentleman, a man whom I love, but who, I believe, was deceived as to the real condition of these Indians. We called the Indians together, sending out word to them to their different villages, and gave them all an opportunity to speak. I told them that the President had sent us out there as he had heard of their suffering condition,

to investigate; we would hear the head men and then any others who desired to speak. The testimony was universal that there had been great suffering and many heads of families testified that their children up to as late as July that year, had gone to bed night after night crying from hunger. I have not time, I wish I had, to recite some of the things that were related there. For instance, here is a man who is a Christian, these Indians are known as Christian Indians; I said to him, "How many cattle have you now?" "None." "How many did you have six years ago?" "I had fifty." "What became of them?" "They starved to death." This is only one instance out of many. Then, we came to the crucial question; the situation was acute on this question, for our advice from our missionaries was that some had starved to death, and the Government advices were that there had been no cases of starvation. When we came to that point we took the testimony of many honest men, who looked us squarely in the face. "Do you know any cases of starvation?" "Yes." "Well, give us the names and the details. Where did they live? Tell us all about it." They said, "They lived over there in that house. They were a man and woman getting along in years. We were all so put to and so hungry that we did not miss them at first, but after a while we did, and I and my neighbor went over there and found them lying down on the ground, their arms about each other. They were both dead; emaciated to skeletons; not a bite to eat in the house." "Any others here who can corroborate this?" Fifty men rose. A woman, as honest a looking woman as you ever saw, very womanly, very modest, very gentle, said "May I speak?" "You can." "My neighbor had to go some twelve miles across the desert to get her rations, for they will not allow rations to be sent, and if we are sick, we have to starve until we get well. We must go ourselves." That was the system we found in effect on the reservation, and I computed that two hundred families had to travel five thousand miles a week to get their little bit of rations. She said, "This woman was a widow, her husband had just died, and she had to make this trip across the desert when she was about to become a mother, and we found her dead half way in the trail." I will not quote more from my notes, but, gentlemen, I want to say that such things ought not to be under the Stars and Stripes! Before many of you who are in the Indian service were born, my lot was cast upon those Western plains. There were not three thousand whites west of the Missouri River. I was brought up with the Indians. I went with them on their buffalo hunts. In the last year of the war it became my duty to conduct a detachment across the plains. I was shot in one of the battles. I have faced them in war and

in peace. I know this red man; he fought a losing battle from the Atlantic to the Pacific until he made his last stand in the Sierras. You have placed handcuffs on the wrists of the black man, but you have never been able to place your handcuffs on the wrists of this red man! He will fight to his death for his birthright of freedom. There are splendid possibilities in him. I know it. I am speaking from what I have seen. He may be added to the wealth of the nation. I would invoke a presence that still has power in this assembly. I remember well hearing Senator Dawes in the Congregational Church in Washington making a plea for this man, and he spoke of the splendid possibilities in him. "What is the wealth of a nation? It is in its citizens. Educate this man. He is a patriot; he loves his own soil and he will be a splendid addition to the wealth of the nation." (Applause.) I want now to speak of the legislation that has been brought about by the report of this committee to the President of the United States. I have two letters from the Department of the Interior, one of October 6, 1905:

"With reference to the pumping plant, no doubt you are aware the last Congress was asked to appropriate \$540,000 for the purpose of installing a hydro-electric power transmission plant on the Salt River to transmit power to the reservation to be there used in pumping water to the surface for irrigation purposes. Congress only appropriated \$50,000. This amount is wholly inadequate for the purpose and therefore the Secretary of the Interior directed that the Reclamation Service investigate and obtain all the data necessary relative to the location of the dam required to obtain a head of water for the purpose of generating power; also information concerning the best machinery and other necessary features in connection with the plan in mind. The Secretary also directed this Office to carry on a series of tests in order to ascertain the amount of water obtainable from the underground flow, and to find out the qualities, with a view of its adaptability for irrigation purposes.

"No report has been received from the Geological Survey showing the work done by that Department, but it is understood from unofficial sources that the engineers have been in the field all the time and have obtained considerable information of value. A number of wells have been bored on the reservation under the direction of the Superintendent, and pumps installed.

"At the present time the Chief Engineer of the Indian Irrigation Service is making a personal investigation of the matter of the supply, and obtaining information as to the quality of the water and its value for irrigation purposes. The principal thing to guard against is the presence of alkali in the supply.

"It is hoped that more favorable action may be obtained at

the hands of Congress during the coming session, and that by the time the appropriation is passed, sufficient data will be at hand to enable the Department to prepare plans and enter into contract for the construction of the plant."

And another dated October 10, 1905:

"As a matter of fact considerable work has been done in the way of road-building on the Pima reservation during the last spring and summer. This, however, has been done by virtue of the authority conferred in the Act of March 3, 1905 (33 Stats. 1048), appropriating \$10,000 for the support and civilization of the Indians of the Pima Agency.

"March 21, 1905, authority was granted for the Superintendent to expend \$6,000 in the construction of canals, repair roads, etc., such work to be performed by Indians, they to be paid \$1 per day each and \$2 for man and team. May 3, 1905, further authority was granted the Superintendent to purchase wheat for distribution among the Indians, and June 19, 1905, he was authorized to expend the balance of the \$10,000 in canal building and road construction.

"The heavy rains during the early part of the year destroyed nearly all the laterals and many of the main ditches used in conducting the water to Indian lands, and it became necessary to repair them, and as there was no other money available, the appropriation above mentioned had to be used for that purpose."

In closing I would state that the last finding in the report of our Committee of Investigation was this: "We find that the representation of the suffering and destitute condition of this people as made to the President July 31st is fully substantiated by the facts," and that report was signed by the Indian Commissioner himself. (Applause).

The PRESIDENT.—If there is much that is discouraging, there is something encouraging; in fact, if you get the right man at a piece of work, he gets it done by and by in spite of all obstacles.

Colonel S. M. McCowan, whose paper aroused the interest of all, and the dissent of some, had not completed his paper when the time was completed. He had pointed out certain defects in the past administration and certain defects in the present administration as he saw them, and he was then going on to point out remedies which he would recommend when the remorseless hammer fell and he had to stop. The Business Committee have asked him to give the affirmative or constructive side.

Mr. SMILEY.—You remember that I make the remark almost every year that we call for the most divergent opinions on the

subjects before us. We do not want anybody cramped in his statement. Mr. McCowan's statement was, I thought, a little one-sided at least, and conveyed to a large portion of our company a wrong impression. I am afraid that many supposed from his paper that the Indian service was largely a failure, and that the Indians had made little progress, which of course is not so. A great deal of good service has been done. I understand that the last of Mr. McCowan's paper is of an entirely different nature and gives the best side. I want to say that the people living where Mr. McCowan comes from speak well of him and his good work, and I am glad he is to give the last part of his paper.

THE SECRETARY.—The Secretary would like to say just a word here. Several have come to him and asked if Mr. McCowan in what he will say has not changed his paper. He is not built that way.

When Mr. McCowan suspended reading at the second session of the Conference he had just completed a description of the methods by which "collectors" representing the great Indian industrial schools are compelled to secure pupils. The remainder of his paper follows:

MR. MCCOWAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for this courtesy and I desire to state that had I known before coming here that my time would have been limited to twenty minutes, I would have left out a good deal of the message that I felt called upon to deliver.

Grotesque, isn't it, friends? But not funny—not on your life. It is shameful, that's what it is, disgustingly shameful. And so foolish.

It would be such a simple matter to straighten this absurd tangle all out, and such a righteous thing to do.

All Congress need do is to make attendance upon these schools compulsory. Then the Office could arrange proper transfers from day schools to boarding schools and from boarding schools to industrial schools. The matter of transfers could be placed in the hands of supervisors, and thousands of dollars saved annually.

But what's the use? This business has all been presented to Congress not once but many times, and for some reason nothing has been done. I suppose we must continue as we are to the end. But where is the end? That's the question. Is there to be an end? Or is this sort of thing to go on forever and forever? Are we always to have an Indian problem? When we have educated this generation are we to take up the next and the next and the next?

Don't understand, please, that I am "agin" poor Lo. I am not. His children I love. For sixteen years I have worked with and for them. I have seen many a dear soul expand and blossom. I have seen the fruit come and ripen and I have rejoiced and gloried and grown glad.

And then I've seen all the flowers and fruit blighted and lives ruined by the withering winds of scorn, the shrivelling blasts of ridicule. These young people have a hard time of it when they go home, with everything to drag them down, everybody against them. Their parents are glad to see them but can't understand why they should not join in old time revelries, why they should not bow as subserviently to the old medicine man and his 14th century superstitions, why they should not be content with the ways of the olden time. The old medicine man is their natural and bitter enemy, and as he still exercises immense influence over the old, he can and does make life miserable in many ways. The young who have not gone to school are openly antagonistic. They band together to ruin the girls and do their level best to show the boys a "good time," and as the dear Government has provided them with so much money that they don't need to work, they have plenty of time for foolishness.

How different it would all be if all youth of school age were compelled to go to school. Why should we place a premium on the bad?

As I said before, I love my Indian boys and girls, and I know they love me. When I go back I am assured of a warm welcome from 700 bright pupils and I want to do all within my power to make their lives better, and to give them a clearer field.

The old Indian has no foolish friend in me. They are good enough in their way but their way is not our way, neither is it the best way. I have seen him in all manner of conditions and there lingers around him not the smallest particle of halo. They have never achieved greatness in any line. Their songs are sweet melodies, elemental, inharmonious, of mothers' lullabies to their babes, dolorous whines of social unrest or savage paeans of scalp-rewarded victories. They have given to the world little of value. History records some brave deeds of battle kind, but war and battle and bloody strife do not produce great men. I believe it just as wrong and just as unnecessary to kill a thousand men as to take the life of one. Men have been brave in battle, but how much braver it is to avoid battle.

I am done. But in closing I want to state what I would do regarding this Indian problem if it were in my power.

I would give the old Indians their land—160 acres and no more—less in an irrigated country, and secure them in title for 20 years. I would pay them the money in the treasury that

is their due, and then let them shift for themselves. "It is not help but obstacles, not facilities but difficulties that make men." The balance of their reservations I most certainly would not lease for their ruin, but it would be sold to the highest bidder, to other citizens of the country just as deserving as our red brothers.

This is all I would do for the old Indian except to take away his voting franchise. I would never give this best of liberty's gifts to men—to every one who asks or who does not—as a grocer offers cheap chromos with purchases of soap.

Indian children I would educate, just as I would educate all other children in this great country. Education that will help the Indian to help himself is his salvation. I would compel all Indian children of school age to attend school just as I would compel all other children to attend school. I would never ask a child's consent to what is best, neither would I ask an ignorant parent's consent.

I would keep them in school, too, until they completed understandingly a full course, and I would keep them continuously in one school. Cruel? Not a bit of it! It's splendid. But, I hear a chorus sing, "You would break the mothers' hearts! They love their children so." Isn't pain and heartaches and self-sacrifice the essence, the test of love?

I would educate along agricultural lines, just as I would educate Filipinos and other primitive people. Children of nature should be skilled in reading nature's secrets. There are vastly bigger stores of gold in the vegetable kingdom than in the mineral, and all that is needed is the knowledge to handle the key. I'd give vastly more time and attention to industrial than literary training. To educate the head alone, as we are doing so extensively in the Philippines, is a grievous error that will bring awful harvests in future years.

The Philippine Isles should be made to flower and fruit as Japan has flowered and fruited, but it never will under our system of attracting the children of the Isles away from the soil.

I'd provide teachers skilled in telling nature's fascinating tales, and books on nature in all its phases, on developments along peaceful, domestic and economic lines of all nations, would be the books I'd use. I would cut out the chronicles of battles fought on land and sea, just as I'd not employ as teachers of primitive, war-loving people, those who know no better tact than to single out the Grants and Lees and Sheridans as shining examples to emulate. I'd ten thousand times rather develop a Burbank than a Napoleon. I'd cut out the stories about Captains of Industry—of how men of no means start with suddenly acquired immense wealth—for no man from Adam down has made \$10,000,-

ooo in honest commerce, but I'd keep the minds of our simple Indians, Filipinos and other innocents employed in thoughts of Burbank and his wonderful, yet simple developments, of Edison and his splendid achievements, of Darwin and his illuminating work, of Roosevelt and his high statesmanship, and prove to them the honor and dignity of honest toil, of self-support, of broad, independent thought and honest action.

The PRESIDENT.—I wish he had given us ten minutes of criticism and thirty minutes of instruction instead of thirty minutes of criticism and ten minutes of instruction. I am sure we all give hearty endorsement to what he has just said in these closing words. We are now to have free discussion on a variety of topics.

Dr. T. S. HAMLIN of Washington, D. C.—Mr. President: This is a place for experts, and on that ground the present speaker can claim no place here, but there are two very simple matters that can be stated in a moment to which attention is respectfully called. The first relates to the Indians. We are all indebted to Mr. Sherman and Mr. Fitzgerald and others for the vindication that they have given here of the policy of the United States toward the Indian, but some of us feel that a clear and complete case has not been made, and it seems to some of us, I think, that the great charge which can rightly be made against the Government of the United States in former years and up to date, is a lack of protection of the Indians against the cupidity of their surrounding white neighbors. (Applause.) This is not an impossible thing, and it seems as though this Conference, in a more emphatic way than in the past, should again call upon the Government of the United States to spare no pains and no money to protect the Indians in their rights, and especially in their rights to land. In that connection, sir, is it not proper that we should note here in this Conference of representative men and women, the splendid service that is being rendered by the member of the present administration, as he was a member of the last administration as well, whose name is perhaps less frequently mentioned, except in criticism, than the name of any other cabinet officer of either Mr. McKinley or Mr. Roosevelt, that quiet, persistent man, who, against the abuse and obstacles such as perhaps no one fully comprehends, has stood for the righting of the great wrongs that have been inflicted upon the Government and notably upon the Indians in the dishonest acquisition of soil. Secretary Hitchcock of the Interior. The other point which may be made in a word or two, relates to the titling of people. To my mind, it is a serious mistake that we seem to be drifting

here into calling them dependent peoples. The word has a sting in it; more than that, it is inaccurate, it will become increasingly inaccurate. Should it here be fixed in usage in printed reports as it already stands in invitation to this Conference, I apprehend that there would grow eventually quite serious results. We have just heard that the Porto Ricans pay for their own schools; we know that the Filipinos have paid for their own schools, and certain pleasures that have come to certain Americans, which perhaps was not in the nature of an administrative work exactly, although no doubt very useful and profitable in the end. Dependencies suggest first of all financial dependencies. That is not true, and it suggests a condition, a state of civilization, which is not true of the islanders. It seems as though the words "island peoples" (if one criticises, one ought to suggest something in place); might answer our purpose. It is sufficiently accurate. It leaves out the Panamas, but that does not seem to be important, and it so happens that we have very few islands which Americans distinctively inhabit which originally belonged to the domain of the United States; might it not be well if we should say that? Some of us feel how great a mistake it is that the word freedmen in our religious boards and elsewhere is perpetuated as the title of the negroes. The freedmen and freedwomen are nearly all dead, and it is a serious thing to apply, in what promises to be perpetuity, a misleading and perhaps somewhat irritating word. I stand for the omission of the word "dependent" and the substitute of a better word as a description of the people.

Dr. HORATIO O. LADD.—I ask the favor of the Conference for just a few words on the very thoughtful and illuminating addresses made on the Porto Rico questions. The Indian question is always a burning question. And it is well for us to go back to it. I am glad, on the whole, though at first disappointed, that this Conference has broadened out and that the Indian is considered with the other large peoples that concern our Government. The statements made in the addresses today remind me very forcibly of my experience with the Spanish American population that came into the control of our Government under similar circumstances in the southwest, and the treatment of those of New Mexico and Arizona especially, has been very similar in some respects to the treatment that is going on now in Porto Rico and the insular possessions which are inhabited by the same kind of people. I want to say that when I went about twenty-five years ago into New Mexico, there was that illiteracy which is complained of in Porto Rico. It had been a Spanish American province for many years before coming into our pos-

session, but though for nearly twenty-five years it had been in our possession, yet the illiteracy of that country was greater than in any other part of the nation, and it had been so continued that it seemed to be hopeless. Now I heard a Spanish-American speaking on a political occasion in very earnest, glowing words to his people, ask, "What has the United States ever done for New Mexico?" And this was after more than twenty years under our Government. They had been striving to come into the rights and privileges of citizenship, they had sought statehood, they had tried in every way to accommodate themselves to the new regime and had failed to get any benefit, and any one could see that scarcely any benefit had the Government of the United States given to that country. It was because there was a prejudice against them, as our friend here has said, the Spanish-American population who were coming more and more into contact with our Anglo-Saxon population, which constituted the larger element of our country. That policy of repression and neglect has been pursued ever since. Twenty-five years have passed and New Mexico is still a territory. She has made at least nine or ten efforts for statehood; she has prepared her constitutions; she has had conventions; she has presented her pleas; she has been again and again put down and put back. The belief has been she was not ready, and yet the territories about her have been put into states, with less population and with less claim to the favor of the nation. Why is it that our Government has not been willing to carry out (if the population had insufficient claim to statehood on account of their lack of intelligence), the idea of Senator Blair, who fought so bravely in the halls of Congress for that scheme for education, and that bill to promote education in those districts and countries of our nation where it was needed, north and south and west and southwest. The contrast that has been suggested by the addresses today is most informing and inspiring, as they have seemed to me with my personal experience of the southwest, for I went there to carry education into that country. The Government is now awakening to her privilege and duty as never before, turning towards these Spanish-American people that have recently come into her control and under her influence with a hand open to give education to them from Federal sources. Shall we simply awaken the aspiration and the ambition of the people for education, or shall we aid them to obtain it? It is a very serious question, but it is one that is encouraging to us to believe that the United States are now turning to these territories in a practical way.

Dr. A. GRANT EVANS, President of Henry Kendall College, Indian Territory.—Mr. Chairman and Members of the Mo-

honk Conference. I ask your indulgence while I attempt in a few minutes to state to you a case of the utmost emergency, the adequate presentation of which would take hours. Within four and a half months from now the government of the Five Civilized Tribes will be abolished. The citizens of these tribes claim to have had continuous civil government from a date long prior to the landing of our forefathers in this continent. For nearly a century their form of civil government has been modeled upon that of the states of the Union. They have had enlightened constitutions, legislatures with two chambers, school systems, and, until recently, complete judicial systems. Since they have lived in Indian Territory they have been civilized and in quite as large proportion as the people of any State, Christianized. The legislatures of these Indian Nations are now in session for the last time, and for the last time they make their appeal not only to the Congress of the United States but to the Christian conscience of the American people. If that conscience cannot be reached and quickened in this Assembly, I know not where it can be reached. It is hardly necessary for me to remind this audience of the circumstances under which these tribes went to Indian Territory. Reference has been made to the fact that Miss Alice Robertson represents the third generation of missionaries among these people. Do you forget that her father was sentenced to four years in the State penitentiary of Georgia, and actually served sixteen months, for no other crime than that he continued to do his work among the Cherokees and to champion their cause in face of the determination of the State authorities of Georgia to deprive them of all that the Federal Government had guaranteed to them in repeated and solemn treaties? Do you forget the opinion handed down by Chief Justice Marshall in which, after expressing most unqualified sympathy for the brave progressive, self-governing people to whom repeated pledges had been made by the Federal Government only to be broken in a few years, he reluctantly rendered his decision that as they were neither a foreign nation nor a State of the Union the Supreme Court of the United States could give them no relief? Do you remember that the Government of the United States, finding itself unable to carry out its own treaties, secured from some of the Cherokees a new treaty by which they were made to agree to be deported to the Indian Territory? Do you remember the history of that enforced removal—the most tragic exodus surely of all history—how, divided into companies, they made their toilsome way westward—how 25 per cent. of them fell by the wayside, and the whole long trail from east to west was marked by one pathetic line of nameless mounds? Do you forget the solemn pledge made them as to their future in their new home? Here are the exact words:

TREATY WITH THE CHEROKEES.

Article 5. The United States hereby covenants and agrees that the lands ceded to the Cherokee Nation in the foregoing article shall in no future time, without their consent, be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory.

(Revised Indian Treaties, page 69.)

Do you forget that with similar reluctance and under similar pressure the other four tribes came and to them were given similar pledges in the following language:

TREATY WITH THE CREEKS AND SEMINOLES.

Article 4. The United States do solemnly agree and bind themselves that no State or Territory should ever pass laws for the government of the Creek or Seminole tribes of Indians, and that no portion of either of the tracts of country defined in the first and second articles of this agreement shall ever be embraced or included within, or annexed to, any Territory or State, nor shall either or any part of either ever be erected into a Territory without the free and full consent or without the legislative authority of the tribe owning the same. (Rev. Ind. Treaties, page III).

CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW TREATY.

Article 4. The Government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to the said Choctaw Nation of red people the jurisdiction and government of all the persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw Nation of red people and their descendants, and that no part of the land granted them shall ever be embraced in any State or Territory. (7th U. S. Stats., p. 334.)

Do you realize that these treaty stipulations placed the American people under obligations most solemn and binding? These treaties have never been abrogated but have been reaffirmed a number of times in subsequent treaties. Under these agreements the Indians built up small but very fairly well-governed commonwealths. They gave protection to life and property. They upheld the sanctity of the family. In spite of the fact that Indian courts had no jurisdiction over the large number of non-Indians who came to reside in the Territory, and in spite of the fact that the conditions made it a refuge for outlaws—there has never been a lynching in Indian Territory. A change had to come—not because the Indians had failed at self-government, but because their government only applied to a fraction of the residents of their territory. One of the first to realize fully the

necessity for this change and to plead for bringing it about righteously and wisely was the late Senator Dawes. He would have been the last man to sanction any breach of faith with these people. The Act creating the Dawes Commission sets forth clearly what it was to do. There were certain valuable considerations to be secured from the Indians. The tribe held their lands by United States patents. Until they could be persuaded to relinquish these patents very little could be done. Congress would hesitate long before attacking so sacred a thing as its own patent to land. Therefore the Indians must be persuaded to relinquish these, and in return for the valuable considerations thus given the Commission was instructed by the Act as to just what it might pledge in return. Here is the exact wording:

"The extinguishment of tribal titles to any lands within that Territory, now held by any or all of said nations or tribes, either by cession of the same or some part thereof to the United States, or by the allotment and division of the same in severalty among the Indians of such nations or tribes, respectively, as may be entitled to the same, or by such other method as may be agreed upon between the several nations and tribes aforesaid, or each of them with the United States with a view to such an adjustment upon the basis of justice and equity as may, with the consent of said Nation of Indians, so far as may be necessary, be requisite and suitable to enable the ultimate creation of a state or states of the Union, which shall embrace the lands within said Indian Territory." Sec. 16, Act of March 3, 1893. (27 Stats., 645.)

In the same Act of Congress, in the clauses defining the work which the Commission was authorized to do, occurs the following explicit statement:

"But said Commissioners shall, however, have power to negotiate any and all such agreements as, in view of all the circumstances affecting the subject, shall be found requisite and suitable to such an arrangement of the rights and interests and affairs of such nations, tribes, bands of Indians, or any of them, to enable the ultimate creation of a Territory of the United States with a view to the admission of the same as a State of the Union." (27 Stat. L., 645.) D.

Acting under these instructions in the very first agreement made—the Atoka agreement with the Choctaws and Chickasaws—the following practical pledge was made:

"This stipulation is made in the belief that the tribal governments so modified will prove so satisfactory that there will be no need or desire for further change till the lands now occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes shall, in the opinion of Congress, be prepared for admission as a State of the Union." (Atoka agreement as quoted and ratified by the Congress of the United States in the so-called Curtis Act of 1898.)

I have spoken already of the promises as to continuation of prohibition. The promise of separate statehood is surely just as specific and just as binding. In spite of this legislation has been proposed in Congress looking to the very thing the Indians have dreaded and sought to protect themselves from—absorption into another state. Absolutely no pretense is made that this is for the good of the Indians. The Chiefs of the Five Tribes, two years ago, stated officially that their people wanted separate statehood for Indian Territory and the continuance of prohibition. They appealed to the Christian people of the Territory and of the nation to aid them to secure these things. In the matter of prohibition the churches have to a considerable extent responded. During the summer just past four out of five of the Indian chiefs joined in calling a convention to draw up a constitution for a state to be made out of Indian Territory. All residents of Indian Territory were invited to join in electing delegates to this convention. It met August 21st. It was composed about equally of Indians and whites. It drew up a Constitution for submission to the people. Whatever may be the defects of this instrument, it certainly does aim to provide for keeping the pledges of the Government as to prohibition and as to all other matters pertaining to the welfare of the Indians. On Tuesday, Nov. 7th, all adult residents of Indian Territory will be invited to vote for or against the adoption of this Constitution. In the meantime the legislatures of the Indian Nations, assembled in session for the last time, are discussing the matter. You heard from the Chickasaws yesterday. The Cherokees with absolute unanimity have passed a resolution asking for separate statehood and endorsing the Constitution. There is no doubt that similar action will be taken by all the legislatures.

The full-blood Indians in the Choctaw and Seminole Nations have with touching liberality contributed very largely out of their poverty toward the carrying on of the campaign for separate statehood and continuing prohibition. The Indians and their white fellow-citizens feel that no valid reasons have been urged against the separate statehood which was definitely promised them in return for specific value given. The Territory has a population twice as large as any previous applicant for Statehood. Its area is nearly equal to the average of all States east of the Mississippi. Within its limits could be placed Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and a considerable slice of Delaware. It has immense resources and a very thoroughly American population. Thus there seems no shadow of excuse for non-fulfillment of the terms of the contract. If such a contract can be broken because one party to it is guardian and the other ward, that can surely only be the case when the

breach is made clearly and emphatically in the interest of the ward. To break it for the convenience of the guardian would be simply criminal. To make Indian Territory part of Oklahoma would not only make enforcement of prohibitory laws, if not practically impossible, much harder, but would in a number of other ways work hardship to the Indians. If our solemn pledges are broken it will be done deliberately and without any possible excuse of benevolent intention with regard to the Indian people. Referring to these very treaties in a report dated March, 1904, Mr. Bonaparte said: "If such promises, so solemnly made, are not kept by the American people, they can be bound by no treaty * * * and no one can reasonably place faith in our national honor."

I have been asked a number of times by members of this Conference whether I think there is any possibility of Congress granting separate statehood. My reply is that I must believe in the possibility of a right thing being done until the wrong is actually accomplished. I must believe that the Congress of the United States has enough men who will make righteousness a first consideration, to prevent legislation manifestly in breach of solemn pledges when the fact of such breach has been made clear. Is it not our duty, as citizens of the United States, to find out what is our moral obligation in the matter, and then to insist upon the scrupulous performance of this obligation?

Miss ANNA L. DAWES.—I am not one of the persons who asked permission to speak this morning; on the contrary, it is with very great hesitation that I take any of the time so precious just now, but twice this morning my father's memory has been invoked and his influence is said to be still here. I am, in a sense, the last survivor among you of the commission who first went to the Indian Territory; that is to say, I went with my father at that time, and Capt. McKennon, who was with you last year, is the only member of that commission still able to speak to you, and he is not here today. I am not sure that there is not laid upon me the duty of saying to you one thing, and one thing only. In so far as my father's influence can go with this body, what he would like to have me say to you in his behalf is that the Indian Territory should be a State by itself. He felt very strongly on this point. He felt that the Indian Territory, settled from the South, and having always the atmosphere of the South, and full of that atmosphere which shall for all time control its people, and Oklahoma, settled from the North and Middle West, with that peculiarity, that atmosphere, which some of us may think is better than the other, but which certainly is different, he felt that these two States could never properly coalesce and that in

nature it was not right that they should be put together. Still more strongly he felt, what Dr. Evans has so well said to you this morning, that he went to this people, to say to this people, that they should have their land, their race, their State and government, and that they should have it in a new and glorified form, that they should be part of this great nation as a State in this Union. Over and over he said it to those men, and it was never once thought by any man in the Indian Territory, never once suggested in Washington, never once thought anywhere that the two of them could ever be one State; that was a later idea, born partly of the feeling in the Indian Territory that it must be a State somehow, born partly of that desire of Oklahoma for the rich lands of the Indian Territory of which Miss Robertson spoke so well to you—and no one knows better than she of what she is talking—born partly of other reasons not necessary here to speak of. And in his last years, he felt that if the Indian Territory and Oklahoma were made one State, all the work that the commission had been sent to the Southwest to do was a failure; and very strongly he felt that it was not only unwise, but unrighteous, that for reasons not connected with this territory there should be one State instead of two. I know that the dead hand does not reach nor hold governments, least of all all the American Government. Nevertheless, you have made me feel in a way for which I cannot be too grateful, that his is not the dead hand, but the living influence; therefore it is, that quite against my judgment, my heart has obliged me to come to you this morning with his message on this subject, because I am the only person who can give it to you. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—There is another question respecting the Indian matters which the Business Committee desires Mr. Smiley to put briefly before us.

Mr. SMILEY.—I hesitate to bring forward this matter which the Business Committee has asked me to present. I have the utmost confidence in the President of the United States, as you all must know, and I believe we can rely on him to see that no appointments of bad men are made in the Indian service if he can prevent it. I think we all feel that way. But there is one thing which he did last winter of which I and many others disapprove, although I believe he was honest and sincere in his purpose, and he did it with the advice of the Attorney-General. As you know, Indian trust funds, belonging to a tribe, were turned over to certain schools and these schools were almost without exception Roman Catholic schools. Had all members of that tribe been Roman Catholics the case would have been different,

but funds were taken which belonged to the whole tribe, Catholics and Protestants alike. Personally I think this was contrary to the judgment of this Conference and of Congress. I understand the President has intimated that he would like an expression from Congress on this matter, and that he will abide by such an expression. I hope we may be able to put into our platform, in a delicate way, a request that Congress take up the question and pass upon it as suggested. We do not need to express our views, but merely to ask Congress to give its decision in the matter. I have presented this because we never insert anything in our platforms that has not been brought up in the Conference.

Mr. FITZGERALD.—Mr. Chairman: It is with a good deal of diffidence that I make any suggestion out of harmony with anything proposed by our distinguished host. As this question is one of very great importance, and one which, in my judgment, should not be acted upon by this Conference without at least some opportunity for a fairly full discussion, I hope it will not be mentioned in the platform this year. I am a member of the Catholic Church; I am also a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives. I am somewhat familiar with this question. The main reason why I say a word at all now is to correct an erroneous impression that may be created by what Mr. Smiley has said. There were contracts made with several schools out of the tribal funds of different tribes, and at least one of those schools was not a Catholic school. That of course puts an entirely different complexion upon the matter. It is a matter of the utmost importance.

Those of you who are familiar with what has been done by Congress during the past five years know that I was one of those who most strenuously opposed the change of the Government's policy, and the discontinuance of contracts with schools conducted by the several churches. Although I have acquiesced in the action of the Government and in the expressed determination of the people that Government funds should not be used for that purpose, I am yet of the firm conviction that that was the greatest mistake ever made by this Government in its work of civilizing the Indian peoples. The civilization of this country is a Christian civilization; it is based upon Christian doctrines. The condition of the Indian children is entirely different from the children of the American people. The American public schools have my hearty approval; they are distinctly an American institution; they are maintained upon the theory that the children who are in those schools receive religious instruction in the homes of their parents. The Indian children will not for many years ever be in a position to receive instruction in the homes of their

parents. It is absolutely necessary that religious instruction be given to them in the schools. To me it is not so material whether they are reared as Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians or Methodists, as it is that they are reared as good Christians—members of some church rather than of no church at all. This question now is not a question of using Government money, it is whether the money of the Indians themselves should be used. While it is true that in some instances the money that belongs to some Indians who are members of different churches than those who conduct the contract schools might be used for that purpose, yet so much can be said in support of the practice, and it is of such vital importance to the civilization of many Indians, that I express the sincere hope, and I do it, not because I am interested in any particular school, but because I have the welfare of these Indians at heart, that no action will be taken by this Conference until at least a fair opportunity be given to present both sides of the question. Perhaps I am one of the minority in this Conference; certainly this is the only opportunity that has been given to say a word upon this subject, because there has been no intimation that it was to be discussed. Under the circumstances I hope that the Business Committee will consider this phase of the matter. I can only add that when this question comes before Congress, as it has in times past, I shall freely state my views; and if, by any possibility, I can prevent the President being interfered with in the discharge of his duty, as he now sees it, I shall exert whatever influence I have, and I shall resort to every parliamentary expedient to prevent any such interference. (Applause.)

Miss ANNIE BEECHER SCOVILLE.—Mr. Chairman: May I say one word? I want simply to say that the last speaker and his church stand in the consistent position of saying what we all applauded, that the Indian should be educated in some church, a Christian citizen, and that we who believe that the state should not teach religion and believe that our Government was right in saying that there should be no more contract teaching of religion, should stand by and see that the religious training is given to the children in our reservations and that we stand together in that, Catholic and Protestant.

I want to say one word also in this statement of the President's position, as to his attitude toward his officers and toward those who wished to serve in this work and serve the flag, that he said *pro rata* they should receive, according to the number of those in the tribe who wished their children trained in such a church, that the tribe that would have received two or three thousand dollars, received many more thousands; and triple the number

of those who petitioned for their children to have this money paid to a certain school, petitioned again that the money should not be paid, because they belonged to other churches,—and that is just why we differ,—not because we wish to stand against any church, but because we do not wish to put before the Indian the position that he shall scrap over his religion, put him on the war-path against his moral, religious and spiritual advisers. The President's attitude was just and fair, and the carrying out of it in the political action was not fair to the President himself, I believe.

The PRESIDENT.—I am going to ask the Secretary to take the Chair for I have a word to say on this subject, although Miss Scoville has probably said what I would naturally say.

I want simply to put the issue clearly before you. The Lake Mohonk Conference voted, I suppose it was sixteen or seventeen years ago, after long discussion, lasting through at least three annual sessions, that all relations between the Government of the United States and the churches should cease, that the Government should cease to make appropriations through churches or to church schools or to schools under any church or ecclesiastical organizations. That was not a Protestant movement, it was not a movement against the Roman Catholic Church. It had the endorsement, I think, of all the churches. My recollection is that Cardinal Gibbons gave his endorsement to the general proposition. I know it was generally endorsed by the high officials in all churches. In accordance with that action of this Conference, and partly as a result of it. Congress adopted the policy of gradually discontinuing all Government appropriations, so that at the end of ten years all Government appropriations should cease. It was thought not right to discontinue at once, but give ten years for the churches to adjust themselves to the new relationship. That has become the settled policy of the country. Of course, it is a perfectly possible thing to reopen that question and rediscuss it and say that was a mistake, but so far as we here at Mohonk are concerned, the principle that the Government should not make appropriations to be expended by an ecclesiastical organization in the education of Indians is settled, and so far as a policy can be settled by a persistent and continuous pursuit of it for ten years, it is settled by the country at large. But there are funds that are held by the Government in trust for the Indians. They do not belong to the Indians in the sense that the Indians have the spending of them, they are held by the Government in trust for the Indians. The question now raised is: Shall the Government, in the administration of its trust, give out of those trust funds to schools under ecclesiasti-

cal control, if the Indians request it? I for one, say No. It is the business of a guardian to determine how the funds shall be spent, not of the ward. If the ward is able to determine how the funds should be spent, the money should be given to the ward and he should be allowed to spend it. So long as the Government is the guardian—so long as the responsibility of the expenditure rests with the Government as the guardian, and not with the Indians—so long the Government must determine how that money shall be spent. It is not right to the Indian to throw that responsibility back upon the Indian which belongs to us. I do believe that as rapidly as possible those trust funds should be distributed to the Indians and then the Indians should be left perfectly free to use that money for any schools they like. (Applause.) Some of that money did not go to Roman Catholic schools; though most of it went to Roman Catholic schools, some went to Lutheran schools; but it does not make any difference whether it went to the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian, the fundamental question is this: Shall the United States throw upon the Indians the responsibility of spending the money which by the very condition of guardianship it assumes they are incompetent to spend? Shall they eject the agents of the churches from the lobby only to send them to the Indian tribes? Shall those agents of various churches go to those various Indians with petition papers, saying to one man, "Will you sign for a Congregational school," to another, "Will you sign for an Episcopalian school," and then carry those petitions up to the Indian Department and divide the money according to those petitions? I hold that it is immeasurably worse to throw that sectarian conflict back among the tribes than it is for Congress or the Bureau to meet that conflict itself. It is worse to appropriate Indian trust funds than Government funds to sectarian, denominational, or ecclesiastical organizations. As those of you who heard my opening address know, I heartily agree with what Mr. Fitzgerald has said and what Mr. Smiley has said today, that the children of the Indians should be trained as Christians, and tonight we hope to hear one or two addresses from men who are of that opinion, and who will urge it upon this Conference, and I hope and believe that the Business Committee will have something to say upon that subject and upon the importance of recommending some means to secure that result.

The PRESIDENT.—Mr. Frank Wood will have the last five minutes of this session.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—Mr. Chairman: While I have not lived on an Indian reservation, I have been investigating this ques-

tion according to my capacity for about twenty-seven years. The two things that I objected to most in the paper that was finished this morning were the laying upon Divine Providence and the American people the atrocities of the past, the claim that they were the acts of Providence, and the result of the onward march of civilization, and a part of the onward progress of the American people. Providence does not need any defence from me, but the American people have, when the facts were brought before them, repudiated the responsibility for these atrocities. They have done what they could as reparation. They will not acknowledge that they are the authors of the crimes that have been committed against the Indians. Should we lay these crimes upon Providence? Shall we charge Providence with the crime against the Pimas—that horrible story that stirred our blood here today? Is Providence the author of the robbery of the water rights that brought famine and starvation to that tribe? I think not. Then as to the other thing, and the only point which I intended to answer (I want to say here that I had no personal feeling; I knew the gentleman was an able supervisor and that he had a good school) was that the old Indian and the full-blood was not capable of education and progress. Now personal experience is not always the best evidence; testimony from proper witnesses is just as good. The first man that gave me any education as to actual contact with the Indian matters was that old Indian campaigner, General Crook. He respected and admired these old Indians who had no education excepting the education that they had obtained under their tribal systems and in their own life, which is a pretty large education; and it would be well for some of us if we had a part of it. He said to me, "If I were an Indian and had to bear the wrongs that they have borne, I would be worse than any Indian I ever saw!" He respected his antagonist, Geronimo, an old Indian, who fought General Crook ably. After his capture, and during that time he was in Alabama, he was made constable, also acted as Sunday-school superintendent. Even he could be improved. I mentioned Dr. Eastman simply because it was a case I knew most about, but I can mention fifty cases if time permitted—Dr. Montezuma and others. Dr. Eastman is a full-blood and he began his education when he was seventeen years of age, and what was possible for him is possible for others. He is not a man naturally quick, but what he has accomplished has been done by persistently sticking to it until he could do it, and then kept at it until he could do it better than anyone else. Mr. William Duncan and his Metlahkatla Indian colony is one of the finest examples of Christian education in the world without regard to race. I do not believe the old Indian is not capable of being saved. We have had the testimony of

Bishop Whipple, Bishop Hare, the testimony of General Crook and General Howard, testimony from the Riggsses; we have testimony from every missionary who has done effective work, who has ever stood on this floor. God is able to save to the uttermost, and the Indians are more capable of accepting the Christian religion than almost any other race who are not Christians, because they are religious, they are not idolaters, they believe in a Supreme Being, who is a Spirit—"the Great Mystery"—and they are capable of understanding our Invisible Father and accepting Him when He is properly presented in love. The gentleman's statement about the old Indian and the full-blood would limit the grace of God, and the redemptive power of the gospel of Jesus Christ. I wished to make this explanation in reply to the paper of the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. T. H. TIBBLES.—In addressing this audience I feel I should make an apology, for I do not speak the language of the schools, and have none of the refinements of speech which has delighted you for the last three days. I do not pretend to be civilized, but I know a truth when I see it. I believe that I have a matter to submit to you that is of greater importance than any subject ever before presented to this Conference. The Severalty Act provided that the Government shall hold in trust for the Indian all lands allotted to them under that Act for twenty-five years, and that at the end of that time deed the land in fee simple to the allottee or his heirs, according to the law of the State or the Territory in which the land is situated. The average life among Indians is some years shorter than among the whites, and at the end of twenty-five years the population of an Indian tribe will have practically changed. Here and there only, will there be living an original allottee. I hold it a good point in law that the Government, having entered into the contract to hold these lands in trust and at the end of the twenty-five years deed them to the allottee or his heirs, that it is bound in ethics and equity to determine for itself who these heirs are, and not confer that authority upon a county judge who is elected by the very men who expect to profit by the extended litigation which will result in finding by that process who the legal heirs are. Within three or four years the twenty-five year term will begin to expire on some of the reservations, where the first allotments were made. Already lawyers are beginning to gather around these reservations, anticipating the rich harvest that will come the moment the term of these allotments expire.

I know of one instance in which one attorney has been appointed a guardian for seventy-four estates where heads of Indian families have died, every family owning from a hundred

and sixty to four or five hundred acres of agricultural land, the value of which runs up into the hundreds of thousands. Having this litigation in view, these lawyers combine to elect a county judge, who in fact really becomes a partner in their concern. Instances have been reported to me where lawyers have offered a prize of twenty-five dollars to the Indian who would first report to them the death of a head of an Indian family, so that the lawyer might instantly appear in the probate court, and be appointed a guardian for the minor children and administrator of the estate. When men die intestate, as all Indians must, for they are not allowed to make wills, this audience knows perfectly well who generally owns the estate, when the lawyer makes his final report.

It has already been advocated on this floor that Indian agents be required to make a registration of all members of the tribes, over which they have been placed. That is exactly what these men advocate who expect to see these Indian lands transferred to white owners through the cost of unending litigation. That list could only be used in a county court as evidence in settling an estate. It has no other legal force. The county judge would decide who the heirs were and on appeal from him the case would go first to a circuit court, and then to the supreme court of the State or Territory. In all these Western States, the supreme court is from one to six years behind its docket. If nothing is done, the inevitable result must be that the Indians will be disinherited and all the millions that have been spent in education, missionary work and on the part of the Government to make Indians self-supporting will have gone for naught.

The remedy for this state of affairs is the enactment of a law by Congress placing upon each large reservation an officer of the United States Government whose record shall be accepted by the Government of the United States, concerning the heirs to men who have died, with an appeal from their decision in contested cases to the United States District Court. In cases of small reservations one officer could do the work for several. These officers should have conferred upon them all the authority of a probate court.

As I said in the beginning, I believe this the most important question that was ever presented to this Conference, and I have been allotted three minutes in which to do it.

The Conference then adjourned.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, October 20, 1905.

The PRESIDENT.—At this opening of the last meeting of the session, we will first hear a few words from one whom we had expected to hear from personally, Hon. F. E. Leupp, the honored Commissioner of Indian Affairs; he has written a letter to Mr. Smiley, part of which the Secretary will read.

Washington, Oct. 19, 1905.

Hon. Albert K. Smiley,
Lake Mohonk Mountain House,
Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Smiley:—I am annoyed beyond measure at the failure of my plans to come to Mohonk. . . .

Two matters I had on my memoranda to bring before the gathering. One was a suggestion to the people in the missionary field that they try to arrange their conferences of Indian religious societies so as to have them occur simultaneously. The reason for this is, that a succession of such conferences causes more or less disturbance through Indians' wanting to attend two or three instead of the one to which they properly belong. Of course this is natural in view of their enjoyment of visiting their friends on the various reservations, but it keeps up some of the spirit of unrest among them which it would be just as well to modify where we can do it without jeopardizing any proper interests. I think there would be no difficulty in making this arrangement for holding the different conventions the same week, and if the several religious bodies would get together by correspondence or delegates and arrange a program so that if, for instance, the Presbyterians were holding their convention at Santee, and the Episcopalians at Rosebud, and the Baptists at Crow, and so on, all should be held, let us say, in the week between September 2d and 9th or some such period. This would not prevent the Presbyterians at Crow from going to Santee, or the Episcopalians at Santee going to Rosebud, or otherwise interfere with the entire freedom of the religious bodies; but it would save the agencies a good deal of interference with the orderly routine of affairs, especially where the effort has been made to impress the Indians with the fact that each week in the year brings its duties to an industrious householder and farmer.

The other point I wished to bring before the Conference had to do with the ambitions of certain young Indians. There is one excellent Indian boy who has commendation from everybody who has had to do with him as teacher, employer or otherwise, who is very anxious to complete his education by taking a scientific course at Dartmouth. If any members of the Conference could put me in communication with any rich and generous persons who would like to help this boy by contributing the few hundred dollars a year which would be necessary to pay his expenses at college, I should be gratified. I have arranged for the routine expenses at Dartmouth, but cannot provide the board and clothing and incidentals. From what I can learn of the boy I should judge that his conduct would justify the expense to any benefactor.

Another of my ambitious young Indians is a girl at Rosebud who has shown, as I am informed, exceptional ability as a musician, using the piano as an instrument. The girl's ambition to get some special instruction, and her undoubted talent, have led the superintendent and his wife to see whether they could not squeeze out of their slender income enough to place her at some conservatory. It hardly seems just to let them incur this expense if, as I have been repeatedly assured, there are kind and wealthy persons on the lookout to expend something for the advancement of individual Indians. I know of no better place than Mohonk to bring up these matters, as all who attend the Conferences are interested in Indians, and many of them have a large circle of acquaintances which would prove valuable in a case like this.

I should be much obliged if, in case I am unable to attend even a single session of the Conference, you would lay these matters before the members with my kind regards and expressions of regret for my compulsory absence.

Sincerely yours,

F. E. LEUPP, Commissioner.

THE PRESIDENT.—We are to take the first hour this evening for a consideration of what seems to me to be at least as important as any matter that can come before us, that is what we can do for the religious education (and by religious I include certainly the moral and all social education) of the Indian race specifically and of all the,—I must not say dependent people, I do not mean insulated people,—well, you know what I do mean. We will first hear from Dr. H. B. Frissell, President of Hampton Institute, who, perhaps, has done as much as any man for the culture of the Indians and negroes in this country.

Rev. H. B. FRISSELL.—A few days before I left Hampton, I met a company of thirty-five young Indian boys and girls. They had just come on from the West. No one had been sent to gather them; most of them had come by themselves; in two or three cases they had been accompanied by a teacher who had known Hampton and was anxious to have them come to the school. In every case we had sent out papers making inquiry as to their standing and had found out what progress they had made in their studies. After twenty-five years in the Indian work at Hampton it is very interesting for me to contrast that body of intelligent, well-dressed, earnest, forceful young men and women with the Indians who came to us in blankets, just twenty-five years ago, not speaking the English language, many of them with scant clothing and long hair and with all the evidences of barbarism. Few things could speak more loudly of the progress which has been made in this Indian work than the contrast between the Indian student who comes to Hampton today and the one of twenty-five years ago. We have heard many things that are discouraging, but there are some things that make those of us who are in this work believe that there is real progress. Most of these young people have come from the Indian boarding schools. At Hampton we no longer take any Indian who has not had previous training in the West. The description that was given to us of the struggle for students does not apply to the Hampton school, for we do not take any who have not had a certain amount of training, and I want to say right here a word for these Indian schools of the West. We have sometimes felt doubtful about their work, but for a number of years it has been my good fortune to meet at their institutes a number of their teachers and superintendents. I have seldom found a more earnest body of people than these workers who gather at least once every year to discuss the great problem of how the Indian can be elevated. Of course there are exceptions, but the men who are at the head of these schools as well as the teachers under them, labor under very great difficulties, and I want to say that I have found them a body of earnest Christian men and women.

The question which we have to discuss tonight is in regard to the religious work among the Indian people. Of course we at Hampton feel that religion lies at the very bottom of all we are doing. I could not stay at Hampton a week if I did not feel that the religious life, the religious work, was the central and the all-important thing. General Armstrong, as you know, was the founder of Hampton. He was one of those whose parents went out to the Sandwich Islands long ago, to carry the Gospel to the people who sit in darkness. He came to

Williams College and then went into the war; after the great struggle was over he came to Hampton, with all the earnestness of the religious life that belonged to him, with strong faith in the Unseen, and with a belief in the power of prayer, which he said, he considered the greatest thing in the world. We at Hampton have always felt, as I have said, that religious work is vitally important in the uplift of the Negro and the Indian.

It may be interesting perhaps to consider the sort of religious life that we believe in at Hampton. It is very practical in its nature and is closely connected with the work of the hand. There has been a religion which some of us can remember, which was altogether a thing in the air, altogether a thing of the hereafter. At Hampton we do not dwell much on the hereafter, we do not dwell much on the sort of religious life which has nothing to do with work. While we do not lay much stress upon the emotional side of religion, we do lay a great deal of stress upon the doing of daily duty. Hampton is, as you know, an undenominational school. Again and again the question has been brought up in Congress as to whether our appropriation ought not to be taken away from us, for some have charged us with being sectarian; and I have had to go to Washington repeatedly to fight out that question. We are not sectarian. We are very earnest in our plea for undenominationalism and I want to take just a moment to explain our attitude. We have, for instance, a Catholic priest, who comes to the school from Fort Monroe; he is one of the most earnest and devout men among us. Our Catholic Indians go to early mass at his church. A while ago a boy who had come from a Catholic school in the West, asked me whether he might go to the Protestant church Sunday morning, instead of going to the Catholic Church. I told him no, he had come to me a Roman Catholic and I did not mean that he should be proselyted at Hampton. We give a welcome to all the Catholic boys and girls who attend our other religious services, but we insist that they shall go to their own church and we maintain the most cordial relations with their priest. We have a number of Baptists, and as they are believers in close communion we have Baptist clergymen come to the school church and administer the communion to those who belong to that denomination. Some of our students are Episcopalians; the rector from the town of Hampton comes over and conducts certain services on the grounds for them and they attend his church. In addition we have daily chapel exercises for all. Emphasis is laid upon Christian duties and not at all upon the differences which separate Christian people. I consider that one of the most important

things that we teach these young people who come to us, many of whom have intense feeling concerning the doctrines that separate one Christian from another, is that Roman Catholics and Protestants, Baptists and Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Congregationalists, can all work together in harmony. It seems to me, my friends, that we might introduce that sort of religious life into our Indian schools, without any loss and with a great deal of gain. I know some people feel that it is a question whether religion ought to be taught and I understand that when Dr. Abbott was talking about it, he advocated morals and not religion. I did not hear his speech, but I should say that we ought to teach religion as well, and I think the time is coming when Catholics and Protestants, when Presbyterians and Baptists, can let go the unimportant things and work together for the welfare of these races.

The importance of this religious work leads me to look with a great deal of regret at everything in our Western schools which looks like neglect of the religious side. I have heard since I have been here that Mr. Riggs, who has labored so long and so faithfully, is no longer supported by the Congregational denomination, and that he is obliged to give up his work. What a great misfortune that is! When we think of what the Riggs family has done for the Sioux nation, when we remember how the Riggses and Williamsons, when the Sioux were shut up after one of their massacres, went into the fort and talked with the captives, and when we remember how much has resulted from their efforts, it seems a tremendous shame that Thomas Riggs and his brother should have to give up their work because the Congregational denomination will not stand by them. I do not know the reasons for it and I do not presume to criticise at all the American Missionary Association with which I have been so pleasantly and intimately associated for many years. It is doing a great work. But I should like to plead that we here at Mohonk send out, as I believe we are to do, a petition to these Christian churches, to say that such men as Mr. Riggs and Mr. Williamson should be supported and that the work to which they have given themselves should go on.

We have talked a good deal about a great many things and all of them very helpful. I am sure you will not think that any one who comes from Hampton does not believe in the practical side; the practical side is of vital importance. A great deal of progress has been made along that line, but what we need most, my friends, are men and women who have the spirit of Christ, who will get alongside of these boys and girls and help them. That is already very largely done in our Indian

boarding schools. There are men from these schools who attend this Conference year after year with whom you have come in contact, men of noble and fine spirit; but beyond what the boarding school can do, we ought to have the church. We all know the story of the Winnebagos and Omahas. We remember when their reservations were opened and the white people came in, and lands in severalty were given to the Indians, how much we expected and hoped for them, and you know the awful story of how these people have gone to pieces in the years that have followed and our expectations seem all blighted. If I were asked what was the reason we have failed in the case of the Omahas and Winnebagos and succeeded at Santee I should say because we sent to Santee earnest, consecrated missionaries and left the Omahas and Winnebagos very largely to themselves. I suppose there are no people who need the sort of work that can be done by a good, devoted missionary as much as the Indians, and especially when they return from such schools as Hampton. It is not merely for religious work that these people are needed, but also for a great many other things. Take the men who are in our boarding schools; they are Indian Bureau employees and therefore cannot do many things that the missionaries can do. You have heard the story of Miss Collins and her work! You remember how, when the Indians of Standing Rock were threatened with loss and disaster, Miss Collins, who was outside and could do what no Indian employee could, stepped in and saved the situation. Now think what it would mean to the Indians of Standing Rock if the work of Miss Collins were not to continue. I want to make a plea for religious education. It seems to me it ought to go into the Indian schools. And I want to make a plea for those noble men, the Williamsons and Riggses and others who have made possible because of their devoted lives the work that we are doing today. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—We have heard from a representative of one of the great schools of the East, and we are now to hear from a representative of one of the greatest schools of the West, Superintendent of Haskell Institute, Mr. H. B. Peairs, Lawrence, Kansas.

Mr. H. B. PEAIRS.—Mr. President, Friends of the Conference: I have been keeping very still since I came to the Conference, and enjoying the meetings, gathering all that I could. I did not come with the intention of speaking at all, but I assure you that it gives me pleasure to speak for just a few moments upon the topic which has been assigned, "Religious Work in Indian Schools and on Indian Reservations." I believe it to be

a very important work. I do not believe that we can civilize without Christianizing. I do not believe that we can Christianize without the development of the hand and the brain at the same time. The missionary work among our Indian people was begun, of course, on the reservations years and years ago. For a long time the results seemed very meagre, and yet, today as we look out over the Indian population of this country, we can find hundreds, yes, thousands, of devoted, consecrated, Christian Indian people, and as a result of the missionary work that has been done in the field, we have today the great system of Government schools. We could not have the system of Government schools that we have today had it not been for the missionary work. The missionaries sowed the seed in years gone by and we are reaping today the harvest in the opportunity for work with the thirty thousand children that are in the Government schools. Although the work on the reservations has been great and the reward is large, it is not, it seems to me, to be compared as a field, to the field that is now before us. I thoroughly believe in that work among the old people, and I would not want any one to think for a moment that I am in favor of relinquishing or giving up any work in the field, but I do believe that there is a greater field among our Indian people, and that is in the schools. We all know, especially all those who have studied the Y. M. C. A. work in this country, the work among young people in the churches, the different Christian organizations in the churches, and have gathered statistics that the majority of conversions are among the young people, those in their teens. I cannot give you the figures, but I have been especially interested in the Y. M. C. A. work during the past two or three years and have been connected with local work and with state work, and I have been surprised as I have studied it to find out what a large percentage of conversions are made during the early years of life. If that be true among our people, with our children who are in Christian homes and have Christian surroundings and all that tends to help them, is there not a great responsibility resting upon those who have to do with this Indian work and with Indian schools? The Indian Government school is today the home of the Indian child—thirty thousand of them out of forty thousand of school age in this country. Dr. Frissell has said, and truly said, that there are many, many consecrated, devoted Christian men and women in the Government schools of this country. There are; but on the other hand we may as well confess the facts, there are many, many of them, hundreds of them in the Government service who do not care a snap of the finger for anything along the line of religious training. There are men and women in

charge of scores of young Indian boys and girls who never think from one year's end to the other of the spiritual growth of the Indian children. The regulations of the Indian office require that Sunday school be held on Sunday each week, and it is done, but in many instances it is only done because it is required and you know when work is done in that spirit it does not mean much. We need in the field, in the schools, as well as on the reservations, more Christian men and Christian women, those who are consecrated, those who are devoted, those who are willing to give their lives to this missionary work. Someone said today in this room that he had for years always advised young people not to enter the Government service. I can easily understand that and understand the reasons for such advice, for I have given almost twenty years of my life to Government service and today I really cannot see that there is much hope (so far as promotion is concerned, or as financial interests are concerned), but I want to say to you that there is something more than that in this work. There is a promotion which will come to the faithful worker in the future. We need, as I said, Christian men and women. We can do Christian work in the Government schools. It has been said that the Government schools are Godless schools, but I want to say to you that we can do undenominational Gospel work in the schools, and during the years that have gone by there have been scores of conversions in the Indian schools of this country. We ought not to be so afraid of criticism, so afraid to stand for religious training, and to do for the children who are placed under our charge that which we know is our duty. Children come from Christian homes to us and come to the school and stay three or four or five years, and possibly are thrown under the influence of those who do not care for religious training, and those children, during this formative period of life, under that kind of influence, drift and possibly forget all about their God. They go back to their homes where there is evil and temptation all around them, and having reached the advanced age, it is next to impossible to get them back into the fold. Others come to us from all sections of this country who know nothing of religious training, who have had, in fact, no Bible instruction. I have a class of boys (twenty), and two weeks ago as I talked to them about the story of Daniel (and these boys are seventh and eighth grade boys), I said, "Boys, how many of you had in your early boyhood days the story of Daniel told to you?" Just two boys out of that class of twenty boys ever had the story of Daniel told to them. It simply illustrates how much there is to do and how little the Indian children in the Indian schools have had in the way of Bible instruction. I believe we should teach the Bible in the

Indian schools of this country. We need not teach denominationalism at all, but teach principles and truths of the Bible, teach the Gospel and not be afraid of a little bit of criticism. We at Haskell have much the same plan as Dr. Frissell has given. The pastors of the various churches come to the school and conduct services. In addition to that we have a Sunday school of about thirty-five classes of boys and girls, who, from Sunday to Sunday, do their work just as regularly in the Sunday school as is done among public school children. We have in addition to that, and it is the best part of our work, the young people's societies. From time to time the organizations have grown and the interest has grown to that extent that there are now six active organizations: The Y. M. C. A., Junior Society, the Sunshine Societies, Y. W. C. A., etc. All volunteers, that is the best part of it,—volunteers. There is no compulsory attendance at all in those meetings, and yet, on every Sunday evening at Haskell Institute, there are out of seven hundred and fifty students, I can safely say, three hundred to four hundred volunteer boys and girls in those Christian organizations. It simply shows what can be done. I hope to see the day when throughout this land in our Indian schools there will be such a corps of workers in the schools that similar work may be carried on in all the schools. I want to make the plea as Dr. Frissell did here tonight for these people. There are thirty thousand Indian boys and girls in the Indian schools calling for the Gospel. I tell you I believe that the Christian young people of this country should be encouraged to enter the Government service, at least this particular department of it. The Civil Service Commission will examine anybody who wants to be examined, and they are no respecter of persons. Whoever may make application to that Civil Service Commission can take the examination and can get into positions in the Government Indian service, where he can work, and where he can do the work which God has placed us here to do. Can we shirk the responsibility? I appeal to you as Christian people in this Conference, that as you go home this year that you may not forget the thirty thousand Indian boys and girls who are in the Government schools of this country, but that as you may have opportunity you will urge Christian young people to get into the Civil Service and there do Christian work for our boys and girls.

Dr. L. C. WARNER.—Dr. Frissell has been misinformed in regard to the relation of the Riggsses to the American Missionary Association. There are two of the Riggsses in the service of the Association, one Dr. Riggs, and his work and school goes on the same as for many years, the other is Thomas Riggs. Mr. Riggs

is in the employ of the Association at this time and is doing the same excellent work that he has done for many years in superintending the many churches that are among the Sioux nation. The Association closed the school at Oahe Agency something over a year ago, not because they wanted to, but largely because the number of pupils has very much fallen off. Mr. Thomas Riggs has thought it best to reopen the school and he has, with the consent and co-operation of the Association, solicited funds to reopen that school, but during all this time he himself is supported by the American Missionary Association.

The PRESIDENT.—The next speaker will be one who has been for some years in the West. He is the President of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash., Rev. Dr. S. B. L. Penrose.

Dr. S. B. L. PENROSE.—Ladies and Gentlemen: When I learned this fall that I might this year accept for the first time the invitation which for several years Mr. Smiley has been very kindly sending to me to attend the Conference of the friends of the Indians, I bethought me of what service I might render to the Conference which I had never attended before, and it occurred to me that I would write to the agents of the different Indian reservations in the Northwest and ask them if they had any messages for this Conference or any suggestions to make concerning changes in existing laws for the benefit of the Indians. As the first part of what I have to present to you this evening, may I read extracts from the letters of two or three of those reservation agents concerning minor or perhaps major amendments in some of the laws concerning Indian life? One agent writes me:

"I strongly favor either Government or State control of Indians but not a mixture as at the present time; agents and bonded superintendents in charge of Indian reservations do not always know just where our authority begins or ends.

"Referring to the U. S. statute concerning the sale of liquor to Indians, I think that the Indian who purchases the liquor should be punished the same as the man who sells it to him.

"The leasing of Indian lands should be restricted more than at present; Indians who get money easily, without working for it, spend it foolishly.

"While I generally favor the allotment of lands in severalty, yet I think that it has been done too hastily on many reservations; when they receive their allotments they are recognized as citizens; I know many allottees who are no more fit for American citizenship than the most ignorant foreigner just arrived on our shores.

"I am pleased to inform you that we now have a Commissioner of Indian Affairs who is wide awake to the best interests of the Indian; I refer to Hon. Francis E. Leupp; I do not mean by this statement that the former Commissioner did not try to do his duty, but I think that in Mr. Leupp we have a man who comes to us better equipped for the position than any man who has ever held the office; he is making many changes which, I am sure, will be for the best interests of the Indian."

Another writes: "There is one phase of the work in which, I think, all superintendents will agree—namely, the superintendent should be permitted to direct and govern the *personnel* of his corps, choosing its members and pruning its members (without the present necessity of preferring almost criminal charges before a change can be effected). If a superintendent is to be held responsible for results, he must be allowed a chance to choose the means and the instruments with which the results are to be achieved—otherwise the responsibility is not his."

Another writes: "I will plainly state that in my opinion the matter of allotting Indians and opening reservations to settlement is being done too fast and in many instances prematurely. When the Indians are allotted, under the law they become citizens and are subject to the State laws, and have the same rights and privileges as any other citizen, but few are prepared for this. Congress and the Department have tried to make laws to protect them, and made it a crime to sell intoxicants, but the Supreme Court has decided such a law unconstitutional, and you can readily see the agent and the Government has no jurisdiction over them except to hold their allotted lands in trust so they cannot sell or dispose of them, but the bars are being let down rapidly in this respect.

"It now seems to be the policy to open reservations to settlement, and allow the heirs of deceased allottees to sell their inherited lands. By opening the reservation the tribal lands will be sold. This is placing the Indian upon an equal footing as a citizen with the whites, which would be all right if they were prepared for it, but I regret to say that as a rule they are not. Most reservations and the Indians should have the protecting care of the Government for some time to come. There will no doubt be a great effort made in Congress soon to remove all restrictions upon Indian lands and allow the allottee to sell, and many of the Indians would squander their money. If patents were issued to them, they would not all pay taxes as required by the laws, and the lands would be sold under the State laws for delinquent taxes.

"One serious problem to me on this reservation as well as to many agents on other reservations where irrigation is neces-

sary to make lands productive, is to irrigate the allotted lands. While the Government has been quite liberal in appropriating money for the past few years for this purpose, still they have only made a small beginning. I think canals and laterals should be constructed actually appropriating all the water available before the reservation is opened, otherwise the speculators may get in and appropriate the water and creeks not appropriated by the Government for the Indians, and under the State laws in most States the actual appropriators hold the water. To make it more clear, reservations where water is required for irrigating lands should not be thrown open until all the water available is actually appropriated for use on Indian allotments.

"I trust the Mohonk Conference will use their influence to get liberal appropriations for irrigating Indian reservations, and that they will discourage the idea of opening any reservation until the allotted lands are irrigated or water appropriated for the purpose."

I present these at the request of these Indian agents of the Northwest, of whom there are ten within a radius of five hundred miles about the college where I have the honor to be engaged. I do not wish to speak to this Conference upon these matters concerning regulations of Indian life, but rather I want to utter a commonplace truth which I suppose may be taken for granted, and yet which I think one of those commonplace truths which needs always to be reaffirmed. I mean the importance of giving to the Indians our best and not only that which is most popular in our life at the present time. I am interested in the Indian, not only because there are so many Indians in the Northwest where I live, but because I am interested in the college founded for one who gave his life for the Indians and went to the Northwest, to Oregon, in 1836, because the Indians had come to the East asking for the gospel and the Book of God. You remember those four Nez Perce chiefs who in the early thirties appeared at St. Louis asking for knowledge of the white man's God and of the white man's Book of Heaven. You remember how they were entertained there at St. Louis by the United States Commissioner; how the two old chiefs died and were buried by the banks of the Mississippi, two thousand miles from the graves of their fathers; how early in the spring the two younger chiefs, having been received as guests of honor, having been loaded with gifts, turned to go back to their hunting-grounds; you remember how the United States officer in command of the post at St. Louis gave them a farewell dinner of honor, and how at that dinner one chief rose to his feet and said: "We are going back the long trail of many moons, our moccasins worn with the journey, our hands heavy with the gifts that

you have loaded upon us, but when we stand before the old men by the campfire and they ask if we have brought back that which they sent us for, knowledge of the white man's God and the white man's Book of Heaven, and we have to answer No, then one by one the old men will go out into the darkness, the campfire will burn to ashes, my people will go the long sad trail to other hunting-grounds, no white man's book to show them the better land, no white man's God in their hearts," and then they went into the wilderness and disappeared from history. From that day in 1832 until now the Indians, whether consciously or unconsciously, have been stretching out their hands to the white man for the best that the white man might give them. Oh, give them industrial education, give them freedom under the Flag! Yes, but I pray you give them the best you have to give them! Give them the knowledge of the salvation which is in Jesus Christ! Give them men and women of God who will talk to them of that life which is the best that God has ever given to anyone on earth. Dr. Griffis was right in reminding us that the way to carry Christianity to the distant places of the earth is by sending it incarnated, by men and women of deep consecration, of real inspiration. Mr. Huxley was right in giving the definition of education which he gave us through the lips of Dr. Abbott, in his opening address, "passions brought to heel to a vigorous intellect and the intellect the servant of a tender conscience," but that will must be brought into line with the eternal righteousness and must be inspired by communion with the divine personality if the education is to reach the highest levels, if the man is to be lifted to the fullness of the stature of the Son of God. So I think the best that people of the East, that the people of America, can give to the Indian races and the islands across the seas is not simply the externals of education, not the intellectual education alone, but that education of the heart and of the soul, which is God's best gift for us and our best gift to the nations of the world, epistles that may be known and read of all men, men and women of God who are themselves transformed into the image of Jesus Christ. And not only those epistles I pray you may give the Indians, (I am not prescribing how, why, or by what method of education)—not only the incarnated Word, but you will give them also the written word. The missionary speaks before a handful of people and leaves them for a time; what shall they have in his absence? Shall they not have the Bible, the written Word, that from its printed page they may learn of God's dealing with His people and of the historic and the eternal life of Jesus Christ our Lord? Shall they not have also the blessings of that historic Christianity from which some of us have hewed ourselves in our excessive individualism? It

seems to me that a people, whose life has been individualistic needs to be grafted into the solidarity of the Christian communion, that they may realize the fellowship of the saints and the inspiration which comes from the household of God. I ask that you bring the Indians to realize not only the science of the twentieth century, not only the richness and complexity of our modern life, but that you will train them to the highest levels of the human soul, where man looks into the face of God and where, in prayer, the consummate effort of the human spirit, he may find a new life opening over him and above him into which he may walk through the everlasting ages. Give the Indians of the West not only the things which you are giving, but give them more abundantly of the best and highest life which is yours. Those of you who have experienced yourself God's best gifts in the inward communion with the Divine Father, the power of a new-made life within you, see in some way, I say not how, but see that there goes to the tribes of the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, Oregon, Idaho and Washington and all the commonwealths of the Northwest the same transforming power that has lifted us up out of our own lives into the freedom of the children of God.

The PRESIDENT.—I am now going to ask for two five-minute addresses from two ladies who need no introduction to this Conference, Mrs. A. S. Quinton and Miss Scoville.

Mrs. QUINTON.—I am sure I voice the feeling of every one here in giving thanks for the fascinating discussions we have had throughout this Conference and in appreciation of the great subjects that have been brought before us. We have had visions of great divergence of views and peeps at the mutations of politics, but I think we all realize that we have now reached the topic most interesting, most important of all, and I am glad to say a word for the Indians themselves. We in The National Indian Association have met them in our many missions among them, and know that they are eager for Christian instruction. They send us begging pleas from many quarters; not the whole tribe, but men and women in the tribes; those of best character, those most thoughtful. Some of the incidents proving their desires have been most pathetic. I met in Washington recently an old man who had been seriously wounded, whose remaining days must be full of pain, who had come all the way from Western Arizona to Washington. When he called on me at the hotel it was difficult to look at him and maintain composure. He showed that he was suffering. He was feeble and aged. He said: "I come all this way in pain. I not want to come;

I suffer all the way. It a long journey. I come not for myself, not for my grown-up people. I come for my children. I come all this way to plead for my children, for their future."

Another facing a Christian Endeavor group in one of our large cities, looking at the bright boys and girls, was asked to speak. He said he could not speak, yet he made an effective speech, for, looking at the children, he said: "I want my children to be like these children." That was his entire speech and of course it was better than a long one would have been. Another man came to one of the missions asking questions concerning Christ. Not ready to give up his Indian faith he stayed away two years and then returned. Walking into the presence of the missionary, he said, "Who this Jesus you talk about?" The missionary answered him as before, and with burning eyes the Indian replied: "I believe. I be his man. He perfect. I be his man. I watch you Christians; I see you not tell lies; I see you not do other wrong things. I be Jesus' man."

The gospel is a new story to them. It has to many the fascination, the effect of a new story. Many are ready for it. What do we most want for Indians? for any men, women, or children? This: to bring to them the consciousness of God our Father in heaven. To convince them that He really loves us; that He surely cares for us. How can they be convinced of this? By listening to His perfect Son, a perfect embodiment of the divine characteristics and attributes. "How can they hear" His word "except one be sent"? From the message given the fruitage comes quickly in many cases, in others slowly but surely. The word does "not return void," and is that which all need most of all. The method of business men is to take the shortest, surest way to accomplish what is desired. If we wish to civilize Indians, to awaken in them the true, the highest manhood, we must bring them to know God. The consciousness of God! That is what we all need; it is what politicians need; it is surely what all men need; and to bring that consciousness is the great desideratum to which all other instruction is but means to an end. You have had touching stories here for twenty-three years; testimony from our missionaries of the effect of religious teaching. To set up in the soul of the Indian the consciousness of God, belief in the love of God, includes all else for his good. From that consciousness evil flies, and you have the whole man with all his powers to use for the best in him; for true citizenship, for everything that is noble and good. Let us hasten to send missionaries. There are forty-two tribes or tribal remnants still in this Christian land who have not heard the gospel.

The PRESIDENT.—Now, as I never like to call on any one without previous notice, I am going to give notice that, after

we have five minutes from Miss Annie Beecher Scoville, I shall call on Mrs. Walter Roe to give us a little account of Mohonk Lodge, which had its inception in this Conference.

MISS SCOVILLE.—This winter Mr. Leupp asked me if I had the nerve to go and do something that I have asked for here in this Convention once, and I do not find it is exactly safe to ask things at Mohonk, not if you are going to be asked to do it yourself. I have had three months of testing the question of the service of our country among the Indians and I have that painful burden of knowing that the work that was done here twenty years ago, that work of giving the land and citizenship to the men of Winnebago, is a failure, and the Winnebago, where once the farmer, the little Indian farmer, who before the days that we came into this country had supported himself and had been a peace lover, that in the twenty years that we have made him a citizen and given him land, has gone back from his farm, has given up his advance, is living in the timber, living on what he can draw from the lease. The dance which once held the position least honorable and was not very often brought before the people, is now incessant, and the drums keep beat with the heart of the worker in Winnebago. A failure—and is it the Indian who is the failure? We gave him just laws, Dr. Abbott said, necessary for civilization; but law that is not an expression of the morals, the principles, the thought of the community is, in our form of government, not a just law. The vote given to those men of Winnebago, what is it? “Winnebago is bought, sacked and ready to deliver,” was the statement made in the State convention last year. I asked an Indian: “Did you vote last fall?” trying to settle the point of education. “Yes, that half-breed told me he would give me fifty cents for voting and he never give me a cent.” That is the vote given by the State of Nebraska to handle Thurston County, and those Indians know no more of their vote than that. And then first, after all, back of law comes the education of a people, and the education of a people is the training of the people to keep certain principles in force, to bring those principles into concrete form of law, and that was Dr. Abbott’s second point, I believe. Education—what is the education of Winnebago? It is not given in the Government school; we have removed the Christian school, the sectarian school; we have let the mission die and the education is given in the great dance. I have not in five minutes’ time, and I could hardly in this audience, tell what it means, but fundamentally, what does it teach? Our moral life rests on the idea of controlling the passions of all of us for the good of the greatest number. The Indian’s idea is to give expression to the body, that the

body shall be the engine power, the force; he is a hunter, a fighter, and the full expression of all passion is his moral life, the life that is taught by the dance. We say that our economic life lies on the fact that we must provide for ourselves and for those that depend on us and for the future. What is the economic life of the Indian? It is that he shall gain by the strong hand, by power he shall gain and scatter and that he who makes himself poor is great in the eyes of the tribe. Why should you blame an Indian for not working? Why should you punish him for being immoral? Why for giving up work, when he is taught day after day and more days than ever in the wild state. We feed, we lease his land; their dead are all they care for, and for the dead hand the Indian is losing the living power of work.

The PRESIDENT.—I assure you it is harder than you imagine to call down the ladies.

We will now hear from Mrs. Walter Roe, of the Mohonk Lodge at Colony, Oklahoma.

Mrs. WALTER C. ROE.—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Most unexpectedly to myself some seven years ago I was suddenly called upon to address this audience, and still more unexpectedly to us you placed in our hands that night a great trust. We have tried to be faithful to that trust, but I can only say that while there is nothing that we have to boast of, there is solid advancement to report. I remember also the words which came to us at that time. from the lips of our host, to whom the Indians, our Indians, have given a beautiful Indian version of his name—"Smiling Man." Smiling Man told us at that time, that, if we could show that it was possible to build up a self-sustaining Indian enterprise, philanthropists might put their money into such a native enterprise if there were any hope of receiving that money back, principal and interest, leaving behind it a self-supporting industry. He knew very well, he said, that there were many liberal men and women in this country that would be willing to do some such thing as that, who were no longer willing to throw money into a hole. I cannot say, Smiling Man, that we have accomplished this completely as yet, but we have made such progress that we hope that the time may soon come when we can report that the thing has been done. In connection with this industrial work of which you have already heard, we have had another branch of the work, not originally in our thoughts at the time we were here seven years ago; that work has been purely philanthropic, and did not at first anticipate any industrial feature, which was forced upon us by the cutting of the rations from our Indians. We call this

part of the work our Home Department. About the Lodge has grown up many and many an enterprise which has spread out back among the people. They are learning fast, they are learning the spirit of love, they are learning the spirit of Christ. That work must go on and on; after the other task has been accomplished that work will still lie before us. The thing which presses upon us more than any other, dear friends, is now the fact that there is about us a mass of sickness and suffering; we look almost daily into the faces of dying men and women. I cannot tell you how that has borne upon our hearts, but I would say in behalf of those Indian friends of ours that never, in all these eight years, have we seen a Christian Indian, whether he was the old-time Indian, just such as this face (referring to a bronze bust of an Indian) to which my eyes have wandered again and again during this Conference, nor the young, educated Indian, slipping back, as he sometimes does, in the temptations of his life, nor even the little child, come to that hour of death without a faith in God,—if he is a true Christian,—without a perfectly fearless looking towards the future. That, dear friends, is worth while.

I can say that these eight years have been given to this work without a regret, and in a short time we turn back to that beloved work without a sacrifice. We have lost some of our first romantic enthusiasm, but beneath our feet today there is a deep, an abiding, unshaken faith in the manhood of our Indian brother, in his capacity for Christian life, in his readiness to receive it, in his faithfulness to it when once learned, and I believe with all my heart that the time will come when we shall be proud to call this man our brother. (Applause.)

The PRESIDENT.—We are now to hear from the Business Committee, the platform. It is proper that I should say that this platform expresses what the Business Committee believes to be the general consensus of opinion of this Conference. While there is no wish, I am sure, on the part of the General Committee to stifle discussion or to prevent modifications, it is hoped that they have succeeded so far in expressing the general consensus of this Conference that the resolutions can be adopted without dissent and without debate, not as expressing all that all of you would wish, but as expressing all that all of us can agree to say.

Dr. GATES.—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference: I have the honor for the Business Committee to report this as our recommendation for the platform of the twenty-third annual Conference of the Friends of the Indian and Other

Dependent Peoples. You will observe that we make no utterances whatever with reference to Hawaiian affairs and Chinese immigration. This was because we found it impossible to make any utterance with anything like uniformity and because, I believe I am right, it is the universal conviction of the committee that in the light of all the discussions we had had it was the desire not to attempt to make any utterance upon it. You will also see that we make no suggestions with reference to separate statehood or joint statehood for the inhabitants of Indian Territory, because there were very sincere and earnest convictions on the part of certain members that separate statehood would be wisest, and there were equally strong convictions on the part of other members that joint statehood with Oklahoma was the best; and attention was further called to the fact that while it was agreed with the Indians that the territory given to the Five Civilized Tribes should not be made a part of any other State, the territory at first set apart to them and referred to in those conferences, included the land which is almost all the land which has since been erected into the separate Territory of Oklahoma, so that, in the opinion of members of the committee, there does not seem to be the danger, in case there should be joint statehood, of the violation of that agreement, which it was supposed there would be had it been true that at that time the Territory of Oklahoma was a separate Territory or was not included in the land referred to. I do not mention this last fact as an argument for joint statehood; perhaps it is proper for me, under these circumstances, to say that personally I have a very clear conviction that the problems of the territory are such that it seems to me they could be far more wisely handled, first by a separate territorial existence, under territorial government for a short term, and then, under a separate statehood. But with hearty accord in the findings of my committee that it was wiser for us not to attempt any utterance at this time on that point, with these explanations, I submit to you the report of your Business Committee with the recommendation that this be the platform of the twenty-third Conference.

(Platform read.) See pages 7 and 8.

Dr. AZEL AMES.—Mr. President: In the language of Whittier, I am as one who dreads dissent and fears a doubt as wrong, but I should not do justice to my convictions in regard to the real purpose and power of this Conference, if I did not here and now say in regard to this platform or any other which this Conference may present, that I believe we would miss an important factor in the acceptance and adoption of a platform like this,

without going further. This is the third Conference in which there has been distinctly initiated a strong, overwhelming, in fact, a unanimous expression of opinion that there should be definite, positive, crystallized action on the part of the Government toward giving aid in the direction of that all-saving and all-permeating education which can promote only the highest welfare of our dependent peoples. Year before last, at the hands of our distinguished presiding officer, a platform was drawn which provided the express conviction that Porto Rico should be given help in the work of her education. She is already being taxed to the utmost limit of her powers. Last year we reaffirmed the vote of the year previous; this year, I had the honor to suggest that there should be something more definite accomplished, and I urged the authorization and empowerment, in fact, instruction, of the Secretary and President of this Conference to present to Congress, to specially memorialize Congress in favor of action in this behalf. I cannot refrain from the expression of my conviction that we weaken ourselves when we simply meet and consider, initiate, resolve and affirm and yet take none of that crystallizing action, which is known the world over, can only make those things vital and effective. I want to see this Conference carry forward its firm and united views to something like united action, and I believe, knowing as I do and as we all do, that no definite action can be taken at any first session of Congress that shall be so approached. I wish with every deference and with extreme reluctance and embarrassment to suggest that the platform be so amended as to authorize and instruct the President and Secretary to especially memorialize Congress in favor of crystallized action on its part on the recommendation toward the advance of education among these dependent peoples.

Dr. GATES.—Mr. President: May I ask for a word? I think I share his feeling so strongly that I not only laid his paper before the committee, but ventured to phrase it even more strongly, but we were met by the statement from our Superintendent of Colonial Schools within our reach, I think it is proper for me to say, by the statements by Dr. Falkner, that he deemed it very much wiser, as did every other member of the committee, that, instead of singling out Porto Rico, we emphasize the duty of the Government to provide primary education for children in all its territories. When I say Dr. Falkner did not deem it wise to make such an utterance, you will understand our committee was very unanimous in the feeling that it was not wise to incorporate it in the report.

Dr. EVANS.—Mr. Chairman: I do not wish to move or amend, but to correct what might be possible misapprehension in the matter of the treaties between the Indian tribes and the United States Government, that those treaties applied to the whole of the lands, and that those lands include a very large part of Oklahoma. We referred not only to the treaties, but to the act creating the Dawes Commission. The Indians depend upon that, that was the power given to the commission to make a certain contract; the Indians claimed they have paid what was stipulated under their contract, and what the Government of the United States promised to pay them in return, was separate statehood for themselves. The first agreement with the Indians definitely assured them that they should have separate statehood for Indian Territory. That agreement was ratified by Congress more than eight years after Oklahoma was a separate Territory and had absolutely no reference to Oklahoma whatever. I say this, because in speaking before, I gave no dates, the time did not admit of that; but the main agreement to the present contract, a piece of business that is only being wound up today; that it is not closed is what the Indians claim their right upon; that they gave all that they held dearest, all that was stipulated from them, in this contract, and now they bring up the promise, the written, definite promise of the United States, and they say: "Will you meet your part of the contract you made with us?" That is the position. They do not depend entirely upon those old treaties, but they do depend upon the new agreements made at a much later date than the separation of Oklahoma and its organization into a Territory.

The PRESIDENT.—I may be allowed to say a word as presiding officer on this matter without debating it. I am so heartily in sympathy with the position of President Evans that I have asked him for material to present this view through the press and I shall do so, but the strength of Lake Mohonk Conference lies in the fact that we have never passed a resolution by a divided vote. What we have done is to go before the country with practical unanimity; the whole Conference has agreed upon such and such principles.

Dr. EVANS.—I merely meant to correct the misapprehension.

The PRESIDENT.—As many as are in favor of adopting the platform will signify it by saying aye. Contrary, no. It is a vote, and the platform is adopted.

For platform, see pages 7 and 8 of this report.

Dr. AMES.—I move, Mr. President, that the President, the Secretary, the Chairman of the Business Committee of this Conference and Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh be empowered and instructed to especially memorialize Congress in behalf of the recommendation in the platform in favor of the aid of the general Government to the dependent territories in the matter of education. (Carried.)

Dr. GATES.—Will you allow me to bring up one matter to which I had intended to ask attention of the committee, but which by lapse of time escaped and nothing was said about it, that is, the question of a water supply for the Pimas. Whether the Conference may wish to take any action about that, I do not know. I wish Dr. Spining would kindly take notice of the fact that I have made it possible for him to move any action if he wishes to do so.

The PRESIDENT.—You will observe that that platform provides for the appointment of a committee of five, to lay before the churches the importance of religious work among the Indians. This committee of five, in the view of the resolution, is a preliminary committee. It is a committee of five really to constitute a committee of considerable size, who shall consider the whole subject and present this matter to the churches, as we have heretofore presented matters to Congress, to the administration, and I will appoint on that committee, Rev. Dr. W. F. Slocum, Rev. T. S. Hamlin, Dr. Merrill E. Gates, Rev. Paul de Schwienitz, Mr. Daniel Smiley; and I will ask if that committee will, this evening, at all events at the close of this session, come together sufficiently to determine when they will assemble.

Dr. GATES.—I understand that Mr. Tibbles, who has in our American history the honor of having been the first man of prominence to interest himself in defending the titles of Indians to their lands, so far as to organize the first Indian Rights Association in any place; who is known the country throughout as having married "Bright Eyes," who took so many audiences by storm here in the East; living close to the Indians and having these outside opinions, wishes to express himself upon the matter of a probate court to defend the Indians' titles.

Mr. T. H. TIBBLES.—I desire to offer the following resolution.

Resolved, that the duty of the Government under the allotted holdings is to provide an officer of the United States Government whose records shall be received as authority concerning the heirs of Indian lands; and the Government should retain

the power to declare who those heirs are, and not allow the disposition of these lands to be controlled by probate judges, elected under the influences surrounding Indian reservations.

Mr. CHAIRMAN.—The importance of this resolution has impressed itself very greatly upon the lawyers in this assembly; several of them have come to me to speak about the matter since the afternoon session. It is a great and troublesome question. I would like to add to that resolution also another part of a sentence, "with an appeal to the district courts," but here we have that question right before us, in Omaha reservation, which was the first allotment made and others coming right on after it and I want to say to you that men surrounding that reservation in the little towns around, have their eyes upon those Indian lands and they are just as certain to get them as the sun will rise tomorrow morning, unless the government of the United States will protect those Indians against their cupidity. Now, all the work that we have done in the twenty-seven years I have been in connection with it will go for naught if the Indians lose their lands. Litigation there begins the moment these titles are given to the Indian. It is a question of such importance I thought I would present it to this Conference, and the difficulties are so great that we ought to do something now. A lawyer came to me this afternoon and told me of several things that would arise in the discussion of this question, but the thing, he said, is to begin now passing these general resolutions and get some action from Congress, now, before these things pass beyond our control. The moment these lands are allotted and the deeds are made we can do nothing; we must do it now, and therefore I have asked the privilege that you vote upon the resolution.

Dr. GATES.—Those who remember past sessions, will see at once that Mr. Tibbles is anxious about the very point which I, personally, and our board, officially, have been very anxious about for years and I think he and I have at heart the same purpose, to see to it that a proper registration be made of the true heirs to these lands, and that the prima facie evidence of heirship shall be at hand so that it may be presented to defend the Indian rights. The importance of having an unprejudiced probate court with a fair-minded and independent judge who would decide in favor of the Indian when the white men are pushing for their lands in these reservation regions is very great. I am glad Mr. Tibbles has called our attention especially to this thing, but lawyers, and some of us who are not lawyers, understand how delicate is the provision, the work of providing a piece

of machinery that shall be effective to do these things. Frankly, I do not think the resolution provides for it.

I move that to secure the object in view, the resolution of Mr. Tibbles be referred to a committee of three of this Conference, men learned in the law, of whom Chief Justice Andrews of this State, who is already much interested, be chairman, and Mr. Tibbles the second member, the Chair to fill the third place by appointing some lawyer who has shown interest in Indian affairs, and well known to the Conference, to consider and report at the next Conference the best measures to be taken.

(It was so voted.)

The PRESIDENT.—I will appoint as that committee, Hon. Charles Andrews, chairman; Mr. T. H. Tibbles and Hon. John J. Fitzgerald.

We will now proceed to what is both one of the pleasantest and also one of the sorrowful features of these Conferences, the shaking of hands, the bidding good-bye. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Dr. W. F. Slocum, President of Colorado College.

Dr. W. F. SLOCUM.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure that we all appreciate more and more what it is to come to Mohonk, to this Conference; we realize that here we are above political influences, that this station has become a centre of very large influence. We used to think that it was the centre simply of certain movements in America, but we have suddenly discovered that we are at the centre of at least half the world, and to come here and look out over the hill-tops and realize that the influence of this assembly is reaching, geographically, far beyond the boundaries of what used at least to be our own country, is a rare privilege. I have been very much struck also during the few hours, during these days, with how the themes that have been discussed are much broader and larger than they used to be in the olden days. I find experts here discussing subjects of sociology, of economics, finance, of government, those great problems which relate to people, which relate to the evolution of nations and it seems that our privileges have been very much enlarged, because of the men who come, because of the themes that are discussed, and I am sure that we have noted as the hours have gone on what an evolution there has been in the subjects presented at this Conference. It seemed years ago when our great American Board took up this work, that it was simply preaching of the story of the life of Jesus to the peoples in foreign lands, but we found out that the great educational movement was essential to the preaching

of Christianity as was that simple reiteration of the story of the life of our Master, and we have discovered in our work that we must reach out into everything that makes for civilization; that the school, that the training of the people in making of governments, that everything that broadens character, pertains to the thought, the discussions and the life of this Conference, so that our privileges in coming here have been very much broadened, our debt of gratitude is certainly larger than it used to be in the olden days. And I am sure you are delighted tonight to find that the final theme of our evening is the centre of all that makes for the best life of these in whom we are so deeply interested. We are finding that after all the motive, the great spring of action lies down deep in the religious nature and that if we do not come back again and again to religion, to that which binds all work to God, to that which finds its centre in the life and the teaching and the dying and the resurrection of the great Master, we are going to lose the great stimulus, the great power of all this movement. We are grateful again that the centre of the movement is sound, that the power of this Conference still remains, because we come back instinctively, almost with a passion, to the great thought that inspired us, that religion after all is the centre of everything. We will not lose our grip on that; we cannot. I say these things because I want out of my own heart, out of the thought that I am sure is in the mind of all, to speak of my appreciation of coming here to Mohonk, of how much it means, of our great debt of gratitude, and in speaking of it, we cannot help reminding ourselves of those who have made all this possible, and the simple words that I have written down here, that I so move to be spread upon our records, are simply trying to voice all which is in my own mind, and I am sure that which is in your hearts, and so I present this as something that shall be spread upon our records, not because it adequately expresses the debt of gratitude we owe, but because we must put something there as suggesting at least what we want to say.

Dr. Slocum read the following resolutions:

"As members of the twenty-third annual Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian, we cannot separate without extending to our hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, our great appreciation of their generous hospitality which alone makes these Conferences possible.

Those who have come here for the first time have received a stimulus they will not forget should they never have the privilege of coming again. Those of us who recall similar visits, go away with an increased indebtedness to our hosts; an indebted-

edness which we shall try to repay as we may have opportunity—not to them, but to the humble and needy of the earth—their acknowledged brethren and friends.

We congratulate our hosts not only on what they have wrought for the good of the Indian, but upon the wide field of influence opening so evidently before this Conference in its relation to those who, for want of a more suitable phrase we call our "other dependent peoples."

Our thanks are also due and heartily given to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley for the inspiration we have felt from their interest in the work that has called us together, and for their great personal kindness to each of us shown in so many ways; and we would thank each member of the household who has helped in expressing the hospitality of Lake Mohonk Mountain House."

Dr. WILLIAM H. McELROY.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: As the last speakers so well reminded you, I am sure, that what has been said in the way of thanks so far as there was a personal reference, has not been altogether pleasing to Mr. Smiley and his brother, but I say to myself, and I call upon them to bear witness, they have brought this upon themselves. If, instead of being the sort of men that they are, they had had the misfortune to be the sort of men that they are not, I would not be standing here, no resolution would be offered. Now a serious word. A note was uttered in this Conference during the week which, because it seemed to be a note of discouragement, was frowned down upon and rightly frowned down upon, seeing how it was interpreted. Daniel Webster, standing at the dedication of Bunker Hill Monument, was told that the crowd was so great that it could not be restrained. With that large way of his, the godlike man put up his hand and said: "Nothing is impossible on Bunker Hill!" and the crowd fell back. Some such spirit as that (I know these Conferences and I have known them for many years) has dominated these Conferences; we have said that nothing is impossible at Lake Mohonk to which we address ourselves. This is the twentieth century; we here are filled with the spirit of the twentieth century, and would go forward in this century with whatever our hands find to do, in the Indian work or in any other work, to that grandest of all the rallying cries, "If God be for us, who can be against us," and therefore, we say no place of pessimism, no place of hard-heartedness, no place of half-heartedness; we look duty in the eye; I am talking not of the individual, but of this Conference and we say: Here is an Indian problem; it is to be solved; whatever the discouragement, it is to be solved; and feeling that way, we go forward. I have been impressed ever since I

first came here, with the tremendous earnestness of the men who come here from the field. Missionaries go out enduring privation of all sorts for the sake of the cause. I have said to myself, here are men and women that Garibaldi would have loved. You remember that story of which we never tire, the favorite of all stories. Garibaldi, recruiting an army for one of his great exploits for freedom, drew up the line, and he said to his men: "I call upon you to accept wounds, privation, hunger, thirst, death; whoso will accept these things for liberty, let him follow me." That, as I understand it, is the earnestness which this Conference teaches. Some years ago, when ex-President Hayes sat where you do, Dr. Abbott, I had the pleasure of making a few feeble remarks, and I closed with some verses expressing the optimism, the healthy optimism of the age, and with your permission, I will efface myself and repeat them now, since they are not my own verses.

"There is a saying of ancient sages, no noble human thought,
Howe'er buried in the dust of ages, can ever come to naught.
With kindled faith that knows no base dejection beyond
the horizon's scope

I see afar the shining resurrection of every glorious hope.
I see as parcel of a new creation that beatific hour
When every bud of lofty aspiration will blossom into flower;
When all who lovingly have hoped and trusted despite
some transient fears,
Will see life's jarring elements adjusted and rounded into
spheres."

I heartily second the resolutions. (Applause.)

(The resolutions were unanimously adopted.)

The PRESIDENT.—We present this resolution to you, Mr. Smiley, as the imperfect expression of our appreciation of the joy you give us for the demand and opportunity for service that you afford us.

Mr. SMILEY.—I wish to thank you most heartily for these resolutions and for this expression of your kind regard. Nothing pleases me more than to see a company like this earnestly endeavoring to push forward an important movement in the history of the world. We have gathered here, not only the friends of the Indians, but the friends of the Filipino and the Hawaiian and the Porto Rican, and have had, I think, a wonderfully fine Conference. I feel thoroughly satisfied, and I hope and trust

that those here who have listened will have yet further inspiration to go forward and help along this work in the future. Nothing I think is more important than to have subjects such as have been before us, discussed candidly and freely. We cannot expect everybody to think alike on all these matters and I do not know that it would be desirable. We want somebody to criticize, otherwise, we would get into ruts, and I always like to have someone here who does stir us up a little, because we get at the truth quicker in that way than in any other. We have come together tonight as we have at each of the twenty-three Conferences we have had, with resolutions which have been practically unanimously adopted.

You speak of obligation to me and to my wife and my brother. As for the obligation, it is entirely the other way. Many of you have come from long distances, from the far West, from the Pacific Coast, and that we appreciate greatly. We get great value and strength from persons coming from the field. We have people, too, from the Hawaiian Islands and others from the Philippines and Porto Rico. I think you will agree with me that we have had a wonderful collection of men—enough to make a grand Conference. I only regret that we could not hear from more people. There are dozens here who could give valuable information had we the time to hear them.

The officers of this Conference have done splendid work for us, and in conclusion I move that the thanks of this Conference be presented to all of our officers. (So voted.)

The PRESIDENT.—After singing "God Be With You Till We Meet Again," which takes the place, if you please, of a benediction, the Conference stands adjourned without date.

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 ANDREWS, HON. CHARLES and MRS., Syracuse, N. Y.
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 BERGEN, PROFESSOR J. T., Hope College, Holland, Mich.
 BIRNIE, REV. DR. DOUGLAS PUTNAM, Rye, N. Y.
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 BROWN, MR. WILLIAM L., *The Southern Workman*, Hampton, Va.
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 CLOUS, BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN W. and MRS., care of War Department, Washington, D. C.
 COLLINS, MISS MABEL W., care of Indian Office, Washington, D. C.
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 COOK, MISS EMILY S., Indian Office, Washington, D. C.
 COPPOCK, MR. BENJAMIN S., Supervisor Cherokee Indian Schools, Talequah, Ind. Ter.
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 CROUSE, MR. C. W., Superintendent Fort Apache Indian Agency, White-river, Ariz.
 DAVIS, MR. CHARLES L., Superintendent Ft. Totten Indian School, Fort Totten, N. Dak.
 DAVIS, MR. JOSHUA W., President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, 460 Centre St., Newton, Mass.
 DAVIS, REV. WILLIAM V. W. and MRS., Pittsfield, Mass.
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 EVANS, REV. A. GRANT and MRS., President Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, Ind. Ter.



- FALKNER, DR. ROLAND P., Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico, San Juan, P. R.
- FALWELL, MR. WALTER, Supervisor of Creek Indian Schools, Muskogee, Ind. Ter.
- FITZGERALD, HON. JOHN J. and MRS., Member Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, U. S. Congress, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FOSTER, REV. DR. ADDISON P. and MRS., American Sunday School Union, 8 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
- FRISSELL, REV. DR. H. B., President Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
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- GRIFFIS, REV. DR. WILLIAM ELLIOT and MRS., 504 E. Buffalo St., Ithaca, N. Y.
- HALL, REV. DR. HECTOR and MRS., 40 Third St., Troy, N. Y.
- HALLOCK, REV. DR. J. N. and MRS., Editor *The Christian Work*, 86 Bible House, New York, N. Y.
- HAMLIN, REV. DR. TEUNIS S. and MRS., 1316 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.
- HARKNESS, MR. WILLIAM and MRS., 293 Clinton Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- HARPER, REV. RICHARD H., Missionary to Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, Darlington, Okla.
- HART, MR. J. C., Superintendent Oneida Indian School, Oneida, Wis.
- HITCHCOCK, PROFESSOR CHARLES H. and MRS., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- HOLLANDER, DR. JACOB H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- HORR, REV. DR. GEORGE E. and MRS., Newton Center, Mass.
- HOSMER, PROFESSOR FRANK A. and MRS., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
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1907

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-
FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING of the

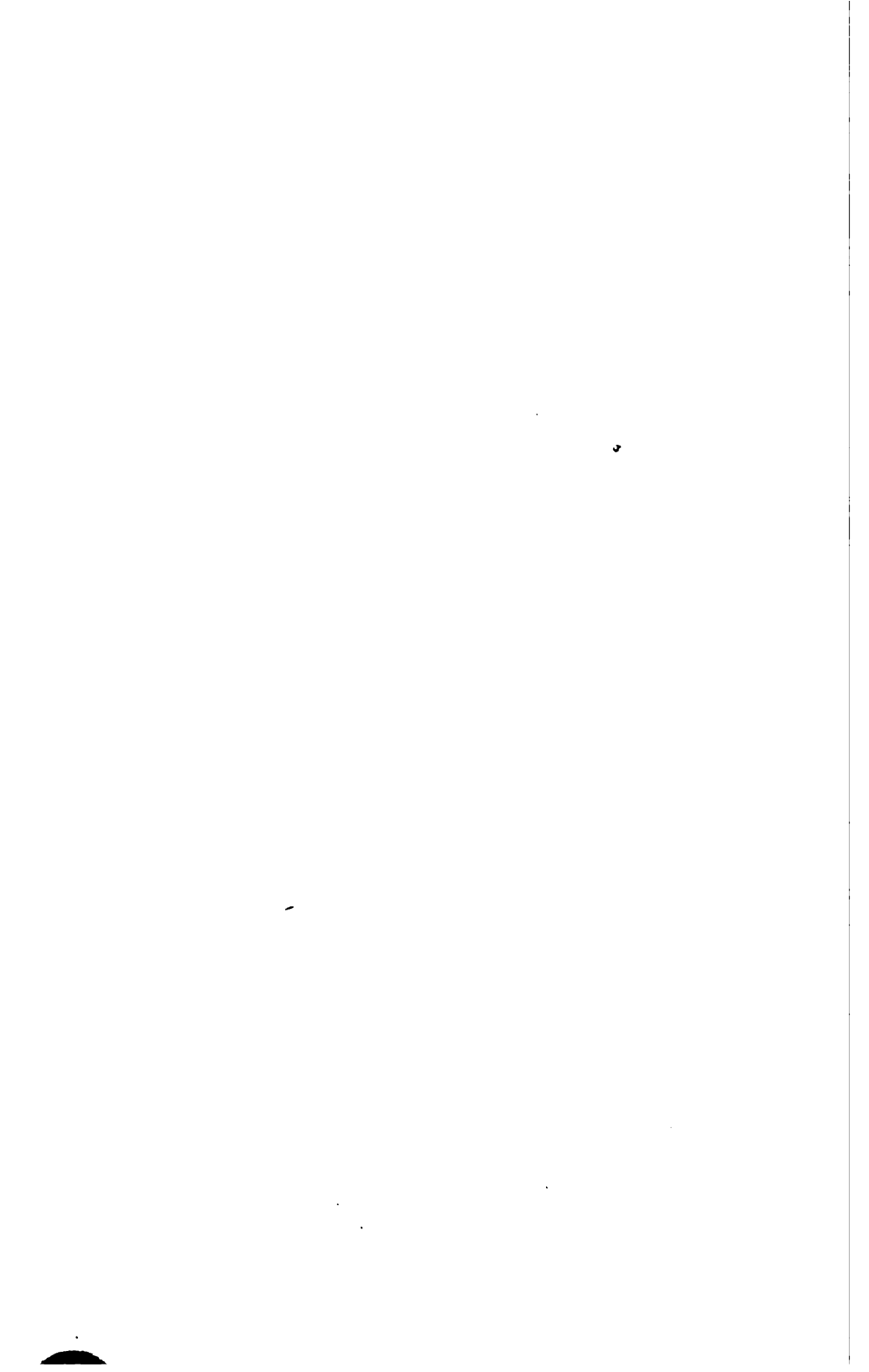
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

Of FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN *and*
OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1 9 0 6

REPORTED BY
Miss Lilian D. Powers

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PREFACE.

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians and other Dependent Peoples met on the invitation of Hon. Albert K. Smiley, at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., October 17th, 18th and 19th, 1906. The topics discussed included affairs among the Indians and in the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii. The discussions are given, practically in full, in this volume.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference, and a limited number of copies is available to others who may be interested. Applications for reports should be made to the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference.

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PLATFORM

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

Unanimously Adopted October 19, 1906.

The work of this Conference is to consider and advise as to the present duties of our Government and our people in behalf of those peoples which are under our control, but are not yet fitted for self-government. It is the belief of this Conference that such a condition should not continue indefinitely. It should be the aim of our Government to develop these peoples by the processes of intellectual, moral and spiritual education into the exercise of full, self-governing citizenship, whether they be Indians, Eskimos, Porto Ricans or Filipinos. Much has been achieved already to this end. This has been made for the first time in the history of subject peoples the accepted policy of the governing nation. We acknowledge gratefully the good work already accomplished by the President and his Cabinet, by Congress, by the officers of the Army and Navy, and by a multitude of devoted men and women who have given their lives' best service to uplifting those of other races. We believe that these Possessions have come into our hands, not that we may make them serve us, but that we may serve them. This is the prime principle of our duty, and we are to do this in no spirit of racial superiority, but in the faith that what we have acquired and done they also may acquire and do, and that freedom and self-government are to be the ultimate right and possession of all.

Each step gained requires other steps to follow. This Conference has made many recommendations, and has had the great pleasure of seeing many of them adopted. Without argument we now offer the following further recommendations as to future policy, some of which we would have embodied in legislation, while others are submitted to the executive departments or to individuals or organizations.

We recommend the following steps of advance in the general policy of our Government towards our detached Territories and Possessions:

That Congress segregate and devote to the use of our detached Territories and Possessions the revenue derived by the Federal Government therefrom, after paying the cost of administration.

That it is the duty of the General Government to assure the provision of an adequate school system, carried on so far as possible in the English language, for all children of school age in all

our Territories and Insular Possessions; and that where the local revenues do not suffice the cost be paid by the General Government.

In particular, we recommend for our Indian tribes:

That the purpose of the Lacey Bill for the division of tribal funds into individual holdings be approved, and that such division be made effective as speedily as possible, and that Indians be paid their individual holdings as fast as they are able to learn the use of money.

That in one or more of the larger Indian industrial training schools the course of study be so extended that graduates can pass from them into the Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges maintained in the States and Territories.

That Congress by definite legislation prohibit the use of Indian trust funds by the Government for the instruction or support of Indian students in schools under ecclesiastical control.

We call the attention of the Christian Churches and all other religious bodies to the urgent need of co-operation in promoting the spiritual uplifting of the Indians.

In particular, for Alaska we recommend:

That Congress amend the law providing for the election of a Delegate from Alaska, by giving citizenship and the right of suffrage to such native men of twenty-one years and upwards as can read and write.

That the General Government provide an adequate system of industrial and day schools for the natives of Alaska, with compulsory attendance; and that it provide for hospitals and sanitary care, and that such schools and also the care of the reindeer herds be kept under the charge of the Bureau of Education.

That a sufficient number of courts be established in Alaska for the effective administration of justice.

For Porto Rico we particularly recommend:

That citizenship be conferred upon its people as recommended by the President.

That industrial training be given a place in all elementary schools and that trade schools be established at convenient locations.

That the need of hospitals, dispensaries and medical relief be called to the attention of those engaged in philanthropic work.

In particular, we recommend for Hawaii:

That the Customs dues lost to that Territory by its annexation to the United States be restored to it, after the expenses of administration are deducted, so that such funds may be used for education and for other local purposes.

For the Philippines, we particularly urge:

That the bill passed by the House of Representatives providing for a reduction of the tariff be adopted by the Senate.

That the system of civil government so wisely created by Congress be extended as rapidly as peaceful conditions may allow.

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES.

First Session.

Wednesday Morning, October 17, 1906.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A. M. by Mr. Albert K. Smiley, who said:

OPENING REMARKS OF MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY.

When twenty-seven years ago I was appointed by the President a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, we used to meet in Washington with representatives of the different religious denominations and other interested persons and discuss Indian matters for one day. At the first meeting I attended, in 1879, I was greatly impressed by the short time given to discussion, and after that, year after year, I proposed that we should have more time, but all said "You cannot do it. Business men cannot be held in Washington more than one day." Not long after, a large number of us who were interested in the Indians happened to have a meeting in Dakota, where we discussed the Sioux Indian question for three days. "Now," I said, "we are going to have this same thing at Lake Mohonk," and I invited a number of men of experience in Indian affairs to meet here in discussion. This was in 1883 and each year since we have had a three days' conference. During that time there has been wonderful progress in Indian affairs. When we first met, \$40,000 was the whole amount appropriated for the education of Indians; it has been increased year by year until it is now some \$3,000,000. The education of the Indian has been the main point in the discussions of this Conference. Another point we have urged is to give them their rights and defend them in those rights. We are now gradually disbanding the Indians, getting them off the reservations and putting them on their own responsibility—a thing that at first was not thought of as possible. We do not claim so large a share in this progress, but we are glad to be a part of the great company of American citizens who are interested in the welfare of two hundred and fifty thousand Indians who are well worth saving.

This is our twenty-fourth Conference, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to welcome all of you who have come here so deeply interested in the preservation and development of the life and character of the Indians. I have no doubt this meeting will do its best to help along the solution of the Indian question which is getting more and more settled each year. We hope to see all Indians become part and parcel of the American people. I wish this might happen in my lifetime, but I am afraid it will not.

For the past few years, we have introduced discussion of affairs in the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii, and we are now giving half our time to these subjects. Many of their inhabitants need help just as the Indians do, and I hope our discussions will result in some good to these dependent peoples.

For presiding officer we have a man known to most of us as long the Superintendent of Education in the State of New York. While he held that office I, as President of the Board of Trustees of the New Paltz Normal School, became well acquainted with him, and I have found him an able and just man, a man of affairs, having the full confidence of the people of this state. He was called to the head of the Cleveland public schools and then to the presidency of the University of Illinois, and when New York State became tired of a dual educational government, they sent for him to take charge of the entire education of the state, and he is wisely fulfilling that charge as we all know. It gives me great pleasure to present DR. ANDREW S. DRAPER as President of the Conference. (Applause.)

Dr. Draper took the chair and the organization of the Conference was completed.

(For a list of Officers of the Conference see page 2).

The President then delivered the following opening address:

OPENING ADDRESS OF ANDREW S. DRAPER, LL. D.

The business of this Conference is to get at the truth and declare the attitudes which ought to be taken by the people and the government of the United States towards those peoples who have become subject to the sovereignty of the Republic without being able to understand the spirit of it or bear a share of the burden of it.

We have not come up here to discuss whether what is written in the histories ought to have happened. We have come to meet serious present day questions with the latest information and the best thinking we can bring to them.

We are to divest ourselves of all prejudices or conceits, even of all social, political or sectarian partizanship, to the end that we may give to our country a service which shall be distinctly patriotic.

We must have fundamental principles in mind. We must aim

at the general policies which ought to be enforced, or the flagrant omissions and abuses which ought to be remedied. We can not have much to do with the details of administration. We can not get snarled up in technical matters which experts ought to be allowed to monopolize; and we can not deal with mere incidents which actual and honest workers are settling in the best way they can.

That every man is entitled to equality of security and of opportunity with every other man is a fundamental principal of the moral law. Our national political philosophy of course declares that. But it goes further. It declares that sound American policy must not only decree equality under the law and assure everyone who comes under our flag his chance, but that the strength and security of the nation are promoted by encouraging and aiding, and sometimes by even forcing, people to make the most of their chance. This is a democracy and we have learned that its worth and its strength depend upon the units which have share in it.

The Lake Mohonk Conferences have been doing this in the interest of the Indians for twenty-four successive years. They have declared principles which many denied, and stood for policies which appeared impossible, but soon those principles and policies appealed to the sense and the justice of the people and in a little time they grew into the law of the nation.

When it seemed like crying against the wind, these Conferences have declared against the filling of the Indian offices of the government by men who have nothing to commend them but activity in politics, for Indian administration upon the merit basis, for protecting our red children against rapacity and greed, for giving them every penny of public moneys that by any moral law belongs to them, for using tribal and trust funds to the exclusive advantage of the *cestui que trust*, for the training of the head and heart and hand harmoniously, for schools and compulsory attendance, for unprejudiced standing in real courts, for a real marriage relation, for the division of lands held jointly, for work and the development of industries, for unrestricted trade with others, for rewards for thrift and punishment for crimes, and for all civic rights and responsibilities.

The Indian question of 1906 is a wholly different question from the one of 1880 or 1890 or even 1900. The commonly accepted thought of the nation steadily becomes nobler, the government support steadily becomes more generous but also more discriminating, and the system of management or administration steadily becomes more exact, capable and responsible. While it is likely that there will be enough to do in the interests of the Indians for an indefinite time, still the assurance is not lacking that the sentiment of the country has been clarified, that the trends are in the right direction, that substantial results are rapidly developing,

and that the time which is vital to all large movements in behalf of many people will bring very satisfactory results and give added proof of the competency of a democracy to deal with very troublesome situations.

But the rather promising outlook upon Indian matters is now accompanied by what are undoubtedly more difficult problems in the vast territory and among the millions of undeveloped people for whom we almost unwittingly assumed responsibility when we deliberately took Cuba from the further domination of Spain.

The difficulties seem greater because the numbers are greater. The Indian population is something like 300,000 and the population of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and Porto Rico is something like 10,000,000. The difficulties are greater because of remoteness of situation, because of the lack of environment and the infrequency of contact; greater because of more sharply defined physiological differences, of even more thoroughly entrenched superstitions and pagan customs, of yet more completely segregated racial individuality and autonomy; and greater because of their many languages, because so far as any tongue dominates it is one to which the words *democracy* and *liberty* are essentially foreign, and because of the extreme difficulty of imposing upon such a heterogeneous mass the English speech, without which the American spirit and our free and secure civilization can hardly be conveyed in a thousand years.

Great as this burden is, it has been appointed for us. Our national situation and character made it necessary. It has come without our seeking, and in what must be deemed to be the logical progress of the life of the world and the natural unfolding of the plan of the Almighty. We will articulate with any such advance and accept our part in any such plan. Under such conditions nothing is impossible. (Applause.)

Conquest for the sake of Empire is repugnant to the thought of the men and women of this country who settle things. It is repugnant because it is idle and because it is wicked. So, too, is any refusal to bear the nation's proper part in the progress of the world. The indefinite continuance under our sovereignty, of millions of people who can not share in our sovereignty, without our trying to develop them so that they may have a share in it, would be abhorrent to us, also. We are not accustomed to mere dependencies. Inferior or subordinate peoples are anomalous under our political system. But there are some things we will not do. We will not cast them away because we can not see the end. We will not, for a mess of pottage, trade them with some other nation which has no such outlook or mission as we have come to have in the world. Neither will we enter upon another experiment of enfranchising millions before they can, without danger to themselves and us, carry some part of the burden of governing the world. We will not

give them independence until they can be independent. When that time comes it is doubtful if they will want it but if they do and their independence will not menace us, they should have it. The question is not the one which confronted us in 1860. But we have nothing to do with that now. The business of the hour is to develop the industrial habits and the moral sense and the political wisdom of these people so that they may be safely admitted into our sovereignty, or may be able to exercise sovereignty and independence of their own. That we must do, or prove that it is impossible, or dishonor ourselves.

We may well believe that our island dependencies are not temporary responsibilities, not passing episodes in our history. We shall have them for a long time after the novelty of the matter has worn off. There seems no reason for confidence that many of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands will be ready for the rights of American citizenship or for independence in the present generation. Therefore the courses we pursue must anticipate a long run.

Millions of the people we are thinking about live in houses that are not worth five dollars each—even if you are in the market for shacks. The clothes they wear have not taxed their energy or ingenuity overmuch. The food they eat grows without their help, in untilled fields or in the waters. Neither their sports nor their missionary activities are costly. Every man carries a murderous knife—and often they have more wives than knives. Without any knowledge of balanced rights and obligations, they pass their time in loafing and smoking and fishing and cock-fighting, and these occupations are not conducive to such knowledge. In many ways they are without the physical, intellectual and moral qualities found in the American Indian before contaminated by the worthless camp-followers of white civilization..

It is not said, of course, that this is true of all, nor of nearly all, but it is true of millions of the new peoples who have come under our care. We may well know the worst as well as the best of it.

The Conference may well emphasize the fact that the United States can not hope to gain any strength or any wealth from such possessions as these. They can bring us nothing but care, expense and responsibility. If, in all good conscience, we do not know that we have a heavy task upon our hands, it would be better if we were out of it. If we do understand that, and if there is fibre in our character and substance in our professions, we can not turn back. But the real situation and the theories which must determine what we are to do can not be too often impressed upon the common sentiment of the country.

The point of equipoise between administration from Washing-

ton and administration at Manila and Honolulu and Havana and San Juan is an interesting point which it is very desirable for us to locate. The moral sense of our wards will be developed or blunted by what happens at the official points of contact between us. The sense of justice, the outlook and purposes, the patience and forbearance, the evenness and steadiness and firmness of the civil and military representatives of the United States will have much to do with the unfolding of moral sense among the unlettered children of the nation.

The readiness and cheerfulness with which their progress is rewarded by admitting them into participation in government, and the firmness with which that is refused, except when they show capacity and reliability, will have something to do with their evolution also.

Before anything else can be done the law must have its way. Security of life and property must be assured. In the beginning that is possible only through the army. And it may probably be said that the army has met its unexpected duty efficiently and with very considerable sense and discrimination.

But aside from the maintenance of order and security, the military power ought not to be much relied upon. It is pleasing to know that there are men in any American regiment who are equal to any moral service, but that agreeable fact must not blind us to the other fact that the experiences, traditions and mental attitudes of the Army are such as to forbid its being the instrument, or of its being accepted as the instrument, of much constructive work.

Our own standards must begin to prevail. Law suited to the situation must be enforced. Crimes must be punished, and not only heinous crimes, but petty crimes and misdemeanors. A military tribunal which expresses and exercises force is not apprehensive about little offenses which are outside of and do not affect the military organization. Military authority in civil matters is understood to be but temporary. It must, as quickly as may be, give way to civil courts which will take cognizance of all offenses and have an eye on the long future. It does not seem desirable that military officers continue until native magistrates can be developed, if the process is to be slow. The American civil magistrate may well supplant the American military officer in our dependencies as soon as law can have its sway and order is secure. Then let the native civil magistrate be put in the place as soon as he is prepared for it. But let us profit by our Indian experience and beware of magistrates and courts who make a travesty of justice.

Whenever the flag of the Union is raised in any land it must speedily cast its shadow upon a school. It must be a school which is more than a form or a show. When a school comes

to stand for the authority and character of the American people in a remote land, when it becomes the main reliance of all progress, it must be the living expression of the keenest moral energy and of hardest thinking which spring out of the heart and mind of the Republic. It must be a practical and an adaptable school. It must not be too fast to undo any spiritual tendencies or any established forms of worship which it may find at its door. It must not undertake precipitately to change habits, dress, pastimes, or intellectual traits, so long as moral questions are not involved. It must not be organized upon a basis of expense common in the thrifty towns of the United States. It must know that the school and its constituency must be adjusted to each other if there is to be any enduring service, and that the school will have to do much of the adjusting to have it so. Above all, it must know that the only lasting training of any worth that one ever gets he gets through doing things; that one is never likely to be of much account who does not know the satisfaction of earning his bread in the sweat of his brow, and that any intellectual or moral advance which men and women ever make comes through the purpose and the power, not to break or to destroy, but to construct and to accomplish things.

What has been done in the way of opening schools has been well done. It was about the first thing the people thought of. It was an inspiration to see a capable superintendent and a thousand teachers start from the States upon the instant to carry the Americans system of common schools to unknown millions in far-away lands. But it is almost impossible to make effective schools among an uninterested or antagonistic people. How primitive and inchoate these schools must be! They must be thoroughly adapted. They must be related together in a cohesive system. They must endure after the novelty has worn off. The people must be brought to accept them and support them, and then have pride in them. As quickly and as generally as may be, they must be taught by native teachers.

It is said that a hundred Filipino boys are distributed among our American universities—mostly among the State universities where there are colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. This is copying Japan. Japan has a general and effective system of elementary schools, with a very good system of advanced schools. You can not have one without the other. Japan secured both by inducing the most experienced American educationists to go to Japan and plan a school system, and by sending the most promising Japanese boys to American and European universities. If these Filipino boys do as well as the Japanese boys did, we will in thirty years have an educational system which has really taken hold of things in the Philippine Islands.

I have a good deal of confidence that it would be well to put the management of educational matters in charge of the

United States Bureau of Education. That bureau always has a good man at its head. It has a staff of trained educational experts. It knows all about educational activities in all parts of the world. It has nothing to do with politics. It has none too much business. The United States has no control over education in the States. But the United States must look after schools in the territories and the dependencies. The Bureau of Education is its natural instrument. I am skeptical about leaving educational administration wholly to insular commissions. The time may come when there will be a motive for political meddling with the appointment and the salaries of teachers. We have a long, delicate, heavy task before us if we are to make a comprehensive and an enduring school system in our island possessions which is ever to be capable of getting up power enough to run under its own steam. The best administrative organization, adaptable courses of instruction pedagogically arranged, continuity and steadiness of operation, the fullest training and supervision of teachers, freedom from partisanship, and an earlier and closer intimacy with the educational work of the world will be assured if the management of it is imposed upon the United States Bureau of Education.

The enlightenment of a people cannot be wholly left to government. There are many things desirable in education which the state can not do. A good public school must be embellished and enriched by the things which an interested constituency will do for it. Private schools should always be the welcome associates of public schools. Wherever there is a school there must be a church. And no matter how many schools or churches are established they must be accompanied by voluntary evangelistic work. In a word, religion is education. Churches and ministers have quite as much to do with the development of the Philippine Islands as have schools and teachers.

This brings us to a subject of prime importance which is so involved as to make the wisest hesitate. Yet it seems to me that it claims the attention of the Conference. It cannot be ignored because it is difficult. With much interest in it, I have no right to have any very confident opinion about it.

The facts seem to be that for centuries so much of the islands as was Christian was Roman Catholic. No other Christian denomination was there. This church was there in great strength and efficiency. Its system and ceremonies were suited to the people. Millions adhered to it. It was mixed up with an unworthy government. The mixing of church control with a good government is bad; with a bad government it is vicious and unthinkable. History repeated itself. The priesthood became widely corrupted. Imposition and outrage followed. This was met by pretty nearly successful revolution,

When we set up a government that could govern, our troops released hundreds of priests from prison. The situation attracted the attention of the world and aroused the resentment and the reformatory action of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. Clarified and reinvigorated, its religious reign is again very firmly established, not only in the towns but wherever in the wilderness its priests can go. Its mission work is aggressive and apparently much better than any other that is there. It quickly engages the devotion of a people to whom its solemn ceremonies, its beliefs, and its administrative methods are especially adapted.

Our Protestant denominations are assuming to contest the ground, but in comparison with the work of the Roman Catholic Church their doings are not a delight to us. It seems to be the fact that the Protestant denominations have agreed upon some division of territory so as to avoid conflicts with one another so far as may be, but there is no possibility of avoiding rivalry with the Church of Rome in any part of our insular territory. I can not help wondering if it is worth while. The people of the Philippine Islands will hardly need variety of sects to accommodate their theological thinking for a long time. If they ever need them they will know how to have them. Denominations will multiply in the natural order of things as fast as they are needed. There is special reason why any missionary work which assumes to express the American spirit and any churches which come to represent the attitude and strength of the Protestant churches in the Philippine Islands shall do it thoroughly and adequately. I have none but Puritan blood in my veins but I no longer fear that any church will subvert American political institutions. I think that the Roman Catholic Church will become more thoroughly adaptable to American political institutions by giving it American confidence. No one can doubt its spirituality or its patriotism. I am in favor of Protestantism wherever it can be self-sustaining and am in favor of all denominations where the thinking of the people calls for them, but I do not fear to express my misgivings about the wisdom of the policy which forces sectarianism upon an unlettered people, which taxes weak churches in America to support weak churches in our island possessions, with no prospect of those churches becoming self-supporting, while one strong church is on the ground, continues to occupy it forcefully, and is evidently adapted to the situation.

But we are not to rely exclusively upon either schools or churches. They are quite as often the products as the producers of civilization. What poor people want is more money and capacity to find the point of equipoise between keeping and using it. If the money does not develop the capacity, nothing

ever will. Quite as much depends upon new forms of native industry, or better opportunities for expanding such as they now have in the islands, as upon any other one thing. We can not say too often that work is the tonic for physical, mental, and moral health. Work brings money as well as health. The love of money may be the root of all evil, but money itself is the cause of much good. It buys everything. It is clearly understood. It gives every live man a motive. Motive works wonders. Idle people will often bestir themselves if a motive is in sight. It is hard for unlettered and isolated people to put their labor into channels which will bring returns. They cannot get their resources into goods and their goods into markets. They need help and such help is very potential. People are imitative. If a man raises a crop or makes an article that sells for money, his neighbors go about it. Out of the wits and the money which result from their work they make better homes and then they put their heads and their means together and create institutions.

These islands are likely to have rich possessions of precious metals. They are not without precious stones. They certainly have a very considerable agricultural potentiality. They have many woods of great strength which take a beautiful dressing and might find ready markets in America at a time when our native woods are becoming scarce and our markets are seeking novelties. Their mechanics seem exceedingly crude but the people appear teachable and evidently have their share of mechanical gift. There seems to be no limit to the island industrial possibilities. What they need is inspiration and incentive.

So far as our law assumes to affect trade it should favor these people. So far as we make tariffs to regulate the prices of commodities they should be helpful to insular trade. At no point of competition should any advantage be given to interests which are no longer in their infancy and are quite able to take care of themselves without the protection of the giant arm of the state. Capital should be encouraged to venture in the industrial development of the islands. Everything should be done to open them up to the people of this country. This involves Federal legislation. The sentiment of the country is filled with generosity to our wards and Congress should adequately and always express it. The implications need not be taken too seriously. Congress has been doing very well of late. No matter who or what has caused it. We tender it the expression of our respectful consideration, in the hope of other favors yet to come.

We shall be together but three brief days. Let us lose no time in getting into the heart of the business that has brought us here. Let us get at the facts. Let us go into whatever we may think of that bears upon the facts; and when discussion shall

have brought our minds together let us declare, with all boldness, what we think. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: We are exceedingly fortunate in having as our next speaker the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs who has been asked to give us, in his own time, a comprehensive statement of the Indian situation. It gives me great pleasure to present HON. FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I think I can best devote the first minute of my time to saying "Ditto to Mr. Burke," not simply on the points Mr. Draper has touched in Indian affairs, but all through and on every word.

It has been the custom in former years for General Whittledge, and later for Miss Cook of the Indian Office as his substitute, to present a brief formal report* of the progress of affairs in the Indian establishment, which Miss Cook prepared this year, but which she is not here to present. It was the wish of the business committee that I should endeavor to incorporate in one brief talk this little resumé, or its most important parts, with such expansion as I could give the different points from my own recollection. The first thing Miss Cook says is that the Burke Law, passed last May, has decidedly modified the Dawes Law under which we have been making allotment of lands to Indians. This Burke Law is in my judgment, next to the Dawes Law itself, the most important one that has ever been passed in the whole domain of Indian legislation. It is a very proper sequel to the Dawes Law, and it consists practically of an amendment of that law so as to adapt it to more modern conditions.

The first important modification it makes is in the matter of Indian citizenship. The Dawes Law made an Indian a citizen of the United States and subject to the laws of the State or Territory in which he lived from the moment that his trust patent to his land was issued to him; and then twenty-five years were reserved as a period of tutelage in which he was to be taught how to use his citizenship. That has always impressed me as the most serious defect in the old law. I know that opinions will differ on the question whether giving a six-year-old boy a gun and sending him off in the woods is the best means of teaching him not to shoot himself, or whether the boy had better be taught to shoot before he is given the gun. That is about the question which comes up in dealing with the allotment law, or that part of it which affects Indian citizenship. Shall we give the Indian citizenship first and then teach him how to use it, or shall we teach him how to use citizenship and then give it to him? May I be frank with you in saying that it was

*For this report see appendix.

in accordance with my wish that Mr. Burke drew this law and procured its passage. In fact, we talked over it a long time before we got it into the shape that seemed best to present to Congress. As now arranged, the Indian will receive his patent in trust in the first place; then will come his period of twenty-five years, and then the patent in fee and citizenship with it. In the twenty-five years it is assumed that the government will teach him how to use that privilege which is to be put into his possession.

Another very important point in the Burke Law, and perhaps in some respects the most far-reaching of all, is the authority vested in the Secretary of the Interior to determine when an Indian is fit to own his land in fee, and then to give it to him. Up to the present time it has been necessary for an Indian, whenever he was capable of taking care of his own affairs, or believed that he had a right to manage them himself and to own his own land, to go to Congress and get a special act, or an item put into some general act, empowering the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to him. The effect of that has been bad in several ways. In the first place, it continued what we are trying to break up—the notion on the part of the Indians generally that Congress is an all-powerful benefactor, to whom he must run every time that he is in any trouble. In the second place, it encouraged a very flourishing graft business which had sprung up among the Indians themselves, and between the Indians and certain unprincipled groups of whites on the borders of their reservations. A grafter would come to an Indian who had a trust patent for an allotment, and say to him: "I can get you your land in fee so that you can dispose of it as you choose, if you will give me one hundred dollars." The Indian would ask: "How can you do that?" "Oh, I have influence at Washington. I know Senator so and so—or the President, or the Secretary of the Interior—and I can get him to recommend whatever I ask him to." The Indian, ignorant of the way business is done at Washington, would scrape together his hundred dollars, or give a mortgage on his little chattels or whatever he might have that he could dispose of. Of course it would be simply paying money for nothing, for no influence that this grafter possessed could, as a rule, put an act through. But a Senator or a Representative would be approached, and it would be represented to him that this Indian was entirely capable, etc., and then in the kindness of his heart and assuming that it would be for the best interests of the Indian and all concerned, the lawmaker would procure the insertion of a paragraph in the Indian Bill that John Smith, a Tuscarora Indian, should have a patent in fee issued to him by the Secretary of the Interior. Before that went through, doubtless it would be referred to our office; we would give our opinion, saying, perhaps, that we knew nothing about this Indian

or had no evidence that he was capable, and then Congress would pass it or not as it chose. In very many cases such paragraphs were crowded in the last hours of a session, when there was no time left for calm consideration or inquiry, working very great damage to the individual Indians affected. All need of legislation in such cases is swept away by the Burke Law; the process is made purely administrative; the Secretary of the Interior may select, by the best means afforded him, the Indians to whom patents in fee should be issued; and with the patent in fee, you understand, goes full citizenship.

A third important change wrought by this law is with regard to the settlement of the estates of deceased Indians. Hitherto it has been necessary, where an Indian has received an allotment of land and has died during the period that his trust patent lasted, for his heirs to go into the local probate courts and prove their rights to their respective shares of his estate. That was a very expensive proceeding; in some cases it would cost an Indian fifty or seventy-five dollars to get a piece of land that might be worth twenty-five dollars; and where there was a large group of heirs, the total cost was practically prohibitive. By a little legal circumlocution, the Secretary of the Interior is now practically made a probate judge, qualified to decide who are the heirs of the deceased Indian and to apportion the estate.

We have also, in the regular Indian Appropriation Act, procured the passage of a little paragraph, which further amends the Dawes Law. The Dawes Law permitted the President, when satisfied that a certain Indian should have the period of trust on his allotment extended, to make such extension, but the phraseology left some room for misconstruction. Congress has now given authority to the President to extend the trust period substantially at will. That enables Indians, for instance, who are aged and feeble, or feel unequal to a struggle with the world, to have their trust period extended and be still under the protection of the Government up to the time of their death. One of the worst things that we had to contend with under the old system, under which an Indian became a citizen from the time his patent in trust was issued to him, had to do with the liquor traffic. I know there are a great many who say: "Make your Indian a citizen. Let him buy all the whiskey he wants, and drink all he buys, and all that anybody will give him; that is the quickest way of settling this whole question." It is the quickest way of settling the old Malthusian problem to let your child throw himself into the fire; nevertheless, you do put a screen around the fire-place, and you do put out your hand when he is trying to burn himself. If he has already burned himself and done no worse, you are thankful for the lesson given him, but that does not encourage you to press him to try the experiment at any time and in any manner he chooses. The attitude of the administration toward the Indian in the matter of liquor is like that. We cannot

prevent the physical act, on the part of an Indian, of drinking as much liquor as he chooses. Under the decision of the Supreme Court in the Heff Case we have no assurance that we can absolutely prevent an Indian allottee from drinking himself to death any time he wishes, or anybody from giving him as much liquor as he asks for, but we propose to throw all possible obstacles in the way. The amendment of the Dawes Act which keeps the Indian under Government control for the whole tutelage period of twenty-five years gives us an opportunity to try, at any rate, to strengthen his character against the approaches of the adversary.

A further step of progress has been taken in the matter of irrigation. The Indians in a large part of the arid West, of course, are totally unable to make their living on their own allotments unless these are brought under water, and in a good many cases water has to be conveyed so far and the expense of ditches, head-gates, etc., is so great that the Indians have no means of getting water for their necessary uses unless the Government comes forward and helps them out. We have aimed to overcome a part of that obstacle by procuring the enactment of a law enabling an Indian who wishes to join a Water Users' Association—that is a group of landholders who are to get water from one of the great reclamation projects of the Government—to sell such part of his land as may be necessary to pay the expense of membership, and thus to procure the water for what land he retains. Of course, looking at it in the abstract, and from the point of view of persons who know only the East, where water is so abundant, it seems a hardship to give an Indian one hundred and sixty acres of land, for example, and then say to him: "If you need to sell one hundred and twenty acres of this land in order to have the remaining forty acres irrigated, you may do so." This seems like saying to him, practically: "Throw away three-quarters of what the Government has given you, or hand it over to anybody who will buy it, and try to live on forty acres." As a matter of fact, in irrigated country where good soil abounds, forty acres is a deal more than a white man can take care of and certainly more than any Indian can with all the difficulties of irrigation. Anywhere from five to twenty acres is the limit of the ordinary white man's capacity for caring for land, in a place where the soil is so productive that it will yield five or six crops of alfalfa in a year and where the water has to be brought on in the face of great difficulty, and has to be regulated in its distribution. The new law will practically enable every Indian who has allotment of soil larger than he can care for, to dispose of that part of it which he cannot possibly take care of, and get all the water necessary for the part that he can take care of. What this means in its fullness can hardly be appreciated by persons who are not familiar with the conditions of the arid West, but everyone in that part of the country will assure you it is a great advance for the Indian.

Miss Cook has here some statistics regarding the changes in the schools, but as they are largely figures, I can pass them over safely, as they will appear in my annual report anyway. The big thing we are trying to do now in the way of an improved policy toward the Indian, is to push him out among white people and put him at work there. I have devoted a large part of this year's report to that subject. Last year I established an office in the Southwest which we may call, for want of a better term, an Indian Employment Bureau. A young man was put in charge of it, who is indomitable in his perseverance, and seems to be everywhere at once. When I was in the Southwest this year, I hardly boarded a train, morning, noon or night, that somewhere among the passengers did not pop up this young fellow. He is moving all over that country, gathering an Indian here and a group there, who want work, and finding work for them outside of the reservations, taking them to the spot, planting them there, and watching over them to see that they are properly treated and when they are sick are cared for or sent back to their homes. And he is looking after them in other ways, too. I seldom found him without a bundle of papers or magazines under his arm. He puts out the boys and young able-bodied men in groups wherever he can, because they act as a sort of incentive to each other, and as a rule work better in that way than singly; and wherever a group of these lads were in camp near a railroad embankment or an irrigation ditch, or wherever it might be, Mr. Dagenette, as he went by on the train, would go out on the platform with a "Hurrah, boys!" and throw them a bundle of papers and magazines. That gave them something to do in the evening beside gambling, which is the old way in which the same sort of Indians, when grouped together, used to spend their time. He has also, wherever it is possible, put his Indian laborers out in groups of such size that they could be cared for by a white overseer; and he has succeeded in inducing the various railroad companies and other concerns who employ Indian labor, to pay the salary of a good overseer. He has chosen for overseers men who have had experience with Indians, who have been superintendents and agents and teachers in our service, who know the traits of the Indians and how to get on with them, and whom the Indians themselves have learned to trust.

Now, the results of this experiment have been wonderful. We have had, all told, singly and in groups, nearly a thousand Indians of the Southwest out of the reservations and at work this season. Several hundreds of these have been in the Colorado beet fields. That is a line of work which appeals to the Indian very strongly and the young people can do their share of it just as well as the older ones; so we have had a large number of school-boys out among others, taking them there during their vacation and hiring them out, and they have come back sometimes with one or two hundred dollars in pocket after paying expenses. And yet this

thing has not been run on a philanthropic or benevolent basis, but on a pure basis of dollars and cents, just exactly as a private business would be, and with the same methods as would be used among white people. The Indians have been encouraged to save money; and in the case of a group of some forty odd Navaho boys who came back to school bringing sixteen or seventeen hundred dollars of savings, they have been persuaded to spend their accumulations in a wise way. These Navaho boys will buy sheep, and the sheep will be placed in the care of their older relatives to be watched and herded, and the increase carefully protected, while the boys are still in school, and also next year while they are in the beet fields again. The result will be that not only will the boys have learned habits of industry which are certainly as valuable a part of their education as anything they could learn from books, but when they have reached the age of maturity, they will step into a business already prepared for them—and prepared, not by somebody else who hands it over to them as a gratuity, but by the fruits of their own hard work! (Applause).

Work, I believe, is the key to the solution of what we call our Indian problem. I do not believe that any other key has been found, or ever will be found. "Easy come, easy go," is the rule with Indians generally in money matters. For that reason I have done nothing to encourage, but all that I could to discourage, the practice among Indian tribes of appealing for an opportunity to dig up some old claim under which the Government still owed them an extra pair of cotton socks, or something else of that sort, that had been agreed upon by an ancient treaty. I have known some who would go to any expense to revamp a claim that would mean perhaps a dollar apiece all around. They would come to me and appeal to me for help. "May not we hire an attorney? May we not engage a lobbyist to work this thing through? The Government owes it to us." "Your claim is for four thousand dollars. Now, how much will it cost you to prosecute it?" "So-and-so says he will do the job for \$500." Thus by degrees the net amount obtainable is reduced till finally it reaches a point where I can show them mathematically that it will mean one or two thousand dollars to a tribe numbering only about that many members. I try to laugh them out of their scheme in this way. I do not believe, any more than our distinguished chairman has shown in his paper this morning that he believes in the Government's repudiating any debt which it owes, legally or morally, to the Indian; but I do believe heartily in not encouraging the Indian to dig all the old scraps of obligations out of the dust-heap, at a greater expense than the obligation can ever repay when it is settled. I do not believe in that any more than I believe in encouraging the Government in holding back anything which it has agreed to give. I think we have a duty to do on both sides of that proposition.

To show you how tenaciously Indians will sometimes hold on

to a claim of the most profitless kind: The Oneidas of Wisconsin receive every year one thousand dollars as their share of a treaty fund which has to be appropriated annually by Congress for a large group of Indians. The Oneidas number something over two thousand. The result is that a year ago, or possibly two years ago, the individual amount due to each of those Indians was forty-seven cents and a fraction; and yet there are Indians in that group who would travel twenty miles to the Agency and twenty miles back again, consuming perhaps two days and taking another day at the Agency to spend the money, for the sake of that forty-seven cents! That was money. That was something which was coming to them for nothing. It is like the case of the white man who will travel five dollars' worth on the railroad over some stretch of territory in which he has no special privileges, in order to use a fifty-cent free pass issued to him by the company further along. You have got to bring the Indian back—and bring him back sometimes with a sharp, quick turn—to the point where he will see the relations of these things to each other. I said to a group of Oneidas who visited me last year: "Why not take the thousand dollars which is coming to you every year in this way, capitalize it—that is, find out by a simple mathematical calculation how large a principal this would represent as interest at five per cent—say twenty thousand dollars; and then ask Congress to commute this annual payment into some form of substantial benefit which all the tribe can enjoy. You tell me that you need a bridge over a chasm that separates your village from the Agency; why not get Congress to take such part of your money as may be necessary, and build you a bridge? You say that you want a gathering place, a sort of town hall in which to transact business; why not let Congress put up a good building for you out of this money. In short, why not get something of this sort that you will all enjoy, and which your posterity will continue to enjoy for an indefinite period of time, and save yourselves a journey and a waste of time every year to draw less than half a dollar in cash? Would not that be better?" They thought it would. They went back and talked it over; but in the end, as usual, the old conservatives downed the whole proposition. No, they wanted their forty-seven cents! As the principle involved here is one of the things that we are trying to teach them, I do not purpose to let the matter drop, even with this tribe of Indians, merely because they have once asserted that they do not care to act on my advice. I purpose to keep talking and talking and talking—to keep up what Mr. Dana used to call the "incessant iteration"—until I have finally got a larger part of the tribe to understand just what I am trying to do; then, I think, their common-sense will come to the rescue, and we shall be able to get this gratuity commuted. Some other tribes have started considering a proposition of a similar character, and we

hope by degrees to get all those odds and ends wiped off the annual appropriation bill.

Let me tell you of another thing I have been trying to do, but which has been blocked by some interest more influential than mine with the lawmakers. I refer to an effort to have certain industries—plain, common-sense business industries—established on the edges of reservations. I know a group of capitalists to-day who, the instant that we can procure the legislation necessary for it, will step into one of our reservations in Montana and establish a two hundred thousand or two hundred and fifty thousand dollar beet sugar plant on its border; lease all the unallotted lands of the reservation that are capable of having water brought upon them, and bring water on at their own expense; lease all but the homesteads of the allotted Indians, and bring water there or improve the water facilities already there; import a group of first-rate white people, for whose character as well as everything else they will be responsible, and who are familiar with sugar beet culture; have these teach the Indians the art of raising beets for the factory at the edge of the reservation which will afford a constant market; and teach those Indians who wish to learn, the art of translating the beet into sugar. This plan is all ready, the instant Congress gives the word; but the difficulty arises right here. We have now a law which limits the leasing of Indian land for agricultural purposes to five years. No company in its senses will put two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand dollars' capital into a beet sugar plant with only the assurance of being able to run it five years. What I have tried to induce Congress to do is to enable us, under certain conditions, to lease for twenty years, as a twenty-year limit would not be a prohibitive bar. But of course, up comes the question of the Beet Sugar Trust. I suppose I am suspected of being its slave, because I am trying to get an occupation for the Indians which they can carry on at their own homes, which will result in the vast improvement of their lands, and which will leave them, when the manufacturers withdraw, in possession of a great deal more property than they started out with. At any rate, Congress withholds its consent thus far.

I have spoken already of what we are doing in the Southwest with our Employment Bureau; I ought to add that I am proposing to extend that work to the North just as soon as it is practicable to do so. We have one agent in the North already who has taken up the matter on his own account; he has a few Indians out on the railroads, who are making improvements in that neighborhood. I know the argument against this idea which arises in mind of the philanthropist who considers Indians simply as individuals and not as a race, and who looks at the Indian problem as a proposition of to-day rather than a proposition of the next one or two centuries. He will say: "Railroad gangs draw

in a good many loose characters, and the Indian who works in one will be taught many bad habits that he would not learn if he stayed at home." I venture to deny that. I have seen a great deal of reservation life, and the Indians learn just as many bad habits at home as abroad—nay, on the principle that "the devil finds some mischief still for idle hands to do," they will learn vastly more at home, if they are unemployed, than they will ever get while working in a railroad gang. I do not suppose that railroad gangs are made up to a very large extent of educated and refined gentlemen who are out for philanthropic purposes, but they are made up of a hardy lot of men, who are forced to work for their living, who do not know where the next dinner is coming from unless they work for it—and that is the lesson the Indian has got to learn! (Applause.)

When anybody approaches me with the familiar argument, I always answer: "If this were merely a question of one Indian's being taught to drink, or one Indian's getting into other mischief, or one Indian's being taken away from his safe moorings and sent out into the world to battle with all the temptations and everything else thrown in his path, I might see something in it. If it were a question simply of what is going to happen with the Indians in the next few years, I might agree with you. I might consent that we take our hands off, support and feed them, pauperize them, and let them go. But such is not the case. We are responsible not simply to the present generation, but to all posterity. We have got to think of what the Indian is going to be, not merely in this generation but in the next, and the next, and the next; and we have got to lay our course with reference to that. It is the only hope left to us. If we were to face the Indian proposition, as we find it to-day, with no thought of what would be the conditions a century hence, we should be utterly discouraged, because so large a proportion of the Indians are still in the most backward stage of the most important element of their civilization and education. But what we have to think of is, what we can do to-day to make to-morrow tell for good; and there is where the education of the Indian in industry is vastly more important than the question of whether, here, there, or elsewhere, one goes astray. We are sorry for that, but the wheels of civilization crush as many as they carry.

I have only one word more, and that is with regard to our schools. I do not want to be accused of being unfriendly to the higher education of the Indian, because I do not encourage an increase of non-reservation schools, and other institutions for the higher education. I was brought up in the old-fashioned notion that the education which the Government is bound to provide free should be limited to the simple branches which will fit a person for citizenship. I do not deny that the fully educated man makes a better citizen if he improves all his opportu-

nitie, than the meagrely educated man; but I do believe that in education, as everywhere else, self-dependence plays a very important part. I would insist, and I intend to insist if it takes the whole army of the United States to back the demand, that every Indian child shall have a chance of which even his parents shall not be allowed to rob him, to get the rudiments of an education—what we know as the common school branches! (Applause.)

But when we get beyond that, I believe that a great deal should be left in the first place to the Indian's preference, which his natural aptitude will indicate, and then to his own efforts at struggling through. I should like, if I could, to have a small fund upon which I could draw in cases that seemed particularly necessitous or deserving, to ease the path of some Indian boy who has been sent to a white college. I think if I could have from a number of persons the very generous gift which was made me by one lady who is present in this audience, I could do so. She gave me two hundred dollars to help an Indian boy through the scientific course at Dartmouth. If I could have a fund of the kind I suggest to draw upon in particularly pressing cases, I should like it. But I should put my foot down very decidedly upon the notion of shoveling the opportunities of the higher education into the laps of young men who are willing simply to sit still and accept them. An Indian boy wrote me the other day that he had entered a white college and was in some need of money, as he had been conditioned on a number of his entrance examinations and would have no opportunity to work those off and also do the manual labor necessary to earn the money to carry himself through, because he should have to spend all his leisure time working for his new examinations. I wrote him that he had better drop out a year, if necessary, or two years; and if he wanted to go on and make a six-year course in college, I did not believe the authorities would refuse him the privilege. If he took his freshman year at study, and the next year dropped out and worked with his hands to earn money for his sophomore year, I thought the authorities would rather encourage it than otherwise, and I certainly should be very glad to use my influence with them as far as it would go. But I thought that would be vastly better than for some rich philanthropist to come in and present him with all he needed for carrying his education scheme through. This looks hard, but it is the hardness that we have to use in impressing certain points upon the Indian. The Government has, with the best of purposes I doubt not, done everything that it could to spoil some of the best raw material the country ever possessed; and now that the damage has been done so widely, we cannot escape all of it, but we may reduce it to a minimum, or just as far as we can by rigidly sticking to common-sense. (Applause.)

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT: Mr. Leupp has recognized the impor-

tance of ethical and spiritual impulse for the Indian. Will Mr. Leupp tell us what, in his judgment, can be done by Christian and philanthropic people in that line, in co-operation with or under the direction of the government in its work.

MR. LEUPP. Mr. Chairman: I suppose already the various church organizations are doing all that they can do, and so far as I know, doing it as effectively as they can in the particular lines they have chosen, but I should like to move an amendment to those lines.

DR. ABBOTT: That is what I want to hear, Mr. Chairman.

MR. LEUPP: I hope I shall not be accused of not appreciating the earnestness of purpose and the good intent generally of all the churches that are in the Indian missionary field, when I say that when you approach the Indian with your Bible in one hand, bring something else in the other. Not a gift of the ordinary sort, not money, not clothes, not food; but give him something that will appeal to his reason and start him thinking in the right way. The most successful missions I know of anywhere among the Indians are those which have begun either with a hospital or with a teacher of agriculture or other mechanical arts. Dr. Meserve will bear me out in saying that one of the best missionaries in the Southwest is John Seger. Mr. Seger is an uneducated man who has never been trained to ministerial duties and anything of that sort, and I do not suppose he could make a speech if he tried, but he is a great, big, broad shouldered, common-sense farmer, and he has got down side by side with those Indians and taught them how to hold the plow, and how to sow their seed, and how to harvest the crop afterward, with the best results. If Mr. Seger came to them with a spiritual proposition, it would be founded on something that the Indian understands. In the same way, the most successful mission among the Navaho Indians to-day is the Protestant Episcopal Mission, which started with a hospital. The Indians discovered that if a man had broken his leg he could come there and have it set, or if it had to be amputated this would be done in a skillful way, and he would be furnished with a wooden leg that would help him out. And if he were sick, or if his children were sick, they could be brought there and treated, and treated successfully. Whenever an Indian has gone through such an experience, he begins to ask himself: "Who are these people who are doing this? And why are they doing it?" And then, of course, comes the very simple answer: "These are some good people who love you. Their religion teaches them to love you and all mankind. This is their way of showing their love for you." Then the Indian says, "This is 'good medicine.'" The result is that every time the Bishop visits that Navaho Mission, he has a good sized class of converts to

face; and they are not simply converts for revenue, they are really interested. They may not have absorbed the whole subject which has been laid before them; they may not be masters of the Gospel of Christianity; but they have grasped the one central idea of the love of one man for another, and the love of the powerful for the helpless, and that is really, when you come down to the bottom of it, the Christian religion pretty well summed up.

So I should recommend strongly that no missionaries be sent into one of these Indian fields who are not capable of carrying something with them that will appeal to the Indian, that will get down to the same level on which he stands, that will reach the Indian spiritually through his physical self. Though statistically other methods may show results, I do not believe that actually they show anything like the same results that those do which are founded on a simple, practical, physical proposition to start with. I am not sure, Dr. Abbott, whether I have given you the full answer to your question. I do not know enough about the details of missionary organization to say whether some plan like the Y. M. C. A., or the starting of individual churches in the different reservations, would be best; but I do know the general principle, which I have studied out through many years familiarity with the Indian country, that if you can carry something to the Indian which he has not got already, and which he appreciates, he will stop and listen to you when you offer him something that is to affect him through other and devious channels.

DR. C. F. MESERVE: Will Dr. Leupp tell us in a word the ethical and religious instruction that is now being given in a large school like Haskell Institute?

MR. LEUPP: The policy which we are trying to follow in the spiritual and ethical field in the schools, is that of giving the various religious teachers the utmost freedom in meeting the children and teaching them. We are trying now a plan—and I believe that this is the first time anything has been said about it in public—for bringing our Catholic friends into regular communion with the Protestant denominations in the different schools, having the local priests take their turns in the regular succession of speakers to the children in the evenings, and giving the same freedom to them in carrying out the particular rites of their religion that has been given to the ministers of other denominations. That has been, I may say, one of the difficulties we have had to encounter at every turn. We have now a provision by which an undenominational Sunday School shall be held for the children every Sunday morning, and a simple undenominational exercise every Sunday evening; that the children whose parents belong to or favor certain denominations shall be sent to the churches representing those denominations, or that preach-

ers from those denominations shall address the children and shall have access to them at any time to instruct them particularly. We maintain a general religious atmosphere in the schools. We try to make this as "non-partisan" as we can, just as we try to make the schools non-partisan in a political and every other sense. There has been one constant obstacle to progress in dealing with the children every Sunday morning, and a simple undemoni-Catholic and Protestant ministers in many cases. Their friction has not always been outward; in public they have treated each other with severe civility; but we have known perfectly well what was going on underneath the surface, and we have discovered the outcroppings here and there.

About Albuquerque, New Mexico, where is one of our great non-reservation schools, there is a very large tributary contingent of Indians of the Catholic faith. Hitherto for some years we have had a good deal of trouble in that quarter, all arising out of an indisposition, I think, on the part of some of the school authorities to meet their Catholic brethren half way. Little obstacles were allowed to remain undisturbed which could have been removed without the sacrifice of a single shred of principle; but now we have got things upon a basis where the Catholic priest himself is advising the Indians to send their children to the school. He does everything he can to encourage it; and the basis upon which the denominations all meet is that there shall be no attempt at counter-proselytism on the part of the Catholics and Protestants—that each body shall be allowed to attend to their own fold.

DR. WILLIAM HAYES WARD: To what extent and with what advantage has the system been carried out of the names being given for the families and succession of property accordingly?

MR. LEUPP: We are making our largest advance in that direction among the Sioux nation, but we are also practicing it elsewhere. Of course, the names have given us more trouble than anything else because they are so confused. Here is an Indian known as Yellow Eagle, for instance, who has a daughter, perhaps born a number of years before we got things going in the regular order in which we have them now. When she becomes of school age, she is sent somewhere to school. Perhaps her family names her Pretty Bird. She goes to a mission school, we will say of the Presbyterian denomination, and there they ask her what her name is. Reluctantly she admits that it is Pretty Bird, so they rename her Mary Smith, acting on the theory that Pretty Bird is pagan whereas Mary Smith is Christian. The child stays there for a while, until an emissary of the Protestant Episcopal school, we will say, goes after her and induces her to come over to that school for the next year. When she comes up for examination they ask her name, and she says that she has none.

"Didn't they name you at the other school?" "No." The poor child has probably forgotten. So she is again named, this time Lucy Jones. Then, possibly, the Methodist School gets hold of her a little later and brings her in and gives her the name Julia Robinson. When we come to look that child up for allotment, it is a wonder we do not give her three times as much land as any other Indian on the reservation; it is difficult to straighten out such a tangle.

We are endeavoring, in those family records which we are making in all the tribes, to begin at the bottom and give each Indian a name which somehow or other fits him. Instead of arbitrarily christening him John Smith, we find out that his real name is Yellow Eagle and we name him John Yellow Eagle. One of these days that name will become somewhat cumbersome, and the neighbors will reduce it to Yelleagle, or it may come down to Eagle: at any rate it will become sufficiently Caucasian after a time. Then we take his daughter, and, instead of calling her Pretty Bird or Mary Pretty Bird, we call her Mary Yellow Eagle. We try for a surname, which we wish to leave just as Indian as possible, to accept the name of the Indian in his language, whatever it may be—the Sioux, or the Kiowa, or the Ute. If it is too much of a mouthful we may chop off a redundant part of it; we may deal with it a trifle arbitrarily, but we aim to save all we can compatibly with reducing it to where ordinary tongues can compass it. If the name in the original language is beyond use, we try to discover the English interpretation and use that as the surname; and when we are driven to the last extremity, we hit upon a name that will best approximate in a single word the meaning of the original. Thus, one Indian called, "Can't See Out Of His Eyes," I named John Blind, and his children will be William and Mary Blind. The enormous length of some Indian names arises partly from the fact that in so many of the native tongues there are no arbitrary titles for certain animals and birds, etc. For instance, I asked an Indian once what he called a mouse in his language. He struggled for some time to make me understand. After I had tried over and over again to pronounce the interminable series of syllables, I finally gave it up as a bad job, and asked him what the combination meant, literally translated. He answered: "A little gray animal with a long tail that chews with its front teeth." That gives you an idea of why the nomenclature of the Indians seems so jaw-breaking at times. It is because of their notion of being descriptive instead of arbitrary, that their titles for some of the common things in life have grown to this enormous length.

REV. PAUL DESCHWEINITZ: The Commissioner has told us that the Indians are now permitted to sell part of their lands in order to secure water rights. To whom do they dispose of the land?

MR. LEUPP: It is all done under supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. He sells it for an Indian to white settlers who will come in there and surround him, and who will be Water-Users themselves. They buy the land, and then they mortgage it for the money necessary, if they are not able to raise this otherwise, so that they may become Water-Users.

THE PRESIDENT: We are now to hear from an Indian, a young man born on the Onondaga reservation in this state, educated at Hampton, who has become an entirely successful mechanician. I have pleasure in introducing Mr. CHARLES DOXON.

MR. CHARLES DOXON: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I have never used this salutation before, but in this moment of Indian advancement, I have a great desire to ask your permission to address you as fellow-countrymen. (Applause.)

I have been asked to speak on industrial education. When you speak of industrial enducation you generally have in mind its skill and intelligence rather than its moral side, yet this is the side most needed by the backward races, who have never learned the value of steady habits of industry and independent self-support. With your permanent habit of industry you can develop this side without the inherited resistance with which we have to contend. White boys and girls take up the higher branches of industrial education with enthusiasm, fascination and a firm hope which helps them to rise rapidly to that standard of knowledge that secures them the reward for which they seek. But in the case of the race found on this continent, whose permanent habits are so different from yours, we cannot suppose that it will succeed quite as fast. From my experience with your civilization, I think I can see some of the reasons for our discouraging condition. In the first place, the Indians wished to live by themselves and continue the life which they believed to be the best, hence, whenever they were forced to make treaties they always insisted upon separation, and the other party was only too glad to grant it. In this way the reservation system became established and we are allowed to live in barbarism even to this day; and in some parts of the country where the tribes were supposed to be in the midst of civilization, we have gone into even worse than barbarism, because having lost our primitive virtues and being in our infancy, we can reach only the lowest fruits on the tree of civilization; the best grow on the higher branches beyond our reach. The cure is not to amputate our poor hands, but to train them to help us rise higher to where industry becomes cheerful, through the training of our heads and our hearts also. (Applause.)

No man willingly engages in anything he does not love; no intelligent man loves a work that does not interest his mind. Industrial education in its broadest sense awakens this interest, and therefore offers an infinite opportunity for pleasure and content

that only awaits the development of our capacity to appreciate it. Civilization is an unmixed blessing to those who are trained, but it is cruel to the untrained. It was through seeing how much we were suffering here in the East I think that the country finally realized its duty and began to break down the walls which it had put up, first by establishing schools, and as soon as seemed best giving the Indians the rights of citizenship. Our thanks are due, so far as I know, to General Armstrong and Captain Pratt for leading the way.

When a young man, I was afraid of going outside of the reservation because I could not understand the English language, and the word or idea of work used to frighten me, so it took all the courage I could gather up to make up my mind to leave the reservation and find work among the white people. But I did it, and my experience has taught me that as a rule success must depend upon the method and the length of time of training. A good many of the graduates and returned students of the Indian schools have already acquired an advanced degree of civilization, and have become independent and self-supporting citizens; the majority are not quite so successful and are as yet only half civilized. When you have half-civilized a man he will still remain half-barbarian. I have seen a few such men of the white race in the shops where I have worked, and I have noticed that they are not desirable employes, nor desirable fellow-workmen, nor desirable neighbors. No employer wishes to keep a man who will, or can do only half of his duties, no intelligent workman wishes to work with a half-trained man, and no civilized family wishes to live next to a half-civilized family, so half-trained men meet opposition all around, which makes them discontented and grumblers. When you have properly trained every man in the country, the labor problem, the negro problem and the Indian problem will be solved, I think. (Applause.) But your patience is taxed because once free from school we do not always go on and improve ourselves but seem to stop right where you leave us. This is because we are not working on the principle of fascination or inspiration, or whatever it is that carries one through every difficulty, to fulfill a definite purpose; hence our great need, I think, is of a more complete training with such method as shall make us permanently successful in our hands, intelligent in our heads, and Christian in our hearts, the qualities without which no man can ever hope to become a desirable employe, fellow-workman, or neighbor.

Whatever success I have had is due to my ability to hold my own alongside of many white workmen, and that ability is largely due to the training I received at Hampton. I went down there with only a few words of English, my main object being to learn that language. When I got there I found that as a New York Indian I would get no aid from the government, and that if I

would stay I must work. I decided to stay and they put me at the engineering trade, and night school. In the first year I had to keep up steam from four o'clock in the morning until six in the evening; the night school kept me busy till nine o'clock every night. After six years I was able to speak English fairly well; I had a trade and an academic diploma. Then began my life in the shops which lasted sixteen years. At first my test was by no means an easy one. I learned I was up against men of more mature judgment than my own, and felt my limited knowledge of the world. It was only by the greatest effort to improve myself that I was able to hold the confidence of my fellow-workmen, and finally by the aid of a correspondence school, my work became more and more interesting, and even at times inspiring.

Being disabled from my own work by an accident, I spent last winter at Hampton with the Indian boys. During the term some of the boys organized themselves into what is known as the Educational Committee. We met one night each week and discussed questions of importance to our race. Having come from different parts of the country and from different schools, we were able to compare conditions and discuss methods of work. Our knowledge of the returned students proved beyond doubt that the successful ones are those who have had the most training. In consequence of all this, the boys drew up a petition in a very modest form, which they hope to present to the Government, asking for an advanced industrial school to which young Indians coming from non-reservation schools can go and perfect themselves in their trades by actual labor and by the practice of steady habits of industry which must mean self-support even while still in training.

I believe that if such a school could be established, it would, in a short time, through its students, advance the Indian race more rapidly and surely than anything else, and prove a great help towards settling the Indian problem forever. Will the government do this for the western boys and girls? Will New York State do this for the boys and girls of the once powerful Iroquois within its boundaries? We are still a child race in the eyes of civilization, not ignorant of the common necessities of life, but still ignorant of the higher necessities, and we ask for our children, not what has been taken away from them, but what has been withheld, the industrial education that shall fit them for full citizenship. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are to hear from Miss Sibyl Carter, who has been exceedingly successful in teaching lace-making to Indian women.

MISS SYBIL CARTER: I am one of whom Commissioner Leupp ought to approve, because I have done exactly what he told us we should do. I have gone into the reservations with the Bible

in one hand and work in the other, but I have done more than that. From the very beginning I have paid the women for everything they have done, and moreover they have loved it. I went into the reservation for the first time with Bishop Whipple, in 1886, and I am here to-day because of something said to me by one educated Indian woman whom I had met two or three years before at Bishop Whipple's house. I met her unexpectedly in the heart of the reservation. I said, "Susie, what have you been doing since I was here?" She had been bright and cheerful before, but in a minute a great cloud swept over her face. She looked at the ground and said almost angrily: "What is there do here? Live in woods!" My Christian friends; do you realize what that meant? That woman lived forty-six miles from any white woman's house and could not get a day's work for love nor money.

Bishop Whipple's good wife said to me, "What do our good Indians in the West need?" "Work and wages," I replied. Bishop Whipple said, "Bless you. When will you come and teach them something?" It took me from 1886 to 1892 to get around to go. I had to teach lace because it was the only thing I knew how to do. Moreover, I knew that lace would interest them and would always sell well besides. I knew also it was very light in weight and could be delivered cheaply by mail.

I took up a part of reservation life that nobody up to that time had touched. I worked among the mothers, the Indian women. What has the work been to these women? One of them begins to work here. "I will work just this little piece and stop." Then she will say, "It is so pretty, I can not stop," and after a while she is saying constantly, "O, beautiful, beautiful." She loves it; it is fascinating; it is very beautiful. In all these years, never have I had to launder one single piece of lace. It is kept clean, and at the same time it keeps the women up to the mark.

Only two weeks ago I received a letter from a woman in Oklahoma, sending a little package of finished lace and asking me to sell it for her. She had not had a teacher in five years, but the work was beautifully done and I gladly sent her a post-office order for the amount. I feel glad to-day for that little piece of lace from away out in Oklahoma, because it is one step towards permanency.

The New York Committee of ladies that is back of me is really a working Committee,—giving up their time from society to try to make this work permanent. They keep an office going in New York and have a travelling assistant constantly in the field, visiting schools and giving the Indian women more and more instruction. The lace made in these schools is selling on its own merits all the time.

I have a very warm heart for my Indian friends. They feel the need of a religion; they are a reverent people, and I assure you

my friends, if I have done any good for them, I am sure they have done me a great deal of good. I want to see more and more work established for our Indian sisters. Let us be at the back of every Indian woman and try to help her to make the very best she can of her life.

In response to an inquiry, Miss Carter stated that the lace made in her schools won gold medals at the Paris and the Buffalo Expositions, and won the Grand Prize at the St. Louis Exposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is MISS MARY C. COLLINS, missionary at Little Eagle, South Dakota.

MISS MARY C. COLLINS: I am glad of this opportunity to say even a few words. As the Commissioner knows, I do not confine myself entirely to Bible reading and praying on the reservation; I get into a good many other things. I have found that introducing various denominations among the Indians is a most excellent thing. One of the first needs of the Indians is to be taught to think, and if a missionary does their thinking for them and tells them what they may believe, and how and when to believe it, and how far to use it, we have nothing but toy men and women moved by machinery. We want these men and women to think for themselves what is going to make them the most useful Christians. One of the right-hand helps in my work has been the Young Men's Christian Association. When I went to the Standing Rock Agency there was no one I thought ready to become a communicant in the Church of God. So I organized the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Missionary Society long before we organized the church. They thought out for themselves how to conduct their meetings, how to plan and talk in regard to questions brought before them. When they brought questions to me, I have always gave them to understand that they could not be good Christian men and women, unless they were loyal to the Government and obeyed the men sent out to be over them, even if these were not always the best men. In the beginning the men with whom they came in contact, and do yet to a large degree, did not give them the best ideas. But I think we have a right to feel encouraged since we have had our new Commissioner; I believe he is trying to do the very best he can for us on Standing Rock, and when a Commissioner is trying to help those Standing Rock Indians to be self-supporting in a sensible way by doing something lasting, we feel that he is really interested in having them come up to true manhood and citizenship. Our Indians can only be, to a very large extent, stock raisers. An appropriation is to be made out of their own funds to buy cows, and then our Indians will let their own cows eat their own grass, instead of leasing it to white men.

Church work has never been more prosperous than this year.

The Indians always come to a place after a while where they take a backward step; like children, they tire of being good and have to take a little vacation sometimes. Last year I had hard work to keep them up but this year they have come back into Christian work with renewed zeal and energy, and the very best men on the reservation are working for the schools, for the agent, and in all the places where they can get employment. The best men we have are the men who have been trained thoroughly as Christian men; you can depend on them. The missionaries are not having the Indians just sit down and read the Bible and pray; we are having them work. Some think all the missionary has to do is to teach them merely how to die; we are trying to teach them how to *live*, trying to make them strong, healthy and vigorous.

I hope that during the present administration, we will have a specialist on tuberculosis appointed by the government, and that he shall be sent to every reservation and every government school and isolate the children who have tuberculosis. We have in a dormitory strong, healthy vigorous children, sleeping side by side in the same bed with a child going down with tuberculosis. We want these things looked into. Last year in Standing Rock Agency we had fifty-three more deaths than births; ten years ago we were increasing two per cent. I think any physician here will uphold me in the sentiment that children must have a chance for life, and that they have no chance when brought into such close contact with tubercular children. There are many things I want to say but I must not take more of your time. (Applause.)

MR. LEUPP: I should like to ask Miss Collins if these facts regarding tuberculosis are within her own knowledge? A. Yes.

MR. LEUPP: Then I would be very thankful to know who is breaking the rules of the Indian Office. The Indian Office has absolutely ruled that it shall not be done.

MISS COLLINS: If you will write to the Doctor at Little Eagle, he will enlighten you.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have a talk from Mr. John M. Oskison of New York, who is a Cherokee Indian in part.

MR. JOHN M. OSKISON: You are all ready enough to act as religious instructors, teachers and doctors, if necessary, to the Indians; now would you like to become press agent on behalf of the Indian?

I read a book published last year which went over a certain interesting period of Indian history, but which ended, I should say, about ten years ago. This book recited very graphically a series of wrongs suffered by the Indians. The Indian part of my nature boiled up when I read that book, but the white part said, "Now, that is only one side of the case; the other side ought to be presented." Then I thought of a newspaper

story that had been sent to our paper by its Washington correspondent a little while before about Quanah Parker, one of the old Comanche chiefs.

Parker had been extremely valuable in bringing the Comanches into friendly relations with the whites. He found himself getting on in years, but without any property, and his white neighbors thought it would be a good idea to collect money to build him a house. They did this, and when the house was ready they told him, and he went to see it. "There is no furniture here," he said. They asked, "What do you want?" He replied that he wanted this and that, and added, "I want a big desk, a great big desk." "What do you want that for?" "Well," he said, "I want to go in there and sit back in my chair and put my feet up on that desk and some one will come in and knock at the door and say, 'Is this Mr. Parker?' 'Yes.' 'I want to speak to you.' And I will say, 'O, go 'way, I'm busy today.'"

Well! that story struck me as a great deal more promising than this whole book that I spoke of. It is really no use going over things that are past in our Indian history. What seems to me is required, is a general knowledge of specific facts concerning the status of the Indians to-day.

People generally should know how the Indians are getting on and what they are doing. We, who come to this Conference know it, but the average person does not. Men and women still turn to Mrs. Jackson's old story and say, "That must be the truth to-day, 'Ramona' is an authority."

The average person I have in mind is the newspaper editor—there are about twenty-five thousand periodicals in the United States, and twenty-five hundred daily newspapers, practically all edited by men of ordinary intelligence, without expert knowledge of the Indian question. If anything in connection with the Indians requires comment where do they turn? They go to the library and the first thing they think about is Mrs. Jackson's story. "Have you anything later than that?" they ask the librarian. "Yes, we have this other story." And they depend upon this material for the basis of their comment. The comment is, of course, out of date, it lacks foundation in specific facts.

If you want to become press agents, would it not be a good idea to acquaint yourself with a lot of facts? You can get many of them out of the Mohonk Conference Reports, and spread them around. The average editor is an overworked individual, without any extraordinary knowledge of Indian history, and with a very broad point of view. He would be glad to get hold of a new set of facts as a new basis for comment, which would show that the white people are not all villains in their treatment of the Indians. He is in sympathy with the whites, you know, because the average editor is a white man and believes thorough-

ly in his race. The facts are there; there is no trouble about that. The Indian question is nearer settlement than ever before, the development of the tribes is satisfactory, and the head of the department is satisfactory as everybody agrees in saying. But your editor, of course, cannot state this in general terms; he would like to be specific. He would like to tell about Quannah Parker, or Pleasant Porter, or W. C. Rogers, or half a dozen men down in the Indian Territory, who have made fine records as tribal chiefs. He would like to tell how they are going into politics, and being mentioned for senators, and all that sort of thing. If he gets these specific facts he will use them.

I have no plan to suggest as to how you shall proceed as press agents, but I think you have the spirit. I think you are perfectly willing to tell your neighbors and everybody with whom you come in contact that there are promising things to be said about the Indian, and, along with a lot still left to complain of, there is a lot to praise. Do not spare praise, do not spare blame. Be as convincing and specific as possible. Tell about an interview with somebody who comes from the field; find out what is doing at Rosebud, in Arizona, in California, remember the facts and give them to your editor. He will be very glad to use them.

The Conference then adjourned until 8 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, October 17, 1906.

THE CHAIRMAN: To-night is essentially Indian night. We will call first upon Dr. Merrill E. Gates, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

DR. MERRILL E. GATES said that, when asked by the Committee, he had declined to make an address to-night. Recognizing the courtesy of the chairman in calling upon him notwithstanding this refusal, he stated briefly the steps in the successful efforts (which were inaugurated by a Committee of this Conference two years ago) to secure, in the Legislation for Statehood for Indian Territory, prohibitions as strict as could be devised to protect Indians against the evils of whiskey for the next twenty years in the new state. The prompt, active and efficient aid given by President Roosevelt to the Committee in their efforts he emphasized. Dr. Gates declined to occupy more than five minutes of time; and calling the attention of the members of the Conference to the last Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (which will be sent to any one who is interested and will write to the Board, Room 320, Corcoran Building, Washington, D. C.) he asked particular attention to the table opposite page 16 of that report (for 1905). This tabulates the results of correspondence with all the Indian agents, giving the number of Indians at each agency and sub-agency—the number to whom allotments have been made, the number of allotted Indians who have died since allotment at each agency, the number of allottees living on and cultivating their allotments, etc.; the progress made in completing the registers of all the Indians, (with marriages, births, and relationships,) ordered made at each agency five years ago; the opinion of agents as to the number of Indians under their care who are *now* fit to care for their own money were it put into their hands, etc. There are thirty-four agencies where such a register is not yet completed. There seems no good reason (save in case of the Navajos) why such a register should not be completed before the 1st of January, 1908, at every agency. Its importance cannot be over-estimated, now that (by the Lacey bill) we have entered upon the policy of dividing tribal funds into individual holdings to be paid to individuals as fast as Indians are fitted to use the money wisely.

Dr. Gates expressed his gratification at the progress which is being made under a Commissioner whom he regarded as "in familiarity with the facts and the needs of the Indians, and

in his purposes, probably the best equipped Commissioner we have ever had, not forgetting noble and useful men who have preceded him in that office." He added: "But the dangers lie, as they have lain for years, in *perpetuating the Indian system*, and the *Indian Bureau*, even under the best of Indian Commissioners. A dozen years ago I made a speech here, advocating what I called 'a vanishing policy in Indian affairs.' I am more than ever firmly convinced that this is the one true policy. Every step we take ought to be a step toward *dispensing as quickly as possible with the beneficent offices of even the best of Commissioners. No men are good enough to help effectively our Indians if they do too many things for them!* Our Indians need to learn to act for themselves as citizens. As long as their tribal trust funds are undivided, these funds will be a constant temptation to claim lawyers to 'loot'; and Indians will be belittled and kept immature by having their funds 'held for them' and 'managed for them.' It is impossible to make them citizens *except by making them live as citizens*, take up the burdens and tasks of citizenship, in discharging the duties of citizens.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall next have the pleasure of hearing from Mr. S. M. Brosius, Washington Agent of the Indian Rights Association.

MR. S. M. BROSIUS: *Mr. Chairman:* I was pleased that the subject came up for consideration this morning of placing responsibility upon the Indian. In the very few minutes that I will occupy, I want to call attention to some phases of the Indian policy where I think the effect is to deny the Indian responsibility, or to shield him from it.

In the matter of control by the Interior Department of funds derived from the sale of inherited Indian lands, some criticism may be made. Congress, a few years ago (May 27, 1902) passed a law providing that Indians, under certain conditions, should have the privilege of disposing of inherited Indian allotments of land. There seemed to be no condition in that statute prohibiting the Indian from having the use and control of the proceeds when the land was sold, and the Interior Department evidently took that view of the law for some time.

The Secretary of the Interior now holds that moneys derived from the sale of these inherited lands are charged with the original trust, so that no matter into what form of property the fund is changed, the original trust which followed the allotment of the lands sold, exists, and such property whether in moneys or other form of values, is subject to the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior.

This strict interpretation was promulgated, possibly, over two years after the enactment of the law authorizing the sale of this class of lands, and not until after thousands of contracts had

been entered into by the heirs, these funds being relied upon to meet such obligations. These contracts naturally took various forms, and were very often most unfair to the Indian, the latter being worsted in his dealings with shrewd manipulators.

But where there was a semblance of fair treatment, and more especially where merchandise was furnished the debtor Indian, he should not be too readily shielded from paying his obligations contracted before the change of policy of the Secretary was made public, wherein he assumes charge of all such moneys. There are no doubt very many cases in which the Indian debtor desired to pay off obligations contracted under the conditions mentioned, and has been denied this privilege by the authorities. The policy strictly enforced, does not, in our opinion, lead to honest dealings on the part of the Indian wards. Nor does it tend to increase individual responsibility, a condition so necessary to proper development.

The course adopted by the Interior Department in controlling these funds, has been approved in an opinion handed down by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, in a case coming to that tribunal from the State of Nebraska.

In carrying out the present policy of controlling these inherited land funds the Indians are subjected to the whims of the government official immediately in charge, the agent, superintendent, or farmer, as the case may be. The latter, especially, are often not the proper type of manhood, being selected not from the standpoint of most good for the Indian, but because of political influence, and the Indian often suffers by reason of these conditions. The Government must rely upon its representatives in charge, so that in this, as in other matters, the right does not always prevail. The wards themselves, often men familiar with dealing with their fellows, are often subjected to humiliating restrictions, such as the payment to them of monthly installments of such funds of ten dollars per month. Even this is humiliating to less qualified persons, and has the further objection so often made to payment of annuities, that it deters from daily labor, the effect being to rely upon the monthly payment.

Then, too, it increases the opportunity for fraudulent manipulation of the funds through the farmers or other officials in charge by refusing to allow, or recommending in other instances the purchase of farm implements, or other articles, as they may or may not carry with them a source of profit to such employee.

The good intention of the Government is not assailed. The policy as a whole, it is believed, should be to turn over these funds as rapidly as possible to the heir, only exercising a fair supervision to secure a due degree of justice, but not hampered by detail that lessens the ward's responsibilities.

In the legislation by Congress incorporated in the "Burke Act," approved May 8, 1906, to which the Honorable Commissioner

referred this morning, we find the same tendency to withhold and delay placing responsibility upon the Red Man in the endeavor to fit him for citizenship. While in the General Severalty Act of February 8, 1887, the granting of suffrage was coincident with the execution of the first or trust patent, the Burke Act delays this privilege until the lands are deeded in fee-simple, whether that time be at the termination of twenty-five years, or a subsequent period, as may be determined upon by the President. We realize how the Indian has been handicapped by not having friends in Congress who are interested in securing his support at the polls. With the right of suffrage the Indian allottee may dictate his terms to the prospective Congressman, and come very much nearer securing fair treatment in the National legislature. For instance, in North and South Dakota, the Indian allottees, holding the right of suffrage at the polls, have by combination the control of the balance of power in certain Congressional Districts, and even the aspirants for Senatorial honors have felt the disastrous effects of their opposition. To those who believe the allotted Indian should have this privilege, the fact that the Burke Act cannot become retroactive, will be appreciated.

While no doubt the primary object of the Interior Department in supporting the passage of the Burke Act was to compass the evil results of the drink traffic, which is altogether commendable and desirable, it is believed the same beneficial effects could have been secured without withholding the right of suffrage. It is reasonable that limited rights can be granted by the Federal Government, or in other words, the Congress might have specifically withheld certain rights from these wards and from the state, during the pendency of the trust period in which the allotted lands are held, and these specified privileges retained could have included the control of the liquor traffic.

This refusal by the Interior Department to grant privileges to the Indian is further exemplified in its declining to permit an allottee to lease his allotment independent of Government control.

If we may hope that the allottee will be capable, at the termination of the trust period, of realizing the value of his lands so that he will not be induced easily to part with the title, it is only by experience secured through personal management of his homestead that such wisdom will be given him. A careful reading of the General Allotment act, of 1887, leads one to conclude that Congress, representing the thought of the people, intended that the allottee should control his farm during the time the Government held the title, at least for a limited time, say from year to year, so that when the time came for him to be clothed with title in fee, he would be sufficiently well equipped to meet the added responsibilities which the ownership of property involves.

The cry is raised that the allottee is being robbed of the use of his lands, and so great is the apparent need, the Indian Department adopts stringent rules providing that all leases made with and by allottees shall be void, so that Indian farmers who have been managing their holdings for years are often compelled to submit to the vexatious delays of leasing through Government officials who have no special interest in their success. The requirements of the Government system of leasing are so multifarious, the lessee secures the lands usually at reduced rentals, caused by vexatious manipulations of so many petty officials, which are sometimes infected with fraudulent practices. The paramount thought, however, is that the allottee is deprived of the experience from year to year in managing his land, whether in leasing, in cropping, or the hiring of laborers. From a long residence among allotted Indians, and from knowledge derived through many years of subsequent observation of the workings of what may well be termed a narrow Indian policy in this respect, I am impressed with the belief that no greater harm can come to the allottee than that which will result from this too close environment of the allottee with rules and regulations affecting the personal use of his allotted lands. It is suggested that a reasonable, sensible rule, under the circumstances, would be to permit the adult allottee to manage his lands from year to year without Departmental interference. This could be done by validating leases executed by the allottee for one year from their date. A bad bargain the first year will not likely be repeated the next, so, year in and year out, some experience will be secured that will be invaluable at the end of the twenty-five year trust, and serve well to forewarn the allottee against disposing of his fee.

USE OF INDIAN TREATY AND TRUST FUNDS FOR DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

The subject of the use of Indian treaty and trust funds for sectarian school purposes has heretofore been considered in these Conferences, and as a matter of information to those interested I will say that a suit has been instituted by direction of the Indian Rights Association, on behalf of certain members of the Rosebud band of Sioux Indians, in South Dakota, to determine the legality of paying over to sectarian organizations for educational purposes, the treaty and trust funds provided by the Government for the various Indian tribes. The suit is styled "Quick Bear vs. Leupp."

The members bringing the action represent a majority of the Rosebud tribe, who made complaint when they discovered certain of their treaty and trust funds were being expended by the Government for denominational or sectarian schools through contracts entered into with these organizations interested, but

with which denominations the complainants were not connected. The action was instituted in May last in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and it is sought thereby to determine the law in the case and to permanently enjoin the executive officers of the Government from carrying out the policy inaugurated by President Roosevelt, of paying over these funds for sectarian education. For a definite understanding of the case, I will briefly refer to the history of the use of moneys for denominational education. There were many heated discussions in Congress over the advisability of continuing the use of public funds for sectarian education of the Indians, which culminated on March 2, 1895, by adopting a plan to reduce the last appropriation for that purpose twenty per cent annually, until it should cease altogether. On June 7, 1897, in further pursuance of this well-defined policy, Congress enacted the following:

"And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school."

This was supposed to be the end of the whole question. It did not occur to those interested in settling the question then, that later on it might be decided that Indian treaty and trust funds were not included in this inhibition by Congress, on the principle that they were not public moneys and hence could be used for schools of this class. The President decided, however, that such use could be made of these funds and that policy was adopted over three years ago. Only two denominations have so far as known profited by the use of these funds, the Lutheran Church, of Wisconsin, and the Roman Catholics, the appropriation by the executive department being \$102,780.00 for the year ending June 30, 1905, of which sum the Lutherans received \$4,320.00, and the Roman Catholics \$98,460.00. Indian "treaty" funds are annually appropriated by Congress, while "trust funds" are derived from any funds in the Treasury not specifically appropriated, and usually are not annually provided for.

Although the suit was filed in May last, we have not yet succeeded in securing any action by way of defence by the executive officers who are parties defendant, they being represented by the United States District Attorney. We are notified that the Roman Catholic Church has requested the privilege of having an attorney represent their interests.

I have been requested to give some account of the Indians in the field. My training and interest, perhaps, have been such that my efforts have been largely directed to those Indians who seem to be in need of aid and comfort. I have recently returned from a trip to northwest New Mexico, where there are large numbers of Navajos located upon the Public Land of the United States. Possibly five thousand Navajos are maintaining themselves as best they can upon the Public Lands in New Mexico and Arizona,

having no title thereto. The people I visited are very desirous of securing whatever title to their homes the law will permit of, by reason of the fact that as Public Lands become scarcer and railroads are continually opening new sections of country rendering them more easy of access, the white man seeks to drive the Indian first settler farther and farther into the interior. The little house, the spring, the fenced pasture, all are appropriated by the white man, while the Indian is forced to drive his little herd of sheep and goats to poorer and more desert lands. But, happily, there is a law which provides that Indians may be allotted a portion of this Public Land, the Government holding title for twenty-five years, and other conditions being similar to allotments authorized to be made within reservations. The great need of this field has been brought to the attention of the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who has directed an allotting agent to proceed without delay to take up the work of allotting the Indians upon their lands that they have improved. This prompt action is greatly appreciated by those who know of the need. These people have not been fortunate enough to have secured schools or churches. It is hoped that the need will appeal to the Indian Department and one or more day schools with conscientious workers be established in their midst. Those interested in missionary work will find here great opportunity to benefit the Indian by leading him to a better and higher condition.

A recent visit to the Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota, brings vividly to mind my journey of over a year since to that country. At that time an agent was in charge who had been in control over four years, and through political influence had secured a re-appointment. With his advent came the policy of leasing all the lands to white cattle men, working in conjunction with the railroad interests. This was accomplished through manipulation of agent and cattle men by deceit and fraudulent practice. Every acre of the Cheyenne River Reservation, including the unfenced allotted lands, was leased. The leases provided for certain conditions to be observed: The Indian who had cattle was privileged to place not exceeding one hundred herd of stock within the leased pasture, but for the pasturing of any surplus stock he was obliged to make the best terms possible with the lessee. The agent being in sympathy with the lessees, he was at once handicapped. Soon we find notices posted on the pasture fences and gateways, saying: "No one will be permitted to enter the pastures with horses to look after the cattle without the written consent of the agent." When you realize that many of these Indians live one hundred and fifty miles, perhaps, from the agency, you can appreciate what that means. The penalty for violation of the order was fine and imprisonment. It meant, and soon resulted in practical prohibition

of the Indian from entering the pastures to look after his own stock. They were then altogether at the mercy of the cattle men. The Indian owner gave up interest in the cattle industry, and the prosperous Indian farmers of the reservation, whose sole income was derived from cattle raising were heart broken. That was the condition when I reached the Reservation a year ago. The situation was presented as fully as possible to the Indian Office, and fortunately a competent inspecting official was directed to make an examination of the charges of maladministration, which has resulted in the removal of the agent. But while the agent has been relegated to private life, the evil effects of his mismanagement remain. In the estimation of those in a condition to know it will require from five to ten years for the Indians to regain their former prosperous condition in the cattle industry. Not only in loss of cattle did the Indians suffer, but the small fields and gardens were trampled over and abandoned, after the cattle were introduced by the lessees. Under the Special Agent now in charge the Indians seem to have been given a new lease for existence, and if the same wise management could be continued the Red Men of this reservation would soon retrieve a large portion of their lost fortunes by increasing their herds. Under the present policy, separate pastures are to be established for the pasturage of Indian stock, so that in the future it is hoped that the Indian owner will be privileged to manage his individual stock interests. The wisdom of Mohonk's oft repeated declaration that politics should not control in the appointment of Indian agents is confirmed in this instance. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are next to hear from DR. H. B. FRISSELL, Principal of Hampton Institute, who has educated so many Indians for useful lives.

DR. H. B. FRISSELL: *Mr. Chairman:* We have listened to day to an Onondaga Indian, Charles Doxon. I am sure that those of you who heard him were interested in what he had to say, and perhaps even more so in himself, so I trust I may be pardoned if I use him as a sort of text for my remarks. After this morning's session Mrs. Abbott came to me and said, "I remember that my daughter spoke of Charles Doxon, and said that he was her pupil." If Hampton has had any success in its work it is because Dr. Lyman Abbott has sent his daughter, because we have had there the Woolseys, the Scovilles, and the Bacons, representatives of the very best that this country had to give, and I think we must remember that that will always be so. Men and women of the best sort are only produced through the influence of other men and women of the best sort. We make too much of other things and do not realize sufficiently the value of men and women. And so I come to plead again, as I have plead-

ed here before, that we stand behind the men and the women out there in the Indian country who are doing fine, strong work. Sometimes I feel that we do not value their services as we ought. There are the Riggsses; are we standing behind them? They have been out there now for generations—father, son, and grandson—and they have done some of the very best work that has ever been done in the missionary life of this country, or of any other. I appeal to this Conference to stand by the Riggsses. There are the Williamses; there is Bishop Hare; there are others who are noble men and women, there are men and women in the Catholic Church, who are giving their lives devotedly to the service of the Indians. My friends, there is nothing better that this Conference can do than to stand behind these men and women in the field.

The plea that Charles Doxon made that Indian boys and girls should be prepared to do some definite thing well is one that we may well consider. It is hard enough for a white boy, when he comes out of college or any other institution, to find his place in life; it is vastly harder for an Indian boy. It is especially important that an Indian boy or girl be fitted to do some definite thing. Charles Doxon's success is owing largely to the fact that he was a good machinist, so that when he went out from Hampton he was able to go into a shop, and do a white man's work; there are Indian boys all through the North—Oneidas, Senecas and others—who have gained encouragement and help from the fact that Charles Doxon could do the work of a white man, and that he could do it well.

I was glad to hear Mr. Leupp, the Commissioner, speak as he did in regard to his plans for Indian schools, and I am glad that he is not altogether in sympathy with the movement which takes Indian boys and girls away from their homes, whether they will or not, sometimes without the consent of their parents, and pushes them into the great non-reservation schools. I believe in the principle of compulsory education, but I think it must be applied with a great deal of care. I think Mr. Leupp is probably right in feeling that there are too many non-reservation boarding schools, and I am glad of the movement which promises to give more prominence to the day school. Some of the finest work that has been done among Indians has been done in the day schools. Some of you know what a power for good the schools at Rosebud are. The girls come in the morning and are taught cooking and the care of the home, while the boys learn to do the things that are necessary on a farm; they sometimes eat the noon-day meal together, and then in the afternoon they have lessons which relate to the things they did in the morning. I look upon that type of school as the very best that has ever been established in this country, and I am very thankful that Mr. Leupp thinks of doing more of that sort of work. Do you

realize that not only upon the boys and girls who go there, but upon all the neighboring community, one of these day schools can exert a tremendous influence?

I am glad that we are to hear a report in regard to the religious work. Charles Doxon would never have been the man that he is to-day if he had not been placed under a strong religious influence such as he had at Hampton; and our schools for the Indian are not going to accomplish the work that they should except as that element comes into it. I think I appreciate the work that is being done in the non-reservation boarding schools. There are strong men and women there who are laboring under great difficulties, but in order to accomplish the work that ought to be done, there must be more of religious life, and I believe that it is entirely possible. If the United States army can have chaplains, I see no reason why an Indian school should not have help of the same sort. It was said this morning that we ought to allow the Catholics to do the work in the Philippines. I think there is force in that idea; I think we should help the Catholics to do the very best work they can. I am not at all sure that other denominations ought to go in there, but I do not think I should go as far as Dr. Draper does. It seems to me that greater strength would come from having different types of religious life presented to the people of the islands, but I am thoroughly in sympathy with the idea of co-operating with the Catholic church, the Episcopal church, every church that is trying to bring religious thought and life to the Indians or to the other peoples whom we have to help.

My friends, I have been in the Indian work for twenty-six years—I am getting to be one of the patriarchs—and I confess that I come to it every year with more enthusiasm and interest. It was Bishop Whipple, I believe, who said that the Indian workers were the best paid workers in the world. I believe they are. I believe Miss Collins would agree with me to-night. I believe that any one of these workers would say that this work does pay.

Mr. Smiley has set us an excellent example by including in our discussions our island dependencies, but he has not given up the Indians. I want to plead that the Indian be not given up, not only at Mohonk, but by the churches of our land, by the people who are thinking of the best good of this great country of ours. The Indian problem is an important one, it seems to me. Just think what we owe these people. Do you ever realize how little interest there would be in the early history of this country if the Indians had not been found here? Just think how much of romance is added to our American life because the Indians have lived here, and because they have died here. And more than that, my friends, we are to be judged as a people, very largely, I believe, by the way in which we treat these Indian people. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear of the Alaskan Indians, from DR. SHELDON JACKSON, United States General Agent of Education in Alaska.

DR. SHELDON JACKSON: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I have a piece of good news for the Conference. Last winter Congress passed a law giving the native population of Alaska an opportunity to secure title to land. Through all the years since the flag floated over Alaska, from 1867 to the present, wherever the white man has wanted a good plot of cleared ground, that an Alaskan native's ancestors from remote ages had cleared up and occupied, he simply took it and the natives had to redress. The law was on his side, but he could not get the law enforced. And now Congress has given an opportunity for the native to secure a government title to a tract of land that the white man can not steal. (Applause.)

Last winter the friends of the Alaskans were very much startled by a bill introduced into the United States Congress transferring all the native schools with their industries, including the reindeer schools, from the United States Bureau of Education,—a non-political organization—and turning them over to the Governor of Alaska. We have had some good governors in Alaska, and some very, very poor ones. The good governors would try to do the best they could for the schools; the others would simply mismanage and neglect them. When, in 1900, Congress gave an opportunity for the incorporated towns to carry on their own school operations, they were given fifty per cent. of the license money for school purposes. Some towns had so much money they did not know what to do with it; yet in almost every instance, they spent their entire school money for the white children, neither allowing the children of the native races to come into the white schools or establishing for them schools outside of the white schools. This action indicated what might be expected if the schools of Alaska were placed under the Governor. It was also positively stated by the newspapers that the Governor had been promised the entire care of the reindeer, one of the leading industries taught in connection with the native schools of northern Alaska.

The intimation that the native schools and their reindeer industry might be taken from the control of the United States Bureau of Education so startled the friends of Alaska Education that the National Indian Association, with the co-operation of others, took it up with vigor. This transfer, which would have destroyed the Indian schools and the reindeer enterprise, has been stopped for the present, but it is by no means dead, and I trust that those present will carry the conviction home and keep it on their minds, that they are to be watchful, if they have any interest whatever in the native population of Alaska. The only hope

of the continuance of the native population not in barbarism, but as eventually intelligent, wealth-producing American citizens, is through Government schools and the missions of the various denominations.

Fifty years from now there would scarcely be a native left in Alaska if the Government schools were to be broken up and the missions withdrawn. The natives flocking into the mining camps with their immorality and their saloons, would simply fade out of sight, and a hardy race that can be made to add to the wealth of the country would be lost. The only place where the native population is increasing is around the mission stations of the various church denominations, and we want you to stand by them and keep them up.

Last spring, the Board of Indian Commissioners felt that something more ought to be done for Alaska and discussed the situation with the President. The Bureau of Education had been asking Congress year after year for increased facilities and increased appropriations, with but little success, but when the Board of Indian Commissioners took the matter before the President a communication was sent through the Secretary of the Interior to Congress asking for increased school facilities in Alaska.

There are one hundred and seventy-seven native villages, large and small, where the natives have not had in the past and have no prospect at present of having a school for their children. The request of the Secretary of the Interior called for fifty additional schools, two industrial training schools with hospitals attached, and two orphanages,—for we have a large number of native orphans because of an epidemic which in 1900 swept through the villages on the Bering Sea and Arctic Ocean coasts and up the Yukon river, and carried off one-third of the entire native population in one summer.

This request of the Secretary for schools and hospitals reached the last Congress too late for action but will be renewed this coming session and your influence with your Congressmen is needed to get something done that is adequate for the best interests of the Alaska natives.

I want to add one word about the reindeer. You have been reading of "the wonderful failure of the reindeer;" "a remarkable failure." They were first brought into Alaska in 1892 and from 1892 to 1903, the increase by birth has been forty-five per cent. up to the present time. A remarkable failure of the increase of those animals! They ought to have increased two or three hundred per cent, perhaps! You have been told that while the government has in 14 years spent \$222,500 to nurse that industry, it has only got to its own name 3095 reindeer out of that 10,241 that were in Alaska in December, 1905. What has become of the other 7146?

I will tell you what has become of them. Three thousand eight

hundred and seventeen are in the hands of Eskimo herders and apprentices who have received them according to the terms of apprenticeship; 2127 have been earned by different Missions, in the care, support, and teaching of apprentices, and are used for the benefit of their Eskimo converts; 1189 have been earned by the Lapp teachers, and 13 sled deer have been bought from the herders by miners.

Those who are criticising the small proportion owned by the government lose sight of the fact that Congress did not make the appropriation for the government to go into the business of raising and owning reindeer. The purpose was to make an industry that the natives could carry on in that country and thereby save and perpetuate themselves in a civilized condition; to give them an industry suited to the country in which they live. That country has four hundred thousand square miles of the finest reindeer pasturage in the world. There is a permanent pasture there for twelve million head of reindeer.

The reindeer industry is a complete success. One cause of complaint was we were giving them to the missions. But what else could the government do? It was starting a new enterprise in that country, that the natives knew nothing about. How were we to do it? We could not give this family two or three reindeer and that family two or three,—distributing them as you could distribute cows among the Sioux in Dakota, because you cannot keep reindeer that way, and the larger the number in your herd, the better. It costs but a trifle more to herd five thousand head of reindeer than five hundred, and it is a great deal safer, because they herd together.

Before the reindeer could be distributed among the Eskimos, it was absolutely necessary that their young men should be trained in the care and management of the reindeer. To accomplish this bright young men were to be selected, fed and clothed during a five years' apprenticeship and if at the close of the apprenticeship they had mastered the business they were to be furnished with a small herd as a start in life. But how were we to select the men?

Scattered through Alaska were mission stations with missionaries living with the people, associating with them constantly, watching them, studying them, trying to elevate them. These missionaries knew who were the right kind of young men for apprentices,—the steady men, the men of character, the young men that had come under civilizing and Christian influences in the schools,—so that the government had to turn, from the necessities of the case, to the missionary stations to select its apprentices. Then we found that even with a local agent in that country, where our stations are at extremes of a thousand miles apart, we could not pay a sufficient number of inspectors to look after each station.

As apprentices during the five years' apprenticeship are supplied with food and clothing and as it is their custom, when one has any food to share with all his relatives, it is important for the government to know whether it is feeding the apprentice and his wife, or from five to ten relatives besides. This can only be safe-guarded through the Missionary. And thus naturally the government turned to the Missionary, saying: "We will loan your society one hundred head of reindeer for five years with the understanding that you are to take from two to four apprentices, feed and clothe them for five years, and at the end of their apprenticeship give them fifty reindeer as their start in life." During the five years those missionary societies paid the interest on their loan by supporting these apprentices out of their own funds for the government, and at the close of the five years they returned the one hundred deer originally loaned them by the government, retaining only the increase for themselves and then continued to train and support a succession of apprentices indefinitely for the generations to come. That is what the missionary societies are doing for the government, and that is what the newspapers said was "a great fraud; government cheated out of hundreds of dollars by thrifty, grafting missionaries that had gone to Alaska."

The mission work is prosperous all over Alaska, and I want to further state, that we have ordinarily only one denomination in a large region of a hundred miles, so that there is the friendliest feeling between Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries in Alaska. If a Protestant missionary is travelling with his dog or reindeer sledge, sleeping out in the snow banks nights, and comes across a Roman Catholic mission he is taken in and cared for just as kindly as if he were a brother in their church; and a Roman Catholic Priest, travelling up and down the Yukon river and coming across a Protestant station is taken in as a guest and they hold sweet communion together as they talk about common interests, the best way of reaching the native population and bringing them to the common Christianity of the Lord Jesus Christ, and into the best relations to make good citizens.

There is not time to give you details of the different missions, of the wonderful work that has been done, of the thousands of natives that in the last fifteen or twenty years have come into Christian civilization, and have gone out from our schools and are supporting themselves in their several stations of life, some of whom are making a good support; one of them, a jeweller, with an income of two thousand dollars a year, has one of the best modern American houses in the community where he lives, and there are perhaps twelve or thirteen hundred American citizens in that community. A year ago his children, as well dressed and well-behaved as any white children

in the place, were not allowed in the white school because they had native blood in their veins.

In conclusion, Dr. Jackson cited two telling instances of the result of Christian instruction upon Ekimo communities. One of these was at Point Barrow, the northernmost mission in Alaska, where one missionary asserts that he has never seen such a universal prayerful condition as prevails among the Eskimo population. The other was the Friends' Mission at Kotzebue, Alaska, which for more than half a century has been the center of the liquor traffic for northwestern Alaska and where, up to 1897, the liquor habit had been universal. In nine years the Friends' Mission has secured more than a thousand converts, every one of whom has signed an iron-clad temperance pledge, and in the last year but four out of the one thousand had broken the pledge, and those four were penitently pleading for reinstatement. "You might have given that community education for a hundred years," said Dr. Jackson, "and they would have been drunkards still, if any of their descendants should then be left. It was the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ alone that could change their natures and make them Christian men and women."

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall now have a brief talk from Rev. JAMES W. KIRK, of Pittston, Pa., for many years a missionary under the Arctic Circle.

REV. JAMES W. KIRK: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* The portion of the country in which I worked was in the interior, sixteen hundred miles away from the nearest reindeer station, and very much farther than that from the nearest Indian agency, and while the work was extensive among the miners, it was a constant work among the natives. There is an old order of things to which I want briefly to refer. I hold in my hand this little sack. One Easter morning as I was ringing the mission bell, there came one white man to the station. At the close of the service, having placed in this gold sack three nuggets of gold, he presented the whole with his compliments to my wife, and raised the question why it was that in the bead work on this little sack the Indian woman had written a text of Scripture, and how could it be done. In a word, it was because in that old order of things there had gone into that country, years ago, from that greatest of all missionary societies in the world, the Church Missionary Society of England, men following the trails of the Hudson Bay Company, and thus the Gospel was preached, and thus it was, in brief, that this Indian woman with others had learned to write Holy Scripture upon a native tanned moose skin gold sack. That old order has in it some features of interest. The missionary taught the people how to die, as was referred to this morning, but he also taught them how to live. But no change was made in the dress

of the people, or in their industries. They had recourse to the hunting lands and to the fishing in summer, and they dressed the same as in the ages past. But they were very keenly affected by the teaching of the Gospel, and they became very helpful to their neighbors.

A new order came in. When the white people began to rush into that country at the time of the Klondike discoveries, then the situation changed. What shall we do under this new order of things? You can understand that living in that country is very difficult with the thermometer going down in the winter to seventy below zero. You must have clothing suitable for that condition, and you must have proper food. We had to take in our year's supply, and the kind of food that would last through the year and not be destroyed by freezing. If one can kill a caribou and get fresh meat, he is very apt to do it. The caribou is the wild reindeer of that country, and so rather than go into anything abstract, let me give you a concrete case that I think perhaps will throw more light upon it than many words will do. One morning, about the second year before the close of the last century, at the close of the morning service, there were perhaps a dozen Indians who had remained. I think there were three or four white men in the service that morning, and we tarried talking about what we should do with the Indians now that conditions had so changed. As if by intuition, an old Indian, the oldest in the whole company present, seemed to know what we were talking about and he arose and walking forward began to address me in a way so fluent that it was no surprise when I heard the Indian speak this morning. When he had finished, I turned to the interpreter and said, "Can you tell what this old man has been saying?" I will give it to you, for it made a vivid impression on me, almost word for word as it was interpreted. Said he, "Long time ago before white man come, Indian never hungry, Indian never cold. Indian go out one day, come back, caribou. Indian go out few days, come back, moose. Plenty to eat. Plenty to wear. Indian never hungry. Indian never cold. Now white man come. Indian go out, five days, come back no caribou. Fifteen days. Come back and no moose. Indian hungry. Indian cold. Indian go to white man's store. Indian have no money. Indian he fret." I tell you, it was a pathetic speech "Indian he fret." Why, they do not know the difference apparently between the summer and winter coat of the white man. I have seen them in the cold days with a mere summer coat on. Do you wonder that this race is dying, breaking down under these conditions, buying our food, so different from the native food, and then being obliged to buy our clothing, or use our cast-off clothing, neither warm nor well-fed? I was on the coast of Bering Sea and Yukon River when one-third of them perished in 1900. I know

how it is. And let me tell you one thing that was told me over and over. One can scarcely believe it: We have roaming over those hills in the interior of Alaska beyond the mountains, great herds of wild reindeer, and these had been the legitimate food and hunting grounds of the natives. They are moving herds, and pass now and then within ten, fifteen or thirty miles of the villages. The Indians get word of them and as soon as the word is received the village is almost deserted, because everybody goes out to bring in the winter supply of reindeer. One of these herds was passing (and I am told that there are from one to ten thousand in these herds) and a company of white men, one of the great commercial companies that do business in that northern land, sent out hunters and slew three thousand of these and took nothing but their tongues—just a delicacy there, the whole carcass and all the skin being permitted to go to waste!

Now the natives have not this caribou to live upon, and Dr. Jackson has not gotten his herds of reindeer that far up into the interior. What are these people to do? That is the situation. I have gone to the military commander and begged him to give us food for those Indians, but he says, "We are limited. We have not the right to do it." So the white people took up a collection and sent food to them. If ever you saw a people that would gather about the missionary as children would gather about a father, trustful, obedient, loyal, true, I think it was those Yukon River Indians.

If I could take the young men of Alaska I would put them at the Sitka Training School. As you know, in Southeast Alaska all the population live upon the islands, where our commercial industries are multiplying. The annual output of the canneries yields more money that was paid for Alaska by our government. Speaking along the line that our chairman has spoken about, we want to give these men a knowledge of mechanical engineering. They will be in demand, that is, they will help along the industries of the land and, in helping the white man and white industry, will be making a livelihood and an honorable one for themselves. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is MR. WILLIAM A. LIGHT, Superintendent of the Indian School at Hayward, Wisconsin.

MR. WILLIAM A. LIGHT: *Mr. Chairman, Friends of my Brother of the Red Skin:* I do not believe that I am qualified to talk properly to you about the very great subject of the Indian's development into a self-supporting citizen, the object of all, I believe. I have heard some very interesting and some very pointed things said. I believe I have heard some things said that should not have been said. I do not wish to refer to them, however, but simply to say that we do not all see things

with the same eyes. We have not all the same development of the different faculties of mind and do not comprehend things exactly alike, and for that reason, we probably see mistakes in others that we do not see in ourselves. A very large number of workers in the Indian field might complain of a large number of workers in the mission service. But we have withheld complaint heretofore, and we will make none now. There is work for us all to do; none of us can do too much, neither can we exercise too much of that God-like quality, charity for all and an earnest desire to help him in whom we are interested.

I want to say a word about the day school and compulsory education to which reference has been made. The day school is certainly the ideal school for the Indian where it can be established and maintained; it can only be maintained where the Indian has a permanent home, and a means of livelihood in one place, and where he is compelled to send his children to school. The uneducated, untrained Indian has no such comprehension of the value of an education as you have in your mind, and he is careless about the attendance of his child. If he is a Ration Indian he lives at home; there is no occasion for him to leave his home, and that is one of the reasons why the Rosebud schools have always been successful. Another reason is that they have had compulsory education from the hour that they were instituted.

In northwest Wisconsin there are no Ration Indians. To earn his daily bread the Indian changes his place of abode as the seasons change; in the spring he goes to the sugar bush, as soon as the sugar is made he goes to the lakes to fish, and to the berry fields; in the fall he goes to the rice field; in the winter he goes to the woods to work for the white logger; each season he changes his place of abode and his family must go with him; there is no home at which his children may be left and the day school attempted will be a failure, because there will be no children to attend except during a very short season of the year.

A word about returned students. It is to be deplored that a student who is educated at a non-reservation school must return, he would be so much better off where he is educated. If he must return, it would be much better that he be educated where his home is, where his land is, and where he must live his life. The Indian ideal and the Indian training are entirely different from those of the white man. The Indian has always been clannish. The white family has followed the policy—it seems to be a settled policy—of family separation. When the child has grown to the age of maturity his parents are willing for him to strike out for himself; the child wants to do it. The Indian is just the other way; he centralizes his family; he holds his family together for power in the tribe. This is the difference

between the love of home in the white child and the Indian child. The Indian child has been trained to centralize himself about his father's home and the white child trained to disperse himself among his fellows. I want to say to the Conference that it is my belief that there is as much necessity, aye more necessity for its guardianship, its protection, its advocacy of Indian policies than there ever has been. I believe that the Indian needs this protection and calls for it now, as much or more than he ever has needed it or called for it. There are numerous conditions surrounding the Indian that make it necessary that this influence, this good that has surrounded him so long, still remain about him, and I want to appeal to the Conference not to turn the Indian down, not to abandon him, but to be responsible for this influence and this power in national affairs, for the good of the Indian. He needs it. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is MR. CHARLES E. BURTON, Superintendent of the Indian School at Grand Junction, Colorado.

MR. CHARLES E. BURTON: *Ladies and Gentlemen:* We have been trying to educate the Indian for about twenty-five years. We have been trying to bring the Indian into citizenship for about one hundred years. We have absorbed into our citizenship every year a million people from foreign countries, many of them just as ignorant and just as hard to make citizens of as the Indian, if he had the proper policies for his bringing into this grand and glorious citizenship. There are only two possible explanations; either the Indian is a fool, or the policies for his education are foolish. It is certainly that way or it would not have taken so long to make a good start. I am very grateful and thankful that we have had an example in our Conference today of what education and Christianizing of the Indian has done. We are making a glorious start; we have done a great deal, but we have not done what we ought to have done, or the Indian question would have been solved years ago. As I say, there is something wrong with our policy. We are not pursuing the right plan for either citizenizing or Christianizing the Indian. As I said, we are bringing a million people every year into our citizenship. If we were to take five thousand of the most ignorant Poles, or Italians, or Austrians, or any other immigrants to this country and put them on a reservation in the West, enclose them in that reservation on lands where one could hardly acquire an education, keep them there year after year, would they not remain the same for a thousand years as when they came here? That is exactly the policy that we are following with the Indian, or at least that we have been following. I am glad to say that policy is changing as fast as it

can be changed. I believe the Indian has done well; he has done nobly, and I thank God that he has done so, that he has shown that he has manhood and honesty and uprightness in his character, and if he has a chance he will make a man yet; and not only individually, but as a race he will accomplish something.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to ask you if our honored President of the United States, who is filling his position so nobly and so admirably, could have climbed to that position, if he had retained the wooden shoe and the baggy trousers of his Dutch ancestors? Would it be possible for the million people who come to our shores every year to retain the clothing with which they come? I am told that down at Ellis Island sometimes the cotton trousers and the gaudy dresses on the immigrants are changed even before they leave the wharf. You do not see them in Chicago; you do not see the various styles of head-dress after these immigrants leave the wharf at New York.

We hear a great deal about cultivating the native industries. Ladies and gentlemen, I am in favor of cultivating such native industries as will stand the test of utility. We are sometimes told that we ought not to try to make a white man out of an Indian. True enough. We do not want to make a white man out of an Indian any more than we want to make a white man out of a negro, or out of a Chinaman or out of a Japanese. But we do want to make an educated, refined, American citizen out of him, and I am sure that if we do away with the reservations, if we give the Indian time, if we give him the chance that we have, he will do it.

I want to make one more point before I close. Let us see. We put our children into school at the age of six years; we keep them in school until they are eighteen or twenty, and after they pass through the public schools, we give them sometimes four years in the Normal School and sometimes four years in the University; we give our children thirteen, fifteen or sixteen years of schooling, and yet we expect the poor Indian boy to go into school, learn a new language and try to get an education with six or seven years' schooling. Ladies and gentlemen, it cannot be done. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from DR. CHARLES F. MESERVE, President of Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., and long in the Indian service as head of the Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

DR. CHARLES F. MESERVE: *Mr. President, and Friends of the Conference:* For the last fifteen years I have made a study of the work done by Mr. John H. Seger at Colony, Southwestern Oklahoma. When the Florida prisoners were returned to Oklahoma, Mr. Seger took fifty or more of them from Darlington and went with them fifty-five miles out on the prairie

where Colony now is. With these Indians he put up in a year several hundred cords of wood and several hundred tons of hay. His work was so successful that when the time came in 1890 to establish a school for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes on this part of the reservation, he was asked to build the school and become its superintendent. Later on he was made Agent. The work prospered under his management. About a year ago he resigned the position of superintendent and agent and has since devoted himself to personally looking after and directing the farming operations of the Indians in the Colony district. I visited this district last August and spent several days along the Washita River and its tributaries in company with Mr. Seger. I took particular pains to go into the fields of corn, cotton and other crops and see just what kind of work was being done. I found some fields of corn and cotton in as good condition as fields of similar crops belonging to the Indians' white neighbors. There were others where the Indians had neglected their work and the fields were overgrown with weeds. I was, however, gratified on the whole to see the substantial progress that was being made and the results accomplished in a single year.

Nelson Sage, an Arapahoe, a single man, twenty years of age, had 160 acres under cultivation. There were thirty acres in corn that will yield forty bushels to the acre. He ploughed, planted and cultivated this field without any white help. He also had fifteen acres of kaffir corn which a white man cared for. The Indian was to harvest it and have half the crop. The Indian corn was worth forty cents a bushel and the kaffir corn, which will yield forty bushels to the acre, was worth thirty cents. He lives with his father and mother in a house constructed of wood and owns a riding plow, a riding six-shovel cultivator, and a riding monitor disc cultivator for listing corn. These machines were bought by himself and not furnished by the government, as has been too often the case. He also owns a good span of mules and a pair of work horses. Near his place were six and a half acres of wheat in the stack, worth fifty-three cents per bushel. The yield was twelve bushels to the acre. He also had five acres of millet of excellent quality.

Hannah Little Bird, an Arapahoe, had hollyhocks about her house, and near by a vegetable garden. Hannah and her husband had hogs, chickens, cattle, two teams, fifteen acres of corn, five acres of oats, fifteen of millet and kaffir corn, and eighteen acres of wheat. Little Bird and family have 800 acres of land, the average value of which is \$10.00 per acre.

Kias, a Cheyenne, had thirty acres under cultivation and Ed. Harry, a Cheyenne, twenty acres. Three brothers, Howling Water, Alfred Heap-of-Birds and Homer Heap-of-Birds had six acres of alfalfa, forty acres of Indian corn, twenty acres of oats, and twenty-four of kaffir corn.

There are eleven Indians that are doing about as well as Sage and Little Bird. There are fifteen more that are doing something or pretending to. Of the 276 Indians in Washita County of all ages, all the able bodied are doing some farming. Money is paid out to the Indians in smaller quantities by the Indian officials now than formerly, and this compels them to work. They are cultivating three times as much land as last year.

I was interested to note that rivalry among the Indians in crop raising is beginning. They are understanding that weeds are not corn and are taking more pride in their work. This is brought about by the wise service that Mr. Seger is rendering and also by the example of their white neighbors. I found in this part of Oklahoma a thrifty class of Mennonites who are very kindly disposed toward the Indians. In some cases where the Indians were in need they have furnished seed for crops and have taught them how to set up and operate some of their farming machinery. It was evident that Mr. Seger had done much to bring the white people and the Indians into a closer and more sympathetic relationship.

In order that the Conference might have some concrete examples of what the Indians are doing I have brought here the specimens that you see on the table before you. The cotton and Indian corn as well as the kaffir corn, millet and milo maize are equal in quality to that raised by the neighboring white people. Thunder Bull, a Cheyenne, has thirty acres of corn that will yield forty bushels to the acre, much of which is like the sample you see in my hand. On account of excessive rain, the wheat and oats which I show you are somewhat deficient in quality. They are, however, as good as similar grain raised by the white people. There are Indians in Washita County that have this year from 800 to 1200 bushels of Indian corn besides kaffir corn and other crops. This sample of cotton was raised by Sage Bark, an Arapahoe; this splendid millet by Watan, who is known to many people in the East as one of the officers of the Reformed Church at Colony.

These Indians can easily become self-supporting after a very few years of wise direction by Mr. Seger, or some one else like him, in whom they have implicit confidence. All of the substantial crops that are raised both in the South and in the North can be grown in this section of Oklahoma, and, with the increasing interest of the Indian in work, I believe there is a bright outlook for the Indians of the Colony district and all other Indians who are blessed with such favorable surroundings and intelligent supervision. (Applause.)

The meeting then adjourned until the following morning.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 18, 1906.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to take up the Philippine Islands. The first speaker on the subject will be REV. DR. JOHN BANCROFT DEVINS, Editor of the New York Observer, who has visited the Philippines and written a book on his observations.

REV. JOHN BANCROFT DEVINS, D.D.: *Ladies and Gentlemen:* The first speaker in a series of this kind I understand, is to furnish the raw material out of which the chefs who follow him are to prepare the feast for you.

There is not a little change in the temper of editors from that of former days when three editors can speak with safety on the same general subject before the same audience. It is said that Horace Greeley, writing of the editor of a contemporary, an *esteemed* contemporary, you understand, closed his editorial with these words: "You lie! you villian, you lie!" There is no fear at Mohonk of those who speak later using terms like that of those who precede them even though differing views are given.

May I speak for a moment of a Sunday that I spent in Cavite, just across the bay from Manila, with one of the missionaries. When the time came to start, at six o'clock in the morning, it was raining and Philippine rain—I spoke last year of the Philippine heat which is equalled only by the Philippine rain! We went across the bay in a small steamer and took a sail boat with outriggers to go near the native church.

In spite of the rain in the early morning, when we reached old Cavite, we found a congregation of perhaps two hundred people. A stringed band was playing as we entered the church. The Filipinos are fond of music. They play by ear wholly, catch new airs quickly and reproduce them remarkably well. Just after the American occupation, soldiers saw a funeral procession in a Manila street led by a band playing the inspiring air: "There'll be a hot time in the old town to-night." The Filipinos are rapidly becoming American citizens!

Following the preaching and communion services in Cavite, there was a double wedding. One of the brides seemed uneasy; she kept rocking back and forth, and scowling as she rocked, evidently in pain.

"What is the trouble with that lady?" I asked.

"Why," replied the missionary, "look at her feet. she has on shoes." And so she had; apparently the first time that she had

ever worn a pair. Then I looked around the room and found that the brides and the native pastor's wife were the only ladies wearing shoes. One of the bridegrooms was in tears.

"What is the matter with that man?" I asked.

"His first wife died recently and he is doubtless thinking about her."

In the afternoon we went to another church, two or three miles away to hold a second service, in a church built under peculiar circumstances.

Our honored chairman said yesterday that it was not right to tax the weak American churches to build weak churches in the Philippines. But this church at least was not a tax upon the American purse. The edifice, chandeliers, organ, everything that the church contained could not have cost five dollars. The land was given by one man and others secured eight or ten bamboo poles which were driven in the ground to carry the nipa roof. Around the sides were bamboo fish weirs.

The origin of the church was interesting: On the night of the fourth of July there had been a meeting of people accustomed to gather for divine worship. They met in a yard between the native houses, and held an open-air service. Five minutes beyond the time when they ought to have dispersed had passed, when the presidente of the village, a Filipino and a Catholic appeared and ordered the arrest of the entire company, some thirty or forty people, and threw them all into prison for breaking the law. The missionary in Manila was informed early the next morning. Governor Taft sent a telegram to the presidente, ordering that the people should be released and then he sent a Catholic to learn why the Protestants had been arrested. Governor Taft is wise in his generation. The Catholic Commissioner reported that the presidente had exceeded his authority; that he should be reprovved publicly, and if anything like that occurred again, he should be removed from office. The Catholic Club of Manila approved the report of the commissioner who was a member of the club and no more trouble of that kind occurred; no more Protestant congregations were thrown into prison.

I saw then how unwise it was for a stranger in Manila to criticize Governor Taft, a Governor who has so admirably filled every office to which he has been appointed, not only in the Philippines, but also in the United States. No other American, it seems to me, could have gone to the Philippines and done so well there as Governor Taft did.

Fifty adults were added to the Protestant church as a result of the two services held in Cavite that Sunday. The next day I saw Mr. Aguinaldo and told him about my Sunday in his province. He was born in Cavite and his mother still lives there. He said, "Before the people took that step they came to

see me, and they acted under my advice." I asked him about the Aglipay movement which was started by a deposed priest whose name it bears, and he replied:

"I think that is a movement in the right direction. Aglipayism may be termed second grade, Protestantism is first grade; first they leave the Catholic Church, many of them, and then become Protestants afterwards."

The American missionary does not force his form of religion upon the Filipinos, but there is a determination on the part of the Christian Church of America, some branch of which he represents, that every man in every part of the world shall have the opportunity to worship his God in any manner which he chooses. The American missionaries have offered the Gospel as they understand it, to the people of the Philippines,—the Gospel and the Book which contains it, following the example of President Roosevelt who has commended the Bible in a recent address with characteristic forcefulness. Along with the preaching services have gone schools. Governor Taft told me that one school given by a Presbyterian elder in this State through the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions had done more to pacify the Island of Negros than all the efforts of the American Government. The Hon. Horace B. Silliman of Cohoes, a friend of Hampton, Tuskegee and Northfield, said:

"I will put a school for boys on that island which will do for the Filipino boys what Hampton is doing for the Negro and the Indian. To-day he stands ready with an offer for a similar school for girls in any part of the Philippines. That spirit of helpfulness, the Mohonk spirit, the Christian spirit,—that is what is winning men.

The Catholic Church had a chance at the Philippines ninety-nine years before Plymouth Rock was discovered; in 1521 they landed in Manila and with the exception of one year, when the British had possession, they held these islands until 1898. The army of American teachers—an army of invasion more terrible to superstition than an army with guns—entered the Philippines in 1901, and taught the people to think for themselves. They have learned how to think and how to act as well.

Governor Taft told me about some women who locked the church doors against their priest. He said to them:

"You must not do that. He has a right there. That is his church. He has possession of it."

"Why no, he has not; the door is locked, and here is the key."

"But he must have the key." "We won't give it to him. We will give it to you, Mr. Governor, but if he gets it again we will lock him out again. He is not a good man. We will not listen to his preaching."

This action was not taken against the Catholic Church, but against an individual who the people thought was not represent-

ing it properly. Suppose that action had been taken six years before! The leaders of that congregation would have been on the way to Spain by the next boat. We stayed in a hotel in Manila where two colporters had been poisoned a little while before the American flag was raised over the city.

There is scarcely anything in the Philippines that appeals to a lover of his country more than the work of the American teachers. Soldiers have been ambushed and killed by hundreds, but these young women teachers, after going off alone or by twos in a town and not one even annoyed. Four men teachers were killed, but it was thought in each case that they were mistaken for soldiers or government employes. The Filipinos welcome education. I heard of a presidente who with all the adults of the town went to the evening school. One night there was a wedding in the town, and when the presidente reached the schoolhouse the only other person present was the teacher.

"Where are the rest of the scholars?" the official asked.

"They have gone to a wedding." He blew his whistle for the police who were told: "Bring those people to school or take them to prison." But that was an unusual experience. One night a small party, including Mrs. Taft, visited the evening schools in Manila. The people who work all day were studying at night to perfect themselves for positions under the government it may be; many of them were seeking to increase their ability as teachers. An ardent, enthusiastic American, every one of them was as they joined heartily in the hymn:

"My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing."

There is a sequel to the story of that visit. The next week the Philippine Commission met at the Governor's palace. One of the Commissioners said: "There is too much money spent on the evening schools. I move that we drop off a portion of that expenditure. It is not necessary."

Mrs. Taft who was in an adjoining room said quietly: "Have you ever visited the evening schools and seen their work?" The man said that he had not; that he believed in the day schools and looked after them.

"I have been there," added Mrs. Taft, "and although I do not wish to influence your decision, I trust that before you cut down the appropriation, you will see what is being done in those schools." The result was that they increased the appropriation for the evening schools before leaving the palace or seeing the schools for themselves.

The mission work throughout the Philippines is increasing rapidly, and along many lines. This morning a great meeting is being held in Brussels to protest against opium traffic in

China and in Africa, when our own government is allowing opium to be sold to the Chinese in Manila. It was the protest of the missionaries alone that prevented a government monopoly of the opium selling for a generation to come in the Philippines. It was my privilege to sit one day with the missionaries in Manila—with Bishop Brent of the Episcopal Church, Dr. Stuntz of the Methodist Church, and Dr. Rodgers and Mr. Hillis of the Presbyterian Church and Young Men's Christian Association men and Bible Society men and others—and help frame a cablegram to President Roosevelt, asking him to prevent the Philippine Commission from approving a measure favoring the sale of opium. Instead of the monopoly being established, as was threatened, a commission was appointed, including Bishop Brent, the President of the Health Department and a Filipino physician who went to Japan, Formosa, China, Java and Burma, studying the situation thoroughly. Bishop Brent and his committee, after visiting the other countries, decided that the plan adopted by Japan after the Chinese war, was most humane, most American and most nearly Christian—therefore it was approved by the commission. Their report has been adopted after a long struggle in the United States Senate, restricting the sale of opium now and making its sale prohibitive except for medicinal purposes after a few years even to the Chinese. One of the greatest disgraces to American civilization was averted by the Protestant missionaries. God bless them, every one.

There is need in the Philippines to-day of trustworthy men. I have spoken of the experiences of one Sunday; I wish to mention briefly those of another. I was asked to speak one night in a schoolhouse in the capital town of one of the provinces of Luzon. Every American in the province was present and the native Governor and all his staff; the room was filled. I spoke through an interpreter. One condition of my going there was that we should hold a Sunday service. I did not want to travel on Sunday, nor remain idle. The American officials in the province said that the religious meeting could not be held in the schoolhouse; so far as they knew, no Protestant service had ever been held in the province.

After the Sunday service was announced, an American gentleman came to me and said: "Mr. Devins, I am very sorry I cannot be present to-morrow morning. I have to work on Sundays. I am the head of the Normal School, and I am very busy. It is not right, is it?" I did not say anything. I did not need to. He said further: "I am a church man and a church officer at home, but one gets out of the church-going habit here. My secretary ought to go to hear you to-morrow, but he will have to work also. I am very sorry; I would like to hear you." I did not say anything.

The next morning the principal was present, his secretary and

two other men with them. There was no women in the audience except Mrs. Devins. That night, however, a friend staying in the house adjoining ours, said that two of the American girls who had been present at the meeting on Saturday night, were at his house playing cards with young American officers of the Constabulary, smoking cigarettes, drinking and singing ribald songs. And the younger of those girls was in short dresses a year before! What kind of civilization will the Filipinos of that town think America produces? A lady in the Philippines said to me: "When I was in America, I was president of a Foreign Missionary Society in my brother's church, and I have not been inside a church but once in a year. It is not right, is it?" Is it a wonder that it is so difficult to impress upon foreign peoples what America stands for! A young lady in the Philippines asked to attend a church service, replied: "I do not care to go there; church services are such indiscriminate gatherings." The next Sunday she attended a cock fight—she felt that there she was sure of meeting a discriminate gathering. Cock fighting is one of the pleasures authorized by the Government for holidays and Sundays.

The United States Government in the Philippines is doing a magnificent work along every line of activity. But what is needed are more college men and other men of good habits, men from good families, men going out with a resolve similar to that which carries the missionaries to the foreign field to serve their country for moderate salaries, that they may have a hand in explaining to our brothers in brown the meaning of American liberty. When they have gone, and the teachers have gone, church members at home have still a duty to perform, for "more things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." It is by prayer as Tennyson says, that

"the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker will be REV. DR. LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor of the Outlook.

OUR DUTY TO THE FILIPINOS.

ADDRESS OF REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am asked to speak to you this morning on the duties which the American people owe to the Filipinos. The duties of the future grow out of conditions of the present and the history of the past. If we have done wrong in our past relations with the Filipinos, our duty is to repent of that wrong. If we have been going in the wrong direction, our duty is to retrace our steps. The first duty of every sinner, whether he be an individual, a corporation, or a nation, is to repent of his sin,

and cease his wrong doing. I believe that no chapter of American history has been written, since the American Constitution was formed, of which the American people have better reason to be proud than the history which has been written by the statesmanship of McKinley, the guns of Dewey, and the administration of Taft. (Applause.)

Every step in the history which has finally placed us in our present relation with the Filipino people has followed by an inevitable and an inexorable sequence of events, from our declaration of war against Spain. When that declaration was made there were two fleets in the Orient, a Spanish and an American fleet. The American fleet could no longer remain in any neutral harbor, it must either scuttle away from the Pacific Ocean or it must destroy the Spanish fleet, and find a harbor in Manila. It chose the second alternative, and the destruction of the Spanish fleet was absolutely necessary unless we were to leave American commerce in all the Orient a prey to Spanish guns. No principle of international law is better settled than this: that when a great power destroys an existing government, it must establish and maintain another government in its place, at least for the time being. It must not destroy the one power that assumes to protect persons and property and leave persons and property unprotected. Major Younghusband of the English Army, who was in Manila just after its final occupation by American forces, writes that it was the universal opinion of all British residents in that city that, if the Filipino forces had been allowed to enter Manila, not a single Spanish man, woman or child alive would have been spared in the resulting massacre.* The resident population may have been mistaken, but the hazard was one which the American nation had no right to take, and it did not take. The American nation assumed the sovereignty which it was their sacred duty to assume when they destroyed the power of Spain to maintain its sovereignty in those islands. It has been frequently said that the American people bought from Spain the Philippine Archipelago without consulting the inhabitants. That is misleading. The Philippine Archipelago fell under the sovereignty of the United States Government with the destruction of the Spanish fleet, which was absolutely essential to the maintenance of the Spanish government in those islands, and the American Government in thus taking this possession of the Philippine Islands, found itself in possession of certain Spanish public property, public buildings and public fortifications erected by the Spanish government. We had declared in the outset of the war that we were not going into this war for any gain for ourselves, and with a policy which I think is unexampled in the history of mankind, but I hope may not be without a following,

*Major A. G. Younghusband: *The Philippines and Roundabout*. P. 59.

we paid to the conquered nation the value of all the property which belonged to that nation within the conquered territory. There was a friar land problem. We look back now and say it was a simple matter, but I can remember, and others can remember, how perplexing that problem was deemed to be for two years. The land belonging to friars, who were hated by the Filipino people and yet were representatives of a church which was loved by the Filipino people—how to dispossess the friars of this land and yet maintain the institutes to which the Filipinos were loyal—this was our problem. The Provisional Government of the Archipelago borrowed money at less than four per cent., using the credit of the American Government for that purpose, purchased the friars' lands, in negotiation with the Vatican, and holds them to-day in trust for the Filipino people. By this simple process the rights of the friars were secured, the rights and interests of the Filipino people were secured, and the institutions of the only Christian religion the Filipino people knew anything about were secured. These are the four steps which have been taken by our American Government. I do not defend them, I do not apologize for them. I glory in them. There is nothing to repent. There is nothing to retract. Our duty is to go on and consummate the process which we have begun. What does that duty involve? More than I can express in the time at my disposal. What I can I will express in that time.

The Declaration of Independence declares that all government rests upon the consent of the governed, and that all just governments are for the benefit of the governed. Whether the first proposition is true or not, politically it is not universally true. The government of the family does not rest on the consent of the children. The government of Almighty God does not rest on the consent of men. The other proposition, that all just governments are for the benefit of the governed is universally true. No father is governing his children justly unless he is governing them for their benefit, and the justice of the government of Almighty God lies in this, that His government is not for His glory save as His glory is dependent on the well-being of His children. (Applause.) If then our attitude toward the Filipino people is to be in accordance with the fundamental declaration of our own independence, if it is to be in accordance with the fundamental principles of Christianity, if it is to be in accordance with the fundamental principles of universal justice, it must be a government administered by us, not for our benefit, not even, except incidentally, for our mutual benefit. The government of the family is not for the benefit of father and children, except as the children's benefit is the father's benefit. The government of mankind is not for God's benefit and man's benefit, except as the benefit of man is for the benefit of God. And the government of the Filipino people must be primarily for the benefit of

the Filipino people and only secondarily and incidentally for our own benefit. What does a government administered for the benefit of the governed involve?

First, law; law wisely adjusted; law authoritatively enforced. The foundation of all civilization, nay, the foundation of all life is law,—the law of God to which everyone of us find ourselves subject, and to which everyone of us would better yield a cheerful obedience. It is the foundation of every state. When the Israelites were brought out of the land of Egypt, after their emancipation, what was the first act? Law enforced from Sinai, with thunder and lightning behind it. When Jesus Christ first initiated the Kingdom of God, what was his first act? The Sermon on the Mount, proclaiming the spiritual laws of that Kingdom. The whole of modern civilization is based on law—civil law derived from the Romans, common law derived largely from the Anglo Saxons, law sanctions an unformulated custom, sanctions a statutory enactment, but always a sovereign will interpreted by courts of justice and enforced by chief executives. Obedience to law is the pre-requisite of liberty, the foundation of the State, the corner-stone of organized society, the condition of life itself—**LAW**, proclaimed with authority and enforced with authority. If we ever lose that truth out of our American heart and life, our American civilization is gone. Let the time ever come when homicides are perpetrated in this state and there is such a popular sentiment that we dare not and will not punish murder; let the time ever come when capital takes a sword in its hand and labor takes another sword in its hand, and the capitalistic and labor movement cross swords as in Colorado, and lawless labor war goes on unchecked; let the time ever come when a hideous mob roams through the streets of a city with only a lone courageous woman to call a halt, as it did in Atlanta, and the foundation of American civilization are gone. Law is the basis of civilization. That first.

Second, productive industry, and wise legislation to promote and encourage industry. For almost the most fundamental law, as according to the Bible it is the earliest in human history, is in "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." The second thing we have to give to the Filipinos is wise legislation to promote their industry. We have in the United States a protective policy, the wisdom of which it is no part of my purpose as it would not be legitimate for me here to discuss. I may define it in a word, however, by saying that under this protective system we put a handicap upon foreign industry when it competes with our own industry at home. We say by our protective system that our own industrial hands shall get the first benefit of our American market. We have no moral right to put that handicap upon the industry of a people under our flag and whom we are governing. (Applause.) I am not going to criticize the Senate. There is

a kind of unwritten law in this Conference that, as a rule, Congress and the administration shall not be subject to much criticism. But I do not believe that I shall be called to order if I do not criticize the action of a commerce which refused to allow the Senate to act on the question, whether we would put manacles on the industrious hands of the Filipinos. The bill which the administration had urged, passed the House, reducing the tariff twenty-five per cent. now, and abolishing it altogether in two years. It came into the Senate. There are two ways in which a minority can prevent legislation in the Senate. It can stifle it by silence in the committee, or it can talk it to death in an open session. This bill was submitted to a committee. Those in that committee who favored the bill, moved that it be reported out with approval. That was voted down. Then they moved it be reported out with disapproval. That was voted down. Then they moved that it be voted out, without either approval or disapproval. That was voted down. The Senate committee simply said "The United States Senate shall not even consider the question whether the manacles shall be taken off the wrists of Filipino industry." There ought to arise such a storm of indignation from the American people that the hopes of Secretary Taft and the President of the United States shall be fulfilled and that measure brought out for public discussion and determination in the Senate of the United States. I venture to say that if it once gets into the open session of the Senate of the United States, not even the beet sugar industry can talk it to death. First law vigorously maintained and enforced, protecting persons and property. On the whole that is as well done to-day in the Philippine Islands as in any other border country of that kind could be expected to be done, after such experiences as the Islands have passed through. Second, law for the promotion of industry primarily by giving an open market to the industrious Filipino. That yet remains to be done.

Third, a system of education, having for its aim the development of self-government in the Filipino people. The end of law is not merely to protect property as it already exists, it is not merely to promote the acquisition of property for the future, it is still more to develop human character, and the secret of human character lies in the will and the fundamental quality of a child of God, is the power to control himself. Until he can bit and bridle himself; until he can ride and drive himself he is something less than a man. Until a community can govern itself, until it can bit and bridle itself, it is something less than a free people. Mr. Alleyne Ireland, whose volumes on the colonial administration are recognized as authority by all scholars, contends that the Oriental people never can be taught to govern themselves, and I think it is a fair statement to make, that no nation has ever before undertaken to teach another people to

govern themselves. Countries have been taken for exploitation by selfish governments, countries have been governed wisely and justly and fairly, as on the whole India and Egypt are to-day by Great Britain. But Great Britain, the greatest colonial power in the world has not even attempted to teach the fellahs of Egypt or the peasants of India the art of self-government. Ladies and gentlemen, over against Mr. Ireland's statement that there is any people in the world that cannot be taught self-government, I simply reply, "Belief in the dormant capacity of all men for self-government is not only a political doctrine of the American people, it is their religious faith, and we are going on with this experiment until we prove whether our faith be sound or no. For such self-government, no mere literary, mechanical, industrial art or professional education suffices. Mr. Huxley has defined education in some such terms as this. I quote not with exactitude but from memory. He says "Education is instruction in the laws of nature," in which terms I include the laws of human nature as well as of the physical world, and an earnest and loving obedience to those laws. Nothing less than this will I call education, no matter what may be the authority opposing me." Earnest and loving obedience to the laws of God is religion, and nothing is education that does not educate the motive powers as well as the intellectual powers, that is, that is not religious. The power to develop the motive powers, to put reverence and faith, and hope, and love on top, and appetite and self-indulgence and licentiousness, and avarice and vanity, under foot, the power that does that whether it be Catholic or Protestant or Jewish or Christian or Mohammedan or what not, is a religious power, and wherever that is done, there religion is at work. This is the fourth thing we must carry to the Filipinos: a religion so tied to life that it will teach not merely reverence to God in the cathedral, but justice, fair dealing and kindly sympathy to man in the field and in the shop. How a great population like our own, with great heterogeneous opinions about religion and great varieties of expression of religion can unite in promoting the religious spirit in the hearts and lives of men is one of the great problems of the American democracy. I am not inclined to abandon the problem because it is difficult. I am not inclined to give it up and draw a sharp line and say, "All on that side is religious and all on that side is secular, let the schools take care of the secular and the churches of the religious training." Religion is not on any side of any line; it is the whole of life, or it is nothing. I am not inclined to think we shall promote the religious life, that is the life of faith and hope and love, by dividing the country up into geographical sections and giving to men who have one form of expression of that life one section, and another people, who have another form of that life another section.

I learned last spring in this room a lesson on Christian unity. We met here, an assemblage somewhat larger than this, to consider how peace on earth could be promoted among the nations. I call that a Christian aim; remembering the songs at Bethlehem, do not you? In co-operation in an endeavor to promote that Christian aim, were Jews, and Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and Methodists, and Baptists, and Friends, and I know not how many others. We had morning prayers in this room every morning. One morning the prayer was offered by a Roman Catholic Cardinal, one morning by an Episcopalian Bishop, one morning by a Congregational minister, and every morning the scripture was read by a Quaker, and every morning all the denominations here gathered joined in singing the hymn. So what I want to see in the Philippines is not a Roman Catholic Church, nor a Protestant Church, but Roman Catholic and Protestant working together for the common benefit of the common people in the same spirit in which the archbishop has taught we can work here.

When this four-fold work has been done, and the Filipino people have come to a national consciousness and a capacity for self-government, then it will be for them to show whether they wish for affiliation with this nation or no. If they do, and we can agree on the terms, they shall have it. If they do not, there will not be a corporal guard left in the United States who would wish to force it on them.

To sum all up. Our duty toward the Filipinos is to give them just law, vigorously enforced, for the protection of persons and property; to give them such legislation as will promote their industry, by assuring them of adequate reward for it; to educate them in the fundamental law of nature and of human nature,—that is, the laws of God; and to develop in them that spirit of justice and mercy, and reverence, which are the essentials of religion. And only on these four foundation stones, law, industry, education and religion is a free state ever to be built. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The discussion of Philippine affairs will be continued by Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, Editor of the Independent.

ADDRESS OF REV. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I wish to lay down a basal principle which has to do with the relation of us English-speaking Anglo-Saxon people, with what we sometimes call the dependent or the belated races. There are those among us who look upon them with an absolute contempt. They think of them as inferior people, bound to be inferior, and they call them

by various indelicate terms,—“dago,” “nigger,” whatever it may be that expresses the feeling, and then they are surprised that those people do not love them. There is another sentiment which is expressed in another way, a more delicate way, by many people who have literary culture, and a certain amount of moral culture, I will say, and who look upon them perhaps with supercilious superiority. They regard them as something really below them, but admit that they should be treated with a sort of common affection, just as you might love a dog perhaps. You treat him well, but treat him as something that never can be expected to reach to your own elevated station. I think that it is a very great principle of importance, that we should take the biblical position which regards God not simply as a Father of us all, but all of us as brethren. We are not to assume that any race or any people, because it is belated in culture, is for that reason incapable of being as decent as we ourselves.

Here is probably the most difficult lesson which you can teach an Anglo-Saxon. There are very few Anglo-Saxons who will come up to the doctrine of equality for other races. We have read in one of our leading magazines, within the last month or so, an article to show that a race from Africa can never reach the culture or the purity of the English-speaking people, for example, or of Caucasians, for the reason that there is some kind of a structure about their brain-pan, or their brain inside of that, which will never allow them to reach our eminence. I happen to know that there are plenty of men who have studied that matter, who take an entirely different position. It does not follow even because a race is smaller in stature they have not capabilities which are very fairly to be compared with anything that we have who are perhaps a few inches taller. And if we take that basis even, there are plenty of these undeveloped races that are at least as large in stature and have as big heads and as much brain inside of them, perhaps not yet cultivated, as those who consider themselves superior. We have learned already that a small race, a yellow race, can compare with us, not simply in the arts of war, but in the arts of culture. In science there are Japanese that stand up fairly beside our high, honored, college professors in any of the arts of science. They go to our best universities in Europe or America, and they stand beside the best of our pupils. They go back to their own country and establish their own universities, publish their own scientific magazines, make their own discoveries in chemistry, etc., equal to anything we can do. The little Japanese can do it,—those diminutive people, as we used to call them, until they whipped the Russians.

Then what can we say of other races? I hold that it is a first principle which we represent here at Mohonk and which I believe the Christian religion represents, that all of us are brethren;

and it is not for us to say that even the man of tinted skin is not capable of becoming manly and noble, and able to govern himself.

I was much pleased with what Dr. Abbott has said in reference to the contrast between our attempt in the Philippines, and the attempt of the British and other nations, to raise a standard of self-government. He is right. Ours is the first example in all modern history, or in all ancient history, and it is a magnificent ambition. It is the broadest thing almost that I know of in all modern history that we are attempting, believing that the Filipinos, by education and culture, can be made, not only capable of obeying law, but of creating law; and I hope that that noble task will be carried on and maintained.

Think of the unrest, the disturbance, the fighting, which is coming all over the world, just because of the contempt which the Caucasian peoples have had for those that are beginning to rise, and are determined to rise. A race question is generally nothing but this, if you can come to understand it, simply this: How can a people be kept down that is trying to get up? That is the whole center of any race question in this country or anywhere else; how can a people be kept down that wants to come up? How can a people get up that we are trying to keep down? The great danger in the Philippines, which explains why we do not have the sympathy on the part of the Filipino people,—and we do not have it,—is that the governing power, not the attitude of the government here at Washington, not the attitude of Governor Taft (I won't say that of all his successors), has not been one of kindly equal fellowship. There is in the Philippine Islands to-day a constant conflict of opinion between those who represent the army and those who represent the civil government; those who represent the army generally feel that you must keep the people down; you must use force; that it is a great mistake to have this civil government offered them and that the experiment should not be continued. The military opinion generally is that of Mr. Alleyne Ireland, which has been spoken of by Dr. Abbott; they hold that theory which the British Government holds toward its governed colonies. Ours is very different. I believe that the great thing that we have to do in the Philippine Islands is to establish civil government, to withdraw just as far and as fast as possible the power of the military. I want to have the Islands get out from under it.

A word as to what then seems to me are the important things to be done. I say in the first place, get rid of the military power as far as possible, and let the civil government be developed and carried on by those who are in sympathy with the people, and believe the people can be made to rule themselves. In the next place I want to say one word about the education. I do not think much needs to be said about that for we are doing admirably in

that respect, so far as I can judge. The question is difficult, and questions come up that have to do with religious relations; and that brings me to the others who are bound with the religious work that is to be carried on in the Philippine Islands. Dr. Abbott and others know very well how difficult that religious question has been in the Philippines, and that matter has been made more difficult sometimes, and sometimes been helped very much by the relation of our Catholic authorities in this country to it. There have been very serious and very difficult matters that have had to come up and which have even gone so far as to compel us, with the cordial assent of our Protestant people, to send a commission under Mr. Taft to Rome to settle the matter with the Pope there. I do not think that our people fully understand, as perhaps they might, what is the force of that Aglipay movement. I wish we had here others to speak on this subject, for example, such a man as Mr. LeRoy, who was so long there. I wish we had President Schurman to speak on that and other subjects, a man who knows so much of the matter, but I will say that the feeling in the Philippine Islands in reference to the Catholic Church, is not one of essential hostility, but there has been enormous and general expression of hostility to those who have been representatives of the Catholic Church, because they have been also representatives of the Spanish government. That Aglipay movement is a revolt not against the Catholic Church primarily, but a revolt against those who have represented the Catholic Church; and the difficulty in reference to that seems to me is one which should have the attention of the Philippine Commission, possibly somewhat more than it has had. The Aglipay movement does not represent a few thousand, it represents even millions, millions of people who have gone into that movement, so that it might be said perhaps almost, say a year ago, to represent nearly the whole of the more intelligent Filipino population. The Catholic Church has had good sense. It has sent men there, Americans to represent them, and I have no doubt that the effect of it will be very much to withdraw the people from the Aglipay movement.

We want a ferment religiously, intellectually, spiritually and politically. In the Philippine Islands they have had a certain sort of political ferment, perhaps more than they need, but we want a ferment in reference to intellectual and religious interests. There is nothing like a religious ferment to set people to thinking, which lifts them up, which makes them able to have self-control, self-government. It is unfortunate for a people not to have had religious ferment. Their minds must be active; they must think and decide about things. If you were to read that extraordinary Senate Document 190, for 1901, I think that the account of the condition of the church there would interest and surprise you.

Another thing we want is, that the Commission there shall exercise great care in reference to the American element there engaged in the civil pursuits; men in business. When we go to the Philippines, so far as I understand it, there is a great difficulty and an evil sentiment very often among the Americans who are engaged there, some of them in business, and some, a large number, attaches of one sort and another. Here is one of the evils that are to be guarded against, and our people have to fight against an evil American influence there, just as Marquis Ito's chief trouble in Korea is with his own lawless Japanese.

I want to express my great satisfaction with what Dr. Abbott has said about the American Senate, the duty of Congress to work not for a tobacco interest in Kentucky, or in Virginia, not for a sugar interest and beet sugar interest in Colorado, or a cane sugar interest in Louisiana but for the Filipino people. We have absolutely no right to consider the interests and the desires and the wealth of our people when we are trying to rule for the benefit of the Filipino people; and I have a great assurance that our American people have done noble work thus far on the whole (though I give more praise to the government than I do to the general run of the people), that our American people and our government as a whole, have had an altruistic desire, that the main reason for doing what they have done there has been altruistic, and I trust that the public sentiment will insist that that altruism shall become more developed and there shall be less and less selfishness on the part of our people and our Congress in all the management of the Philippines. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are fortunate in having with us a Rear Admiral of the United States Navy, who has seen extended service in the Philippines. I wish to call on Rear Admiral Franklin Hanford.

REAR ADMIRAL FRANKLIN HANFORD (U. S. N., retired) spoke briefly concerning his experiences while Commandant of the United States Naval Station at Cavite, on Manila Bay, from 1900 to 1902. He said that he found the Filipinos courteous, temperate and, as a rule, industrious. His experience was that the natives had *capacity* for any kind of work and that many of them had the persistence to work faithfully and continuously. He spoke highly of the American teachers in the Philippine Islands and attributed their success largely to their sympathy with the people. He had left the Islands with a feeling of friendship for the people, and respect for their many good qualities.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have with us another naval officer, Commander Edward J. Dorn, U. S. N., who has had experience with one of our smaller dependencies, Samoa, and we would be glad to hear a few words from him.

COMMANDER EDWARD J. DORN: *Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I do not think that I can contribute much to either the profit or the pleasure of this Conference by relating my experience in Samoa. I can, however, call to mind a fact which is very often forgotten, even in the post-office, that we have somewhere in the South Pacific Ocean, a colony of peaceful, kindly, lazy and very religious people, who welcomed annexation with great enthusiasm. I was sent down as one of the very first officers, and was in contact with the people for a period of about one year. I found in them all the characteristics that I have mentioned, and also a most intense desire on the part of all of them to learn the English language. The clamor seemed to be for schools. A London mission had sent its missionaries there some eighty years before, and most of the Samoans, at the time of our arrival, were quite able to read and write. They knew the Bible very thoroughly and were very punctilious in many of the outward observances which the Bible called for. They never sat down to a meal without chanting a grace, and they carried out some of the old customs of the Bible, which are to us at this present time interesting, if not laughable.

The desire of these people for education in English was markedly shown on all occasions. Once the natives got together a fund of several thousand dollars, which they collected from sales of copra, and in that way, the men doing the work themselves, and others pledging themselves to furnish the school with food for a year, free of cost, they built a very creditable edifice at Leone Bay to which about one hundred girls were sent from the various districts and educated free of cost, including the living. It was unfortunate that in response to an application to the government to have some teachers sent down even at a very small expense, a reply came that there was no money available for that purpose, but I believe that since my departure, which was about three years ago, the government has sent down a chaplain, and has instituted some schools; of that, however, I am not quite certain. The great need seemed to be for medical missionaries. At the time I was there, the native children suffered from the usual diseases of children, but could have the services of a doctor only during the presence of the ship stationed in Pago Pago. When that ship went to Australia for coal, the natives were entirely without medical assistance. I think, therefore, that a medical missionary would probably be more successful than one who simply preaches.

These Islands have been constituted a naval station by order of the late President McKinley, comprising all the islands of the group which we took over at the time of the partition of Samoa, and the government of the islands and welfare of their people lies entirely in the naval department. Therefore, it would be very unbecoming for me either to praise or criticize its action

there. But I think everything is being done to make the people appreciate the blessings of having come under the American government. They had their laws established under the first commandant, which work very successfully, which have gone very far towards supplanting the native laws of the country which are simple and purely feudal in principle, towards establishing the marriage relation and descent of property and curtailing the arbitrary power of the chiefs.

REV. DR. WILLIAM ELLIOTT GRIFFIS, of Ithaca, N. Y., also spoke. His excellent address dealt largely with Japan, a subject without the scope of the Conference, and is therefore not printed in this report.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to have a report from the Committee appointed at the Conference last year to memorialize Congress in favor of national aid to education in our territories and dependencies. The report will be presented by Dr. Lyman Abbott.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO MEMORIALIZE CONGRESS IN FAVOR OF NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION IN THE TERRITORIES.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT: Your Committee appointed last year to memorialize Congress in favor of National Aid to Education in the Territories and Insular Possessions of the United States of America, respectfully reports:

That the memorial hereto attached was presented last winter to Congress. So far as your Committee knows, no action has been taken in either House on the Memorial, and in view of the pressure of other matters of immediate importance, probably no action could have been anticipated. Your Committee recommend that they be authorized by this Conference to communicate this Memorial to the President of the United States, and that Dr. Merrill E. Gates, who resides in Washington, be authorized, on behalf of the Conference, to urge it upon the attention of either or both Houses of Congress if at any time an opportunity should come which is, in his judgment, favorable for so doing. The attention of your Committee has been called to the facts that a bill is pending in Congress to return to Hawaii, in whole or in part, the revenue derived from tariff dues collected at the Island Custom Houses, and that this bill has been strongly endorsed by the President, and the action of this Conference has been invoked in behalf of this measure. Your Committee strongly recommends this request to the favorable consideration of the Conference. A bill has also passed both Houses of Congress, but at different Congresses, extending to Porto Rico the provisions of the Morrill-Hatch Acts which your Committee would be glad to see the Conference endorse.

October 18, 1906.

LYMAN ABBOTT,
CHAS. F. MESERVE,
M. G. BRUMBAUGH,
SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,
MERRILL E. GATES,
AZEL AMES.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

The undersigned were appointed a Committee by the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference to memorialize Congress in favor of National Aid to education in the Territories and Insular possessions of the United States, wherever such aid is necessary to serve the present and future welfare of its people, and especially and specifically in the Island of Porto Rico. The undersigned, in the fulfillment of this duty, beg leave to lay before Congress for its consideration, the following facts and principles:

(1) At the time of the American occupation there had not been a single school-house constructed for school purposes and but one public building owned and used for school purposes in Porto Rico; (2) There are, in round numbers, seventy thousand children now in school; (3) There are three hundred thousand children of school age unprovided for; (4) Porto Rico is a part of the United States, and the United States ought in some way to make provision for those three hundred thousand children, providing, if necessary, for their education out of the Federal treasury.

The churches cannot educate these children, because they have not the means. For the same reason, Porto Rico cannot educate them. Its poverty makes this impossible. Only very slowly can the people of Porto Rico hope to acquire the means which will enable them to provide and equip a public school system. Their poverty will keep them ignorant; their ignorance will keep them poor. These people are, if not citizens of the United States, subjects of the United States. Having taken them under our guardianship, we do not fulfill our whole duty toward them by simply protecting their civil rights from domestic violence or foreign assault. It is our duty to equip them for self-government at the earliest practicable moment. Popular education is the basis of popular government, and the United States ought to frame and carry out some systematic plan for laying the foundation of popular government, by popular education, in Porto Rico.

The same principles apply with equal force to the Indian Territory. If the Federal Government prohibits taxation of Indian lands, it should provide either out of the Federal treasury or out of the tribal funds, an equivalent for that taxation. It is not right that the local community should bear the burden of the Indians in their neighborhood. That would be a national, not a local, burden.

The same principle which demands that the rich people in a school district should pay taxes to support schools for all the people, demands that the nation should, if necessary, tax itself to secure schools for acquired territory like that of Porto Rico, and schools for the United States Territories which have not yet reached such a stage of self-support and self-government that they are able to provide and administer their own schools. It should be counted as a National disgrace that in any part of this land, under the American flag, children should be growing up in enforced ignorance, to become waifs and strays in childhood, and in later life tramps, vagabonds, and criminals.

Whether National aid to education in the Territories should be given by providing adequate Normal schools for the education of teachers, or by the maintenance of equipment for industrial education, which is always expensive and yet is of the first economic importance, or by appropriations proportioned to the amount raised by the people of the Territory, and left to be expended as the people of the Territory shall think best, we do not here discuss. We simply urge upon Congress the two principles: first, that universal education is the basis of Republican institutions, and therefore, second, wherever the Nation is responsible for the government of a Territory and its preparation to be ultimately a self-governing community, it ought to see to it that the Ter-

ritory is equipped with a system adequate for the education of all children of school age in the Territory.

February, 1906.

LYMAN ABBOTT, Chairman,
CHAS. F. MESERVE, Secretary,
MERRILL E. GATES,
SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,
MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH,
AZEL AMES.

The report presented by Dr. Abbott was referred to the Business Committee of the Conference.

DR. MERRILL E. GATES, of Washington, D. C., called attention to the fact that there was being held at Brussels an international conference on the question of prohibiting the sale of intoxicants and opium to uncivilized peoples, and suggested that the Conference send a cablegram of approval to Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, one of the American delegates to that Conference. Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark, President of the Christian Endeavor Society, also spoke along the same line.

After a brief discussion, the Conference voted to send the following cablegram:

"CRAFTS, Brussels:

Mohonk Conference, emphatically condemning use of and traffic in opium and intoxicants, most cordially endorses Senate Resolution of January 4th, 1906."

The Senate resolution referred to in the cablegram reads as follows:

"In the opinion of this body (the United States Senate) the time has come when the principle, twice affirmed in international treaties for Central Africa, that native races should be prevented against the destructive traffic in intoxicants, should be extended to all uncivilized peoples by the enactment of such laws and the making of such treaties as will effectually prohibit the sale by the signatory powers to aboriginal tribes and uncivilized races of opium and intoxicating beverages."

The Conference then adjourned until 8 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday evening, October 18, 1906.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are to-night to discuss the Hawaiian Islands. The first speaker will be HON. F. M. HATCH, one of Honolulu's leading lawyers, who was Secretary of State of, and United States Minister from, the Republic of Hawaii, and later a Justice of the Hawaiian Supreme Court.

CONDITIONS IN HAWAII.

ADDRESS OF HON. F. M. HATCH.

The problems of the day in Hawaii are industrial only. No political questions, other than of a purely local nature, exist. Hawaii has accomplished her political destiny to the point of having become a part of the Union as an organized territory, to which the Constitution has been formally extended by Act of Congress.

The story of Hawaii is most interesting. It is too well known to justify taking your time to repeat. Certain features, however, stand out with prominence being uncommon in the history of the contact of civilization with an aboriginal race, and are worthy of passing mention. First, it may be noted that the Hawaiian ranked high in intelligence among the primitive races. He possessed an adaptability to civilization and had, in fact, achieved a certain degree of civilization himself. He was not a nomad. He practised agriculture and that of a high order, his principal crop being cultivated with irrigation. He developed water leads and irrigation ditches. These he conducted with such a degree of accuracy that many of them are in use to this day. He also established a minute and detailed system of water rights, dividing water for irrigation by hours, according to the area of the land entitled to it, which is also in use to-day. From the water right he evolved both the idea of, and name for, law.

The Hawaiian would undoubtedly have made further progress towards civilization, had his intellectual development not been held in check by a most dismal and cruel religion which prevented independence of thought and enslaved him with innumerable superstitions. When freed from this blight by the introduction of Christianity, many fine traits of character developed. The early Kings and Chiefs were notably worthy and self-respecting men who sought enlightenment, and strove to build up their race

and to develop their institutions in accordance with civilized ideas.

The harmonious and sympathetic relations which developed at a very early day in the intercourse between the races is another striking feature in Hawaiian history. Here we see the quite unusual spectacle of a white race coming among a primitive people, and building up and supporting a native dynasty, helping it to advance on constitutional lines until it finally became developed into an organized government having a judiciary and executive department with clearly defined jurisdiction, and became worthy of, and obtained recognition among the family of nations. Instead of seeking to dispossess native rule, the latter was supported for half a century by the new-comers. Native Hawaiians and white men have stood shoulder to shoulder in many a legislature and in more than one constitutional convention in the fight for good government and the extension of individual rights. The result has been that the kindly relations have stood the jolt of the few occasions when race interests have been in conflict. The rocky places in the story have been worked through with the minimum amount of ill feeling at the time, and with no heritage of bad blood. Nowhere in the world has there been less race feeling. No social discrimination has been drawn on race lines. The political rights of both races are identical. Elections are conducted without intimidation; in fact, native Hawaiians elect a majority in the lower house of the legislature and the delegate in Congress; the present incumbent having run as a Republican.

Hawaii stands alone among the newly acquired possessions of the United States in her experience in self-government. It has been extensive and varied. She has met each question as it has arisen, and has solved her problems without outside help.

It must not be concluded, however, that because our political condition is satisfactory that Hawaii is now on her feet and can be left to work out her destiny by her own unaided efforts. Her problems, as I have stated, are industrial ones; but they are serious and not easy of solution. Briefly stated, they are—(1) How to develop a diversity of industries; (2) How to obtain a larger population, especially of farmers.

Hawaii is essentially a farming country. Its agricultural development, up to this time, has been chiefly in the line of sugar production. Endowed by nature with a soil and climate unsurpassed for the growth of this crop, great ingenuity and vast amounts of capital have been expended in securing water for irrigation, without which the crop in some districts would be impossible, and in many others precarious. The irrigation works of the Islands are on a scale rarely undertaken by private interests and are a monument to enterprise of the community. These works have brought under cultivation large areas which

otherwise would have been barren. Crops have been increased until the output now aggregates four hundred thousand tons per annum. Considering the paucity of the population, 150,000 all told, this achievement has a record character. Immediately following annexation the development of this industry was undoubtedly too rapid. Inspired by the hope of permanent prosperity under the new conditions, and believing that stability in business as well as in political conditions had been attained, practically the whole community invested its savings in new sugar plantations. In the capital much new building was undertaken and many small enterprises started. An era of apparent great prosperity followed. While the development was in progress, employment in all lines was readily obtained. Wages were high and mechanics flocked into the Territory. When the new works undertaken were completed many workmen were thrown out of employment and large numbers returned to the main land. The wave of prosperity receded; conditions assumed a normal basis. The difficulty at that time was to determine what was a normal basis. These sharp fluctuations were successfully met by the business community. Though hard pressed for a time, no financial crash followed. The excess of energy displayed in developing new enterprises was followed by steady, persistent application and great constancy of purpose in the determination to carry through the new undertakings, and to bring them to a successful issue. The danger of depending, however, solely on one crop was emphasized. At a very early period following annexation it was recognized that the need of a variety of crops was great. Constant efforts have been made to find new crops suitable to the support of the small farmer. Coffee, sisal, pine-apples, tobacco, and rubber have all been tried with varying degrees of success. The community is on the alert to discover and foster any species of agriculture which will help to afford the diversity of crops desired. It is obvious, however, that the established industry cannot be abandoned. For years to come the chief reliance must be placed on the sugar crop. That is the crop which pays the taxes and furnishes the revenue required to maintain our institutions. Hawaii cannot afford to lose the capital she has invested in sugar. Her first great problem is therefore, how to shape an advance on new industrial lines while preserving the old. The great menace to Hawaii's sugar industry obviously lies in the abrogation of tariff on Philippine or Cuban sugars or in the annexation of these islands. Cuba is capable of producing enough sugar to supply the total consumption of the United States and, if annexed, would drive the American growers to the wall. In the Philippines the industry is capable of indefinite expansion. The cost of production is there so small, owing to excessively cheap labor and the escape from the necessity of expensive irrigation, Hawaii could not hope to compete with it, nor could the beet

growers on the main land. At present sugar is not a crop of the first importance to the Philippines. They have four other good crops—rice, copra, tobacco and their unrivalled hemp. Hawaii at present is dependent on sugar alone as its chief staple.

In Hawaii it seems unreasonable to excessively stimulate the sugar industry in the Philippines at the expense of impairing or destroying it in the United States. Again, the Philippines not being a part of the fiscal system of the United States, do not bear their share of the burdens of that system. They, therefore, are not justly entitled to the benefits of it. There does not seem to be equity in permitting them to purchase their machinery and supplies in a foreign market, escaping the payment of American duties, and to sell their produce in the United States with the full benefit of the duty on that product. It is easy to be carried away by our enthusiasm and to approve of altruistic ideas without duly weighing results. Business prudence would lead us to hesitate before taking a course which would probably destroy a great home industry in which some \$200,000,000 have been invested. The total abrogation of the duty on Philippine sugars threatens harm to the thousands of American farmers and investors who have put their money and time into sugar beets and cane on the main land and in Hawaii out of all proportion to the benefit which would result to the Filipino people. The great mass of the Filipinos, the laboring people, the class you wish to help and favor, would be the class who would derive the least benefit from the sugar business even if it should be developed on a large scale in their islands. It would seem that sufficient tariff concessions could be granted to the Philippines to induce prosperity there on lines which would not create destructive competition with home industries.

Closely allied to the problems of diversified industries is that of securing a larger farming population. It was hoped that following the flag would come an immigration of farmers from the main land, who would take up the public lands, and who, in addition to brawn and muscle, would bring into the country sturdy qualities of character which would strengthen our electorate as well as build up the country. To our great disappointment any considerable immigration of this nature has not been obtained. Hawaii alone of the outlying possessions offers a field for colonization on a large scale. Instead of a population of 150,000, her seven thousand square miles ought to support half a million people. She alone of the new possessions offers opportunities to the American home-seeker under laws and conditions harmonious with those on the main land. Hawaii, so far, by her own efforts, has not been able to start such a tide of immigration or of migration. The very serious question arises, can Congress bring it about? A development of the coffee industry has been suggested. If coffee growing could be put on a paying

basis, by a duty or otherwise, it would undoubtedly attract farmers and go far towards solving the problem. Hawaii produces a coffee of a very high grade. The low price in the world's markets has prevented its success as an industry. Coffee alone, however, could scarcely save the situation. Some further remedy must be devised.

Hawaii is not waiting to have her immigration problem solved for her; she is doing what she can to get a desirable class of settlers. Efforts are being made to obtain European immigration—people suitable to become citizens.

There is much reason to believe that a large part of the cane growing of the Islands might be done by such people either as day laborers or preferably on small holdings of their own, they selling their cane to the mills. It does not follow from the fact that this work has hitherto been done chiefly by Asiatics that there is room for them only in the country. Even in the cane fields there is more work than we have hands to perform, and in other lines the field is open to the European. There is no reason why the homesteads should not be taken up by Americans or Europeans. The various industries which would develop in connection with such settlement ought to furnish employment for the latter. The problem here is to so shape conditions that the public lands may be rapidly taken up by the right people.

In addition to a farming population, Hawaii offers many inducements to the home seeker who desires a mild climate and an escape from the rigors of winter. A very interesting movement in this connection is now being pressed in Honolulu. I refer to the work of the Hawaiian Promotion Committee. Hawaii has such attractions of climate and scenery, unrivalled in many respects, it is firmly believed that if people can be persuaded to come and see for themselves, the battle will be half won. As was the case in Southern California, a heavy stream of travel is sure to bring some home-seekers with it. The Hawaiian Promotion Committee is displaying great energy in attempting to increase and care for this class of travelers.

Conditions in Hawaii differ in so many respects from those on the main land that frequent occasion arises for special legislation in Hawaii's interest. Congress, in the plenitude of its power over the Territories, would seem to possess ample authority to meet each new need as it arises. It was obvious to all at the time the Joint Resolution of annexation was passed that the land laws of the United States would not be suitable to conditions in Hawaii, and it was provided that these laws should not be extended there. One marked difference lay in the fact that a considerable portion of the public domain in Hawaii consisted of improved land which was a source of income to the government. Another situation calling for special legislation is found in the matter of the Federal revenues from the Internal

Revenue and customs receipts. A million and a quarter of dollars in hard money is each year taken out of our community through these two sources. This constitutes a heavy drain upon our supply of circulating medium. It tends to keep up the rate of interest and hampers business in many ways. A movement was put on foot, which received the favorable endorsement of the President, to have three-fourths of such revenues set apart in the Treasury as a fund for expenditure in Hawaii for public improvements; the other fourth being ample to meet the cost of administration of the Territory, so far as the same is a Federal charge. A bill for this purpose passed the Senate at the last session, and is now pending before the House. Another instance of the necessity of special treatment is to be found in the matter of immigration legislation. It is of the greatest importance to Hawaii that no prohibition should be enacted against the power of a Territory to assist immigration by furnishing transportation, or contributing to the same.

It must be obvious to you that many of Hawaii's problems are beyond the power of determination by her own unaided efforts. I can at least assure you that all classes in Hawaii are alive to the necessity of concerted action and are bending their best efforts to accomplish results. They also rely with confidence upon the kindly interest taken in their welfare by their friends on the main land.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear of Hawaii's needs from Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, son of an early missionary, who was born and has spent most of his life in Hawaii, and who for many years was Secretary of the Hawaiian Board of Missions.

THE NEEDS OF HAWAII.

ADDRESS OF REV. OLIVER P. EMERSON.

The theme suggested to me was that of the needs of Hawaii. Those needs are many and may be considered at this Conference from different points of view—the political, social, moral, religious and economic. Yet surely the different views converge in one—the need of influences that make for high ideals—such influences as shall advance the common interests and help the various races who inhabit those fair islands to dwell together righteously and happily and unite in building a state which shall be worthy of its place in the great American Republic.

First let us consider the different races that are brought together in that isolated centre, far from any mainland—a group of islands with an area little larger than the state of Connecticut, with a population of about 140,000.

There are the aboriginal Polynesian people, now numbering about 40,000, who, only three generations removed from bar-

barism, have shown their inability to develop the resources of Hawaii and cope unaided with the forces which, for over a century, have come to them from other lands. They have been greatly benefitted and they have greatly suffered by contact with the different elements of our Anglo-Saxon civilization. They have been blessed by the white man's virtues and cursed by his vices. The missionary and the honorable business man came among that people, as a forlorn hope, after they had suffered from forty years of helpless exposure to the worst influences of civilization—and a remnant was saved.

These men were the ancestors of the English and American Hawaiians, whose Homeland Hawaii has been for three or four generations. They and their sons have given it its character and, by their leadership, built up a state. Long before the states of the Pacific Coast and many others west of the Mississippi River were colonized, these islands were colonized by these men of pure Anglo-Saxon American blood, consecrated to the highest ideals of America, as assuredly as were the settlers of Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay. Indeed many, if not most of the colonists, were descendants of these earlier men. They inherited their sturdy New England principles and ideals and, actuated by earnest desire to bring freedom of faith to the Polynesian, their relation has been a more paternal one to that race, than was ever conceived by Puritan or Pilgrim towards the American Indian.

The natives could not furnish these white men with the labor necessary for developing the resources of the country, and so Asiatics were called into requisition, who now are a large factor in the Hawaiian problem. We have been wont to call them pagans and heathen, but in our growing acquaintance with the world's peoples we have learned to be careful in the use of these terms. They brought with them an example of industry, thrift and persistence which the Hawaiian needed—characteristics which, united with Christian principles, make the Chinaman a marked man. A small contingent of Chinamen had profited by missionary instruction in their own country before landing in Hawaii. In one shipload of laborers there were nearly a hundred Christians. These Christian Chinamen in Hawaii have proved a leaven among their people, which is most valuable to the able white men who are leading the steady march of Christianity among the Chinese in Hawaii.

In 1865 there were but 1200 Asiatics, all of whom were Chinese. Fifteen years later there were 20,000 Chinese. Since then the Japanese have been coming and now number over 60,000. During the eighties came the Portuguese mainly from the Azores and Madeira. They came with their Roman Catholic training and have shown themselves thrifty home-builders and now number 12,000 and more. Among Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese there has been active, successful work done by the Protestant

Missions, which appeal to you for aid in their great work on this American soil.

With the aid of these people the American, English and German elements, now forming from 8,000 to 10,000 of the population, have been enabled to develop the resources of these fertile islands, and Hawaii has been a part of the great world movement of the last quarter of a century towards material development. This has had its far-reaching benefits and has greatly increased the power of Hawaii's best citizens. But for her honorable merchants and planters and the Christian workers of the various missions which these have helped to maintain, Hawaii would have been lost. They met the rising Kahumaism of the days of Kamehameha V and Kalakaua, which was bearing the natives back to heathen practices, ruinous to both mind and body, and after a fierce struggle put it down. The Rev. James Bicknell did a wonderful work at that time in turning the attention of the native Christians to this great evil, and in leading them to oppose it. And it was the white citizens of Hawaii, followed by the best of the natives, who met the evil tendencies of the last days of the monarchy and swept those tendencies and the corrupt monarchy aside. And now, as an integral part of this Union, they face with you of the Mainland, the world-problems of to-day.

The question of safeguarding the interests of the natives has been one to which the colonists of Hawaii have given serious, careful attention. I am glad of the opportunity to give my testimony here that I believe no people on earth have been treated with more consideration than the natives of Hawaii. I was born and spent my youth among them and have worked with them during the last seventeen years. I long for their perpetuity and best development—I know well their language, traditions and character and feel a deep affection for them. I am familiar with the story of the Hawaiian mission, of which my father and mother were a part, and with the labors of its good men and women and the institutions they built. I know also the princely gifts bestowed on that people, and I doubt if any aboriginal people ever received from strangers a more paternal care.

The most apparent need of Hawaii, as with every state and territory of the Union, is that of more upright, independent, machine-free voters. The franchise is granted equally to the native and the white man. The former needs no further political privileges; he has now more than he can handle; under the territorial government he has more civil rights than he ever enjoyed in the days of the monarchy. In a letter to Wm. McKinley, written by a full blooded native, the speaker of the Hawaiian House of Representatives at the time of the assassination of President McKinley, we find this statement, "As Americans we have more rights than as Hawaiians we ever had, even under the best gov-

ernment of our chosen sovereigns." Indeed these rights have handicapped the development of Hawaii, for they are not employed by the natives to their advantage. The natives are unduly excited by political strife and are tempted by the allurements of government office to turn from independent, productive industry. The public treasury is too frequently regarded as an institution established for personal support.

Two years ago the Hawaiians, led by demagogues, by their preponderating vote forced county government upon the land, not because it was needed, but in interest of graft and to multiply offices. Wise men opposed the measure, till, forced by the ignorant and unscrupulous majority, they turned to give the country the best county government they could formulate in the short time granted. This false move costs the Islands an additional \$250,000 a year. There are now three kinds of government to be supported by that sparse population. The national, the territorial and the county governments, with the chance in Honolulu and possibly in Hilo, of a fourth, a city government. This preponderating power in politics is a grave misfortune, not only to the territory at large, but also to the natives themselves. They find it so easy to settle down on the government for their living, as so many of them do, to neglect of honest industry.

Honest industry! That is what Hawaii needs from her aboriginal people—not enough productive work is done by them. The white man is a worker, the Portuguese is a worker, so is the Asiatic, but there are too many idle Hawaiians.

It is not every native that is idle—the industry of some is most commendable. While Secretary of the Hawaiian Board of Missions I used to receive regularly a most munificent contribution for its foreign work from a native farmer who was a coffee planter. He kept persistently at his work and made a success of it, where others failed. He was but one of many such hard working natives in his district.

The Hawaiian is not necessarily lazy. As a sailor he can match any man; as a stevedore and foundryman he can match any man; as a fisherman, tiller of the soil, or ranchman he has peculiar aptitudes. On the plantations he is in special requisition as a handler of teams. But his wants are few. Civilization is still new to him. He has not yet overcome his inheritances. The early Polynesian, though of splendid physique and capable of great activity in war, at games, and in the performance of special services, such as that of the runner, had not the need of persistent industry, and his descendant has yet to learn that lesson. The native surrenders his taro patch to the Chinese rice-planter and his shores to the stirring, bold, ingenious Japanese fisherman. In place of the graceful canoes that once lined the beaches of Hawaii, one now sees, just off the shore, the rocking sampans of the Japanese fishermen. The opportunity for work

is not lacking. The industries of the Islands offer work for all and are constantly seeking good laborers. On the plantations there is a crying lack of them, as you all know, and there are lands untilled which offer rich returns to the wise farmer.

Another sad fact about the native is that, amenable as he is to good influences, he succumbs readily to those which are bad. Gambling and drink were his undoing. A grave need in Hawaii is reform of her liquor laws.

As one step towards counteracting these evils, towards bringing the Hawaiian boy to honest independent work, towards verifying the statement made by one of our leading lawyers that "the Hawaiians have in them the making of American citizens of the type of which none need be ashamed," industrial training should be more strongly emphasized in our system of education. At present the boy too often receives a training that lifts him above his opportunities and makes him unwilling to meet the duties of his station. In many instances it is necessary to rouse in him divine discontent with the mode of life in which he was born. But the awakened ideal must have a stronger practical side. Yet it must give him breadth of horizon as well, and to these ends I plead for further development of industrial training in Hawaii and for small district libraries.

Apart from the Bible and hymn-book, practically no books are to be found in native homes. In the conduct of my work I have travelled the length and breadth of each of the six larger islands of the group many times and I have very rarely found a native home supplied with good reading matter. Yet the natives are fond of reading. They read with avidity their narrow partisan newspapers and from beginning to end the silly, improbable serial stories. But excepting among the whites, good simple English literature is hardly known in Hawaii and is surely needed towards making the youth of Hawaii, of pure and mixed blood, men and women of the 20th century, with moral incentive and an apprehension of life's higher ideals. Though with the middle-aged and older Hawaiians, the mother-tongue is still the only familiar one, the use of English in the schools enables the young men and women of all races to speak and read English. This, added to the decrease in race feeling, owing to the greater stability of government since annexation, renders both educational and missionary work simpler and more effective.

Turning from the consideration of the aboriginal Hawaiian to the broad interests of the land, how further shall Hawaii preserve her integrity as a well-governed territory and a part of the American Republic? It has been suggested that white men cannot labor in her cane-fields or meet the sharp competition of Asiatics in the trades. That therefore there is danger of her becoming Orientalized and un-American. Personally, I believe

that there will always be room in Hawaii for the right sort of mechanics, for men who can do conscientious work and employ and handle workmen of other races.

Let me quote from a recent speech of Hawaii's greatest citizen, Sanford B. Dole, Federal Judge of Hawaii, the only President of the Republic of Hawaii and first Governor of the Territory:

"It appears to me to-night that family after family of this Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic race, in consequence of dullness of trade and pressing competition of Japanese and Chinese, are leaving the islands for the mainland. It is a great loss. I feel that if this diminution of our race goes on the future will be dark. We wish to keep the leavening element of men and women that will make the future all American.

"We should keep the islands under American tendencies. The Promotion Committee is doing all it can to bring people here to stay upon the soil and to come back upon it, but I think that something more radical than that is necessary, and MY FAITH IS IN A WISE DISPOSITION OF THE PUBLIC LANDS OF THE TERRITORY. Mr. Pratt tells me that 263,000 acres of public lands are now available, free of leases, and I think that about one-tenth is suitable for homesteading. The number of acres will be increased very much in a year from now. With 26,000 acres then, there is represented enough land for 500 families, the land being divided into 50-acre farms. I believe that to promote the immigration of American families, giving them the best lands of the country, giving them good roads and other facilities, is the way to meet this danger which, on account of the departure of people and the growth of Asiatic sentiment, is becoming serious. Five hundred American families settled in these islands would almost safe-guard the political future of Hawaii. The American colony at Wahiawa is an example of what an American community can do on public lands. The importance now of that little community to Honolulu's business prosperity is great. One of the most important policies for the future is to have enough white children in the schools to offset the influence of the children of other nationalities."

These public lands are reserved for the American citizen, which as yet the Oriental immigrant cannot become. If people only knew the fertility of Hawaii's soil and the various industries besides sugar, the great staple, that have been tested and that are waiting to be developed from it—pineapples, sisal, tobacco, coffee, rubber, bananas, oranges and other fruits—if they realized the rare beauty of the Hawaiian landscape and the healthfulness of her climate, that has been tried and proved by the early American colonists and their descendants, this suggestion would not go unheeded.

To help us ascertain if this danger referred to by Mr. Dole, which he elsewhere states he does not consider great, is a real

one, why not have a commission appointed to investigate these important racial and industrial problems?

I have been glad to read in a recent paper that about a thousand Portuguese colonists are now on their way to Hawaii and still others are expected. With this fostering of immigration from America and Europe, Hawaii needs larger faith in the possibilities of the diverse elements of her present population and more unselfish effort on the part of her citizens to amalgamate them.

One thing further. Hawaii needs a better recognition than she has had from the American people for the value of the service she has rendered and is rendering them. She is a buffer state, and more than once her able Board of Health at Honolulu has saved the mainland from the plague and other contagious diseases. There she stands, just far enough off to catch the plague germ that perchance has developed and shown itself on its way across the Pacific from Asia and to arrest it before it reaches the American mainland. There she stands where she can arrest many a moral plague germ on its way to the mainland. Through her schools and Christian workers she is trying to help her many immigrants towards a Christian civilization and to safeguard the morals of democratic America. Yes, and Asia herself has also felt the impress of her humane and Christian institutions! In return for the services she thus renders the American people and the revenue she yields, Hawaii should receive at Washington fair consideration of her needs and interests.

Many years ago Anson P. Burlingame, the American Ambassador to China, said of Hawaii: "The Hawaiian Islands is the only American colony." She asks you to realize this fact, now that she is a territory of the American Union, as Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands are not. Most of all, perhaps, Hawaii needs the sympathy of her sister States.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we are to hear of the educational needs of Hawaii from MR. THEODORE RICHARDS, of Honolulu, who has been Principal of the Kamehameha School which, next to Oahu College, is the largest educational institution in Hawaii.

LIGHT,—A COAST DEFENSE.

ADDRESS OF MR. THEODORE RICHARDS.

In an obscure corner of a bit of household classics it is recorded of a titled hero (for "he was more honorable than his brethren") that he prayed thus with his God: "Oh, that Thou wouldest—enlarge my coast."

It may be that the conservative American citizen no longer prays like the honorable Jabez. Our coast is much enlarged, however, and many regard it as a "blessing indeed."

America has much more coast to defend than she had ten years ago. When she defends any of it, that act is self-defense, of course.

Hawaii is part of the United States coast now. This may sound absurd, to be sure, but such is technically held to be a fact though 2,100 miles of water intervenes between Honolulu and the nearest mainland city.

As to guns, naval base, fortification, garrisons, etc., much has been said and many hopes have been fostered, not without good grounds. Hawaii does not appear to be in grave peril, or the Army and Navy Department would have taken more notice of it. Among the Island people little apprehension is felt on this score, although Pearl Harbor and the Islands generally are nearly as innocent of defense as they ever were. Hawaiian labor has expectations from the next meeting of the Naval Board in this matter.

The local income warrants it: e. g., there is money enough coming into the United States Treasury from Hawaii to pay the bills for this first item of defense.

The defense of our coast against Darkness—and incidentally the Prince of Darkness—concerns Hawaii and this body infinitely more. We would include Disease and Dirt, thus considering a deadly trinity of D's, but Darkness obscures all the rest and we must have all the light let in on it that the time allows.

Part of this defense might well be in light-houses. In Governor Dole's last report he recommended the erection of fifty-two light-houses on the Islands at a total cost of \$74,000, requiring for maintenance the small sum of \$14,000 yearly. The United States official report of light-houses, corrected to January, 1906, records the existence of a total of twenty-two light-houses. These were all built without Federal help.*

The recent loss of the "Manchuria" and the transport "Sheridan," both running aground at night on the Island of Oahu, tells a story of darkness and needed protection.

THEY WOULD BE WAY WITHIN THE LOCAL INCOME.

To get any more use out of the overworked "darkness" figure we must jump right into the practical bearings of the public school system, and the Christian boarding school, on the one side, and Asia on the other.

The population of the Islands is approximately three-fifths Asiatic. It is immaterial now how this came to be so. America has assumed the responsibility. Of the remaining two-fifths only

*The Light-house Board has recommended over a third of a million in expenditure at Hawaii. The first appropriation was made last year for a light at Honolulu, and this year another appropriation covers the cost of a light on the other side of the Island where the "Manchuria" went ashore. It is estimated that it will take two years in the ordinary course of things to have this action of any practical value to the Islands. The United States is said to have 10,300 lights on its coast.

a little over a quarter (seventeen thousand) are white American.

At present this Asiatic majority in the population is represented by only 5,500 out of the 20,000 school children, or about 22 per cent. The writer is convinced that the number of Asiatic children of school age estimated in the last report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, as but little over the figures used above, is below the mark.

You can't force these children into schools if there is no room for them, *but it is clearly in the line of defense against darkness to get them there.*

There should be more and better paid teachers. Over a third of the teachers in the public schools are of Hawaiian and part Hawaiian blood trained in our own normal schools. They make a creditable showing for our educational system. Too much should not be expected of them in view of the extent of their preparation, their salary and the tremendous problem before them. They are the go-betweens—the official interpreters—the demonstrators of the American idea to Oriental minds. It is their task to disarm racial prejudice, to foster love for American institutions, to make the very stars and stripes the symbol of a deep and holy patriotism.

"So much expected from teachers of five years' knowledge of American institutions?" Nay, not five years only, perhaps. What if the best we had to give to these Hawaiian people came in 1820 and has been working in them ever since?

High praise to the Hawaiian teacher, and honor (to whom honor is due) to the first sturdy exponents of Americanism—true knights of the round—haystack.

Here are some sample facts:

The percentage of illiteracy among the Hawaiian and Caucasian population of Hawaii is less than that of the New England States.

The per capita expenditure of our citizen population for education has exceeded for several years that of any State of the Union.

But the Oriental end of the problem is comparatively new. Ten years ago few of the Japanese and Chinese children were of school age. Throwing aside foolish race prejudice these children are a wonderfully promising lot (to change the figure)—taken out of the old soil and transplanted into our gardens for our intelligent husbandry. What a chance to change what has been called a "yellow peril" into a golden harvest!

The defense, too, is yellow. It is the color of the money—gold that has come out of the Hawaiian custom house and, transferred to the United States Treasury, has never come back to Hawaii. It amounts to \$800,000 *net* per year—has averaged that for five years. Before annexation all this sum went to Hawaiian current expenses or public improvements. Yes, Hawaii has other

income. She has carried on her educational work and her improvements on her income of two and a quarter millions.

Hawaii has kept afloat by heavy taxation. Taxes have been raised per capita 50 per cent in the past five years. Every man, woman and child in the territory pays for local and Federal tax above \$22 per year.

Now the claim is unhesitatingly made that Hawaii was not annexed for revenue; there was no thought of making money out of the Islands. Every other territory has been an item of expense to the Federal Government for public improvements, for education and for Federal buildings.

It is with no whine that Hawaii appeared before the last Congress for help in its coast defense. She has borne the heavy burden for five years and now wants a little help. Aye, and help is in sight.

THE LOCAL INCOME AMPLY COVERS IT.

First, President Roosevelt sounded the note in his recommendation to Congress and the Refunding Bill based thereon passed the Senate but did not get to the House.

Its provisions briefly are that three-quarters of the internal revenues and duties collected from Hawaii shall be set aside as a special fund to be used for education and for public improvements, public buildings and naval and military construction.

The effort will be made to bring this bill before the House at the earliest possible session.

Public schools at their best, their most ardent champion being their judge, are yet inadequate. The highest test brought to bear on them is their effect in the upbuilding of the truly American Home. It is, of course, long since admitted that no school can take the place of the home; but for the very defense of our own homes, some agency must be set to work in those households whence might issue a progeny of darkness, disease and dirt.

It is submitted that the Christian Boarding School is the next best agency to the Christian home.

The Islands have maintained boarding schools for native Hawaiians from the earliest times. There is Lahainaluna, the first manual training school west of the Mississippi. Here were educated many of the best men of the Hawaiian race—preachers, public men and farmers—who while they studied, worked with their hands for the very food they ate. The school flourishes still under excellent management, and as a part of the public school system of Hawaii, with far better equipment than of old. It is a light-house, indeed, for West Maui, and its motto strangely enough is, "Ipu kukui pio ole i ka makani Kauwaula." (Light not be extinguished by the (fierce) Kauwaula.*)

Nearly contemporary with Lahainaluna is the Hilo Boys' Boarding School, mother to many, chiefly, perhaps, to Hampton

*A local stormy wind.

Institute, for it was here the great Armstrong of Hawaii confessedly derived his inspiration in applying the principles of self-help to the negroes. The present head of the Hilo Boarding School is a spiritual successor of his grandfather, who was known as "Father Lyman," the founder of the school. At Hilo they are still pinching and contriving to make both ends meet, while last year they built, mostly with their own hands, a commodious dormitory in concrete. Fine, simple-minded, industrious, God-fearing Hawaiian gentlemen have come from that school.

Refined Christian gentlemen in eighty years of civilization? Aye, we may vary and revamp the trite things said about nature races and the ages required for evolutionary development and still the tritest thing remains to be said—certainly it must be trite in this presence—viz., that just the acquaintance with the matchless man of the ages is a transformer of character which makes no account of time nor stages of development.

Again a trite thing: It is the privilege of quite plain men, in their daily contact with their pupils, to make that same Master the realest personage in the universe. By His virtual reproduction there "transpires" a culture and refinement which transcend all our time vocabulary, for these are the same stuff with eternity. Surely must the people take notice of any Peter and John in determining the source of their culture. We of this age seem to be slower and still prate of evolution. Though flashes on the Damascus road may be rare, the miracle is chiefly this: not that one glance could make a Paul, but that any amount of contemplation of the "man on the throne" could do it. So much for the time element in character building. As to the "how," is it not reasonably clear that we have not advanced educationally beyond this: that boys and girls need most to touch living men and women who embody the Master mind and spirit?

And the Mid-Pacific Institute, still in embryo, from its commanding site on the Palolo Heights, will shed more light to the safety of Hawaii than the biggest light-house reflector Honolulu will ever see. For its Chinese school, splendid in its history and big with portent, faces the awakening millions of our keenest competitor and transforms foes into friends. Its Japanese department flashes towards the Northwest whence come the race whose marvelously quick imitation and adoption of American institutions is fast making them formidable rivals. This school says to them, "Imitate here; adapt yourself to this—the key to American greatness." And the Portuguese and Hawaiian departments bear witness to the efficacy of that form of training which illumines while it cultivates heart and hand and head (we purposely invert the usual order), and then incites to honest toil.

In this connection the record of Kamehameha School is illuminating. It is a private school founded in 1887 for boys and girls of Hawaiian blood. The manual department graduated its first class in 1891, and from that time till 1903 have graduated

137 boys who have mingled with Christian teachers and have been trained in agriculture, but chiefly in the manual arts. This gives us twelve years on which to base judgment as to results. Here are some:

- 27 per cent are profitably employed in agricultural or mechanical pursuits.
- 23 per cent are clerks.
- 13 per cent are in police work.
- 11 per cent scattering—musicians, army, mail-carriers, stevedores, etc
- 10 per cent unaccounted for—not necessarily idle.
- 9 per cent in professional life—mostly teaching.
- 4 per cent deceased.

We may first notice that although the Hawaiian race is generally regarded as dying out, but 4 per cent of deaths have occurred in 15 years, although the restrictions of school life have been laid off.

We may note likewise that the strength of the accent in the instruction has determined largely the character of the employment.

The tendency to drift into clerkships, partly for the advantages of city life, is too well known on the mainland to need any comment in this connection.

That 81 per cent are known to be profitably employed is a triumph, for it must be considered that all these are Hawaiians—conceded to be fonder of ease than of toil. (No one has succeeded in finding any reason why they should have toiled much heretofore.)

That a vigorous part of the Hawaiian race is surviving is reasonably certain.

That a vigorous blend of this with other sturdy races is rapidly going on, is obvious. What proportion of the Hawaiian stock remains will be determined largely by our educational policy. Christian industrial training is the key to the situation.

With an altered emphasis the same will apply to the Asiatic.* He is likely to be industrious anyway. For reason of defense alone we would like to make him American at heart. Of the two terms "American" and "Christian," the latter is the inclusive one. The other will take care of itself.

Then, for the safety of your coast and ours, give us back three-fourths of our contribution to the Federal Government—to build new schoolhouses—to equip every schoolhouse with good tools and a simple agricultural plant—to raise the salaries of all teachers, arbitrarily reduced on account of short funds—to hire other and better equipped American teachers.

Give us money besides to aid Christian boarding schools, which any of you can do without violence to your denominational loyalty, for non-sectarian, Congregational, Episcopal, Roman, Catholic and Methodist schools are represented in Hawaii.

*Equally interesting and gratifying figures could be furnished of Chinese graduates of Mills Institute, Iolani College, the High School and Oahu College.

Since the labor question is really at the root of our educational problem, e. g., we have Oriental children because we have Oriental labor—one is tempted to say something about it. What a satisfaction it would be to really *say something* about labor in Hawaii. The ingenuous thing to admit is that there is really nothing that Hawaii can corporately say, save this, perhaps:

"Let us alone, please. We will find a solution of our difficulties in an American way and need to ask for no special favors in the way of legislation. To be frank, we are afraid that some Maine legislator—for example—might frame a law based on one in Oklahoma, which would be more applicable to conditions in Alaska than in Hawaii where the climate is different. Somebody wanted to fit a land-law suit of clothes made for our big brother, Indian Territory, and it would be 'plumb mortifying,' as the Westerners say, to appear out in it, to say nothing of the discomfort. Then, there's that Supreme Court patch about appeals sewed (as in the parable of the tares) while we slept on our good Organic Act blue jeans. We've got to wear it, but please let us sort our patches first; we would prefer a match. We are not so hard to please, but are a trifle odd in our shape while our complexion is unusual."

Enough of labor; we are at a "luau," or native feast, given recently to a delegation of visiting editors from the mainland. Judge Dole is saying to them, speaking of the old campaign for annexation, "We found it slow work to educate seventy million people to our way of thinking. We found it better to get them to come to the Islands." They came, many influential men, and in a month knew more about the situation than we did. (By the way, they *should* have seen some things clearer; people are too near their own problems.) The Judge would have added that they ended by doing full justice to our claims, for they fell in love with our country. Let me voice a hearty invitation on the part of the Islands to all members of this Conference, and their wives, to come to see our beautiful coasts and judge then, for yourselves, as to the adequacy of our defenses.

You will enjoy then, to the full, the rarest spot on earth for delights—and for study, too.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is MR. GORHAM D. GILMAN, of Boston, for many years a merchant in Hawaii, and subsequently Hawaiian Consul-General for New England.

THE "HAYSTACK" AND HAWAII.

REMARKS OF MR. GORHAM D. GILMAN.

In connection with the celebration at Williamstown, Mass., of the centennial of the Haystack Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, it is interesting to note the first link between the deeply religious feeling of the New

England of 100 years ago, and the savage barbarism and heathenism of the Mid-Pacific Islands which it was so soon to enlighten.

When the remarkable religious life of Samuel J. Mills was in its formation and he was passing through the circumstances which shaped his future life, of which the Haystack was perhaps the most notable, there occurred in the far-off Islands of the Pacific, where the worship of idols was most degraded, a tragedy which was indirectly the means of bringing two very dissimilar persons together with world-wide benefit to Civilization, Education and Christianity.

About the time of Mr. Mills' great religious experiences, a tribal war of deadly hate for supremacy was being waged on the shores of Hawaii. A man and his wife were slain by the victorious party, their son, with his little brother on his back was fleeing from the slaughter, when the little one was thrust through by a spear and fell dead.

For some reason the boy's life was spared. He was consigned to a relative, who was an officiating priest on a huge platform of stones, called a temple, on which human beings were sacrificed to their gods. (In visiting the place years after, I was reminded of the old missionary hymn, "And only man is vile," by picking up from among the rocks, a bone of some human being who had been immolated there.)

This boy, Opukahia, becoming weary and heartsick at his work, managed to get on board an American ship bound for the United States. He came to New York, and from there went to New Haven, where a new life opened before him.

Opukahia downcast, forlorn and in tears, was found one day on the steps of one of the college buildings by Mr. E. W. Dwight, who asked the young man the cause of his trouble. Mr. Dwight's sympathies were quickly aroused by the pitiful story which he told and it resulted in his taking the lad under his charge.

It was at Mr. Dwight's house that Samuel J. Mills first met the young Hawaiian. Mr. Mills heard the account of the young man, with heart already awakened to the need of the salvation of the heathen world.

Shortly after the care of Opukahia was transferred to Mr. Mills, who entered with great zeal into his education and spiritual instruction, which soon resulted in a change of heart and life for Opukahia and in his resolve to go back to Hawaii and tell the good news he had learned.

The foundation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was one of the chief results of these providential circumstances and the Board, in 1819, sent its first band of missionaries to Hawaii.

The seed then planted was to bear and has borne the fruit of the Christianization and much of the civilization of the Hawaiian

people, making them to come under the American flag as a territory of the United States and of the Island World beyond.

Let me quote from a letter but recently received from Honolulu: "The mission to Hawaii was one of the Haystack's earliest fruits and by far its most successful one. *Hawaii has been the only heathen tribe of which Christianity took complete possession.* But for the impulse crystallizing at the Haystack, the Hawaiian mission would hardly have been undertaken, and Hawaii a part of the United States to-day."

The blessed influence of this early connection between the lives of Samuel J. Mills and Opukahia one hundred years ago by uniting the East and West "in the blest tie that binds" has not been limited to the Hawaiian Islands, or the shores of New England, but like the extending wavelet of the Ocean has reached the shores of the far Orient, and from thence came a representative of Chinese and Hawaiian Blood to the recent Haystack Meeting at Williamstown to "tell the old, old story" of Gospel news and glad tidings to all men.

It may properly be said in connection with the most excellent address of the chairman that in Hawaii a goodly number of the prerequisites that he outlined as necessary for complete assimilation with our national life are found to-day, viz: The equality of all men before the law; absence of caste or special class privilege; a general compulsory educational system in the English language, and full liberty of Christian freedom of worship. These and others might be cited.

At the present time an election campaign is being carried on at the Islands on a style somewhat improved over that set before them by some older states in this country. With all this, Hawaii needs the intelligent assistance of the United States, in the many complicated problems that are met in every new country, until she shall become as this country's light-house in the Pacific Ocean, that shall yet enlighten the far Western dependencies to civil and religious liberty. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Someone suggests that there are several others present who have lived in Hawaii, among them MR. FRANK A. HOSMER, of Amherst, Mass., formerly Principal of Oahu College, Honolulu. May we hear from Mr. Hosmer?

MR. FRANK A. HOSMER: *Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen:* After the excellent addresses of Messrs. Hatch, Emerson, Richards and Gilman, there is but little left to be said though I may add that before we became a territory of the United States, we were frequently warned by American tourists, and sometimes by American officials, that if we would give up our desire for annexation and continue an independent republic, we should be better off financially and politically and at the same time we should be protected by the United States from foreign interference.

We understood all that without any warning. We asked for annexation with our eyes open. We were at first rejected, as you remember, by Mr. Cleveland's administration, so we had plenty of time to think it over. But we never wavered; we persisted, and why? Because there was a stronger argument than financial or political considerations and that argument was the old flag—the Stars and Stripes. It was sentiment, love for the mother country, that moved our people; that same affection for the old home which led so many sons and grandsons of American missionaries in Hawaii to answer Lincoln's call in 1861. Among that number was Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, so well known here at Lake Mohonk and throughout the nation; Brig. Gen. Dimond, for many years head of the San Francisco mint; Dr. Titus Coan; Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson, brother of Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, who has just addressed you,—sons of American missionaries of whom we are justly proud.

Of course we understand that Hawaii is only a very small part of a very great nation and that only a small share of the attention of Congress can be ours, but the American government and the American people back of the government ought not to continue to force upon their island dependencies laws unsuited to their conditions, however well adapted they may be to the mainland.

I have stated the principle, Mr. Chairman, and need not take your time for the application. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: REV. DOUGLAS P. BIRNIE, of Rye, N. Y., formerly pastor of the Union Church of Honolulu, is in the room. We would like a few words from him.

Rev. Douglas P. Birnie, in a brief speech, paid a tribute to the men who had spoken for Hawaii. Of the dependent peoples which were under discussion, Hawaii alone was represented by three of her citizens. Mr. Hatch, thoroughly familiar with the political and commercial development, had stated clearly the needs of the territory. Mr. Emerson, born in the Islands, speaking the language, associated for many years with the efforts to develop the native, had unfolded the racial problem. Mr. Richards, formerly of the Kamehameha Schools, had shown what education had done for the Hawaiian boys. Mr. Gilman, though it is many years since he lived in Honolulu, had shown how he had kept within his heart the charm and grace of the wondrous Islands in the far-away seas. The difficult problem of the territory and the intelligent, patient spirit which is manifested by her best citizens were, Mr. Birnie declared, fairly represented by the personality of the men who had preceded him.

THE CHAIRMAN: May we have a few words from REV. WILLIAM M. KINCAID, who has also held the pastorate of the Union Church of Honolulu?

REV. WILLIAM M. KINCAID: *Mr. Chairman:* While I am no longer a resident of Honolulu, yet I think no one has a deeper interest in the Islands than I. I spent eight years there and they were years of pretty hard work. I have been deeply interested in the papers to-night, and I am very glad that there has been such a presentation of Hawaiian affairs as we have heard. Although I have not always agreed with some of the Hawaiian leaders in regard to economic questions and conditions, yet no one is more deeply interested in the welfare of the islands. I want to assure you that there is no place under the American flag where the racial problem is trying to be worked out as it is in Hawaii. As I sat here to-night, listening to the papers and the talks about the different races, I wanted to say from my soul a hearty amen for everything that has been said in favor of the Hawaiian race. Although my work lay entirely among the English-speaking people, yet I became deeply attached to the Hawaiian people. They have their faults; we have. But they have many estimable qualities, and I believe that only by education can they be fitted to hold their own in the struggle for existence on the Hawaiian Islands. But speaking about the race question, as it has been presented here this evening, the people are all mixed up in the Hawaiian Islands. The Americans have intermarried with the Hawaiians; the Hawaiians with the Chinese; and the Chinese with the Portuguese. They are all mixed up. Out of that intermingling of the races the problem is to develop American citizenship. How is it going to be done? Well, the only way is education. I was talking for a few moments at the beginning of this session, with the honored President of the last Conference, Dr. Abbott, and he says that in his visits to the different colleges and universities, he found Koreans, Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, but no Hawaiians. I am convinced that what the Hawaiian people need to-day is for its best young men and women to be sent to this country for their higher education. We were told frequently in Hawaii that Hawaiians could not take the higher education. I do not believe it. I do not suppose that anyone was more intimately associated with the Hawaiian student body than I have been. I came to love them, and I believe the Hawaiian young man is capable of the higher education, and that is what he needs in order to hold his own with the Anglo-Saxon. He needs to be taken out of his present environment where he has absorbed many prejudices against his Anglo-Saxon brother, and be brought into vital contact with that larger, broader type of Americanism that is to be found in our great educational centers, and which will fit him for the intelligent leadership of his own people.

This, I conceive to be the great need of the Hawaiian people to-day.

The Conference then adjourned until the following morning.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 19, 1906.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall first have a report of the Committee appointed last year to examine and consider the religious work among the Indians. **PRESIDENT SLOCUM**, of Colorado College, Chairman of the Committee, will present the report.

REV. WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, D. D.: *Mr. Chairman:* Before reading this report I want to say emphatically that there is no purpose here to make an attack upon any of our religious denominations, but I trust there is a spirit of very large appreciation of all that has been done during these past years.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED AT THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE TO EXAMINE AND CONSIDER THE RELIGIOUS WORK AMONG THE INDIANS.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN:

Mr. President and Members of the Conference:

Your Committee, appointed at the last Conference to consider the conditions of the missionary and general religious work among the Indians and to urge upon the various Christian denominations the importance of enlarged effort, begs leave to submit the following report:

Your Committee wishes to say at the beginning of this statement that it has been exceedingly difficult to secure accurate and definite information in regard to the actual religious conditions prevailing among the Indians and to ascertain what has actually been accomplished by the various agencies at work for religious education and the development of Christian character. No one can doubt for a moment that there has been unusual devotion and self-sacrifice shown by many individual missionaries and that too, often under exceedingly trying conditions. We wish at the outset to indicate our high appreciation of everything that has been accomplished by a large number of high-minded teachers, preachers and helpers who have been sent out by various Christian denominations.

Your Committee has attempted to form its opinion in regard to the actual value of these efforts, not from statistical reports,

but by seeking to ascertain what are the practical results and their effects in the life and upon the character of the Indians themselves.

What has already been accomplished indicates that the same training, environment and spiritual leadership which develops moral character in the Anglo-Saxon race, will produce similar results in the Indian. Whenever he has had wholesome influences about him he has responded to them to about the same degree as has been the case among other peoples. His shut-in life on the reservations with its violation of the conditions which makes for the highest civilization, has resulted no worse than it would with his white neighbor, under the same surroundings and influences.

Experience shows that the ownership of land in severalty, the responsibilities of citizenship, the establishment of home life, the maintenance of schools and churches have on the whole produced practically the same results that exist with other races similarly conditioned.

If this is true there is nothing then in the problem of the moral and religious training of the American Indian that is at all insurmountable. It is a matter simply of the correct use of right means to secure certain ends.

While giving the fullest recognition to all that has been accomplished by the various agencies that have been at work for them, your Committee is forced to say that present movements for the religious education of our Indians are inadequate and that the results are correspondingly small and unsatisfactory.

In making this investigation the effort has been to secure accurate and unprejudiced statements from those who have actually been on the field. In almost all cases the quotations are from those who have given years of devoted and successful service among the various tribes of the North American Indians. This has been done so as to avoid as much as possible thrusting the opinions of members of the Committee upon the Conference. We much prefer to have you draw your own conclusions from the statements of those actually at work.

One of the oldest, most devoted and sanest of the Christian workers among the Indians writes in response to a letter asking for actual conditions:

"It is difficult to respond to your appeal for definite information. It is the quality rather than the quantity of the work done that counts. For one thing, church membership numbers have little meaning, when with some they mark a consistent Christian life, and with others the loosest sort of connection with the Christian Church.

"Baptized Paganism is the real character of much that figures as Christianity among the Indians. Our churches cannot afford to let this be so. As we are bound to incorporate this Indian population into our body politic we cannot afford to have them as festering sores of heathenism in our midst, as the Musquakies of Iowa and the Winnebagoes of Nebraska and many in Oklahoma to-day.

"The ruling impression in the East now seems to be that the work of distinctive Indian Missions is done and that hereafter this part of our missionary work will be easily carried along as a part of Home Missionary work. This means the loss of what we have already gained by Christian Missions among them, and an utter failure of the work in the future."

Discussing the cause of present failure to reach the Indians with Christian education and religious influences, a teacher who has worked among the Sioux Indians and who is a devoted, trained woman possessed of a thorough college training, writes in answer to the letter of the Committee:

"The American Board started the work among the Sioux Indians about 1835 as foreign missionary work. At that time the missionaries studied the language, wrote it, made a grammar and dictionary and translated the Bible, hymns, the Pilgrims Progress and a number of school books. The children were taken into schools, taught English, but they also learned to read and write their own language in order that they might be able to read their Bibles to the older Indians and those who could never learn English. All the advantages which come to any people by having the Bible given to them in their own language came to these people and many of the strongest native pastors never learned English. This is now becoming less so. The change which came earlier to the Sioux nation was due primarily to the fact that the missionaries were at first given time to study the language and that they were young men who were willing to give a life-time to the work. The results of their work were successful because they taught the people to worship God in their own language and because they did not preach at them by means of an interpreter. Even though many Sioux can speak English, when they talk of spiritual things and pray they do not want to use a strange language. Why cannot these great denominations that are doing so much for foreign fields take up the work among our own Indians in a much larger way than they are doing at present?"

An able Christian teacher who has given earnest and devoted service, writes at length of conditions among the Navajos. After speaking of the failure of the census to secure accurate returns she says:

"But even if the figures are incorrect the number they give is large enough when we think of the small amount of Christian work that has been done among them. We tried to find why so little had been done for them. We discovered that when the Indian tribes were divided among the Churches, that the Navajos were given to the Methodists. They turned them over to another denomination which had a little Chapel at Defiance to which some of the agency people went. No report of the lack of work there was reported to the Churches and no one bothered himself about them. One reason is because they are peaceable. They say, 'We promised Washington (that is the Government) that we would never fight again, and so we can't.' Sometimes we almost wish they would do something to attract more attention so that our Christian people would wake up to the terrible condition down there."

This same person, after speaking of a limited amount of work done by the Christian Churches and the failure of much that has been undertaken to secure large permanent results, says:

"A hospital might have drawn the people. If Christian people came more into sympathetic relations with these people by living with them,

working with them, teaching them day by day, studying them and their language, in time they would win. They need more *constant* teaching for they say: 'If your religion amounts to anything you would have told us of it before.' Another teacher said to me, 'All we want is, to teach these children enough English so they can interpret.' I do not know if this is the general policy of the Presbyterian Church, but I do not believe a heathen nation is ever to be taught the love of Jesus Christ through interpreters who have hardly grasped it themselves. I know one interpreter who said to me, 'Oh I don't understand what the missionary says and the *Navajos* do not, so I say anything I happen to.'

In order that the Conference may give full credit to the purpose and work of our denominations I want to read at this point a letter which I have received from Dr. Charles L. Thompson of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian church, which will explain itself. It is only fair also to state that your Committee does not wish to show any lack of appreciation of what the various churches are doing, and especially the Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal and Baptist denominations through their respective missionary boards. But our contention is that the present work is exceedingly inadequate for the religious training of one quarter of a million Indians, exclusive of those in Alaska. Dr. Thompson writes:

"My Dear Mr. Slocum:

"I have yours of recent date, writing to me as chairman of a committee appointed by the Mohonk Conference on the religious welfare of the Indian.

"I am very glad that the Mohonk people at last are taking up what is by far the most important phase of the Indian work. It has had practically the 'go by' for years at the Conference.

"If the Mohonk Conference, however, has the idea that the evangelism of the Indian is not being pushed by the churches, I think they are greatly mistaken. I do not believe that our church is an exception, and we certainly are pushing forward our Indian work with a good deal of energy and with a good deal of success.

"I have pleasure in handing you herewith proof slip from the forthcoming number of the *Assembly Herald*, giving the tribes among which we are working, the number of ministers, churches, Sabbath schools, and so forth; from which you will perceive that we have twenty-eight native ministers, twenty-four white ministers working among eighty-one churches; and we also have seventy-four white teachers in mission schools, with twenty-seven helpers.

"The new work that we have recently undertaken is among the *Navajos*, the *Mojaves*, and *Shewwits*. In all of these directions we are having success. I am sending under another cover a full statement of our Indian work, prepared by our Superintendent of Schools.

"You ask whether it is possible for us to enter more largely into this movement. We are expending a good deal of money in our Indian work and are ready to expend still more as we may have opportunity.

"You ask whether I think it feasible to organize a co-operative movement of the various denominations. We are always in favor of co-operative movements wherever they are feasible. I should think it doubtful, however, whether in our Indian work—because of the scattered condition of the tribes on the various reservations—such a movement is very feasible. The thing that is feasible is for the denominations to be responsible for different tribes so as not to have any unnecessary duplica-

tion of effort. So far as I know, in the Indian work there is less duplication of effort than in any part of our home mission field.

"I shall be glad to furnish further information if you will indicate the lines along which you desire it.

"And with all good wishes for you in your work, believe me

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

C. L. THOMPSON, Secretary."

The official statement of that denomination indicates that there are 4913 members of their Indian churches, 585 in Idaho, 1453 in Arizona, 1506 in the Dakotas, Minnesota and Montana, and 459 in New York. They also report 3500 children in their Indian schools.

With the risk of taxing your patience, I wish to quote further from personal statements of workers in the field as these throw side lights on our problem. A Baptist, telling of his work, says of a council held in March, 1903, in the home of White Arm at Lodge Grass among the Crow Indians:

"It was in the midst of surroundings as pathetic as they were pagan. A petition was signed for the establishment of a mission at Lodge Grass, each Indian touching the pen as the missionary wrote his name. This petition was literally a cry at midnight. It was a voice out of a great darkness asking for light. The ultimate result of this movement was a church of eight Baptist members among those Crow Indians."

In this connection it may be well to read the letter of Dr. H. L. Morehouse, Corresponding Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society:

"Dear Sir:

"Your favor of the 8th concerning mission work for Indians living on reservations has been received. In reply to your inquiry what we are doing, I send you a copy of the last Annual Report, referring to pages 51 and 52 showing the scope of our work, and to pages 191 and 192 concerning the principal fields which we are cultivating; besides those in Indian Territory and Oklahoma, are the Crow Mission of Montana, and the Navajo Mission of New Mexico, and the Copper River Mission of Alaska. We have also recently taken over from the Congregationalists the mission among the Arapahoes and Cheyennes at Darlington, Oklahoma. Instead of contracting, we have enlarged our work in recent years, and I think the Society would be disposed to take up some other work, if it seems desirable that it should be done. I question, however, whether a co-operative movement of the various denominations can be successfully organized. There is a general comity understanding already that one Society shall not go into a reservation where other organizations are at work; if there are many reservations where no mission work whatever is being done, I think it would be advisable to lay the matter before the principal religious organizations having charge of Indian Missions to ascertain whether they are prepared to take up any of these fields. A conference of the representatives of these Societies could be readily arranged in New York City at almost any time. I shall be glad to hear from you further as matters develop.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

H. L. MOREHOUSE, Cor. Sec'y."

Another Baptist, writing from the Arapahoes, says:

"This is the original tribe of Apaches which has always occupied the reservation along with the Kiowas as Comanches. The Methodists have nothing permanent, carry on no active work. The Presbyterians have a mission school for the children, but do not reach the older people."

As indicating the religious possibilities of the Indian, especially those that have escaped the reservation and have the advantage of the ownership of land in their own name with actual possession of their own farms, the following statement of Mr. M. K. Sniffen, Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, in regard to his observations among the Sioux is of much interest:

"The Indians here have all been allotted their lands in severalty. They attend the convocation of the Episcopal church, many travelling 130 miles for this purpose. Altogether there were 1500 of them in the party.

"As soon as the evening meal was over a herald would go around the camp summoning the people to prayers. Evening service was conducted by a native clergyman. The helpers joined heartily in the responses and sang the hymns with fervor, and might well be emulated by the pale-faces. After camp had been struck the Indians assembled for morning prayers, their religion was not of the 'fair weather' variety. They would kneel as devoutly in the rain as under clear skies. At each place where camp was pitched a collection was taken up to reimburse the owner of the land for the damage to his field."

In his mention of the annual sermon by Bishop Hare, followed by the Communion, Mr. Sniffen adds:

"The Indians took part in the responses, singing heartily and in a manner suggesting deep, earnest devotion. Many of the women as they handed in their offerings told how it had been raised. The money thus turned in amounted to over \$3,000. Many visitors who came from the surrounding towns were amazed at what they saw."

Speaking in this same statement of Pine Ridge, Mr. Sniffen says the missionary work is conducted by three denominations—the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians, who have eight chapels on various parts of the reservations, and the Episcopal church with twenty-five chapels or mission stations. An organization was recently formed by the young men of the Presbyterian Chapel at White Clay to fight bringing liquor on to the reservation. He adds:

"The marriage customs among the Pine Ridge Indians are in a deplorable state. The number of Christian marriages among them is few. A young man will run off with a girl, they are then taken to a minister by a policeman and legally made man and wife under compulsion. The Indians fail for the most part to appreciate the gravity of the matter."

The statistics indicate that South Dakota has 20,000 Indians and that 10,000 of them are baptized members of the Episcopal church and that between 3000 and 4000 are communicants. There are 1635 in their Sunday Schools. They have 22 clergymen in these missions of whom six are white and sixteen Indians. It is significant that the contributions of those churches where the Indians hold their land in severalty amounted in 1904, to \$8,075.

It would not be fair not to remind ourselves of the work of the American Missionary Association, supported largely by the Con-

gregational denomination with its twenty-two churches, and 1629 members, and its devoted and earnest men and women who often under very trying conditions and with much less support than their work demands, have toiled on bravely and unselfishly.

In every examination of the religious conditions of our Indians there seems to many to be a difficulty which has grown out of the rise and development of the system of government schools. This report is not unmindful of the wholesome and far-reaching Christian influences of such schools as Hampton Institute, nor must anything that is said be construed as an attack upon the government schools. The importance of no sectarian interference with these schools and the justice of never using government funds for the maintenance of denominational work are apparent to all; but all this ought not to keep the Christian people of America from accomplishing for the Indian just what they do for themselves, viz., provide for the special religious training of Indians by means of the generosity of individuals and the benevolence of Christian denominations. It is very dangerous for the churches themselves to slip out from under that responsibility.

At this point is a serious, perhaps the most serious, danger in connection with the religious education of our Indian peoples. No Christian man or woman thinks that because his child is in the public schools that he should abandon personally his responsibility for the distinctive religious training of his children. Under existing circumstances, state, municipal or national schools cannot accomplish very much for the definite religious education of their pupils. Government schools cannot hold themselves responsible for the Christian education of the Indian. This is not the function of such schools, much as individual teachers would like to make the religious ideal dominate all else. Such teachers in the homes of the Indian may do much personally. They may become teachers in Sunday Schools and ardent helpers in Christian churches established for the Indians; but they cannot utilize the government schools for the distinctive and dominating purpose of imparting religious education to the student in these schools. This is true in our successful public school system. Our city, town and state schools do not, they cannot, be utilized for any such purpose. There may be much religious work that is incidental to them because of the devotion of individual teachers or students; but the sooner the Christian people of America realize that the distinctive religious training of young people must be done apart from such schools the sooner will the seriousness of the problem which confronts the whole nation as well as that of the religious training of our Indians be understood and acted upon. This is not an adverse criticism upon state or national schools, but a call to the churches and the homes to acquaint themselves with their duty. The secularization of state and national schools has become an accepted fact throughout America and there is no escape from that fact. The only large hope for

the religious training of American students and pupils is in the distinctive religious home and school, and the church.

It was the missionary who first went to the Indian and who also went to the American people and demanded justice for him. Now we are told on all sides that the day of missionary effort has passed for the reason the American people are saying: "We are giving millions of dollars for government schools. What more do you want to make citizens of these Indians?"

The answer to that question can be best given by citing a few characteristics and typical statements from experienced workers on the field. A Christian worker says:

"Twenty years ago one of the strongest denominations had a church mission school among the Omahas which guided the thought and moulded the development of the tribe and its neighbors, the Winnebagoes. This mission taught the useful arts to them, and eager men and women gathered in their little church Sunday after Sunday to learn of God. About fifteen years ago the government took the school and a generation of children has grown up that has not had distinctive Christian training and the result is pitiful. The church is there and its members stand on the rolls of the mission work of that denomination, but there are not a half dozen Indians who attend. The school has been a bone of contention and now is closed at the request of the tribe.

"At Winnebago, ten miles away, the conditions are worse. There the church also is empty of Indians, save that during the school term the children are sent in for an hour on Sunday; but for three months of vacation not one child nor parent comes to church, and only two families of half bloods and a young man from Hampton and Carlisle are all the grown-up Indians who ever come at any time of the year. This is one example of a mission that has failed in the past ten years because we have withdrawn spiritual care and guidance from a people at the most critical period."

Says a Christian teacher who has been much among the Indians and understands the problem of their religious education:

"Perhaps one of the most interesting facts is that you find it so difficult to secure information as to what is being done for the religious education of our Indians. It is hard to obtain an accurate report in regard to a retreating army. That is just the condition of religious work at present for the Indian.

"The missions for the Dakotas are in Fort Berthold, Standing Rock, Santee and Flandreau. Ten years ago there was a net-work of mission schools. Year after year these schools were cut off and the closing of them means that there are no children trained in Christian schools with a start in religious life. The closing of Fort Berthold was shutting the tribes from any chance of religious life. There is no other centre of religious home-life in all that great district.

"There are still native preachers and small stations scattered over the reservation. Mr. Thomas Riggs has charge of Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Reservations and travels about two hundred miles each month, meeting the people at their little churches and holding communion.

"Last year the Indians brought him fifty dollars and asked him to take their children. This year he was offered forty children and has taken sixteen, and so the Dakota Mission lives, with one man doing all the work. We have had living missions, but we shall soon have only dead ones. The best mission work done fifteen years ago was the Presbyterian Mission at Omaha. It was a school and that school practically guided

two tribes, the Omahas and the Winnebagoes, until they were considered the most advanced tribes of the plains.

"The school was surrendered to the United States. The result is that the children, who, during the past ten years have been trained in government schools, are mere pagans and worse. The medicine dance now controls the Sabbath and children from the government schools are members of it, being entered as early as sixteen years of age. Christianity there is dead and religious work there must be all begun over again with a Christian school and medical mission."

There is no time to cite further examples, but if any member of the Conference cares to look further into the matter, let him ascertain the contraction of distinctive religious work on the Santee Agency because of lack of support and its disastrous effect upon the religious training of the Indian young men and women.

There is, however, only opportunity to make certain recommendations which are the result of the facts gathered by this investigation and the crying necessity for a greatly enlarged movement by Christian people throughout the country for increased distinctly religious work among our American Indians.

I.

Your Committee, in view of the investigation already made, and the impressions gathered from it, recommend that a much more systematic effort be made to examine the actual conditions of Christian training at the present time among our Indians with the view of ascertaining real conditions as they bear upon the entire Indian population. This should be done by personal investigation and by one possessed of a sympathetic but a judicial attitude towards the problem.

II.

Effort should be made to secure the co-operation of many Christian denominations which at present are not giving any attention to this opportunity for Christian service.

III.

A careful examination should be made to ascertain how the work of the government schools can be supplemented by distinctively religious training, especially among the young men and women. This should have in view the more effective establishment of Christian institutions, especially that of the home, marriage being regarded and treated as a religious rite. Greater emphasis should be placed upon the sacredness of membership in a Christian church and especially upon the training of children in the practice of Christian morality.

IV.

It recommends the establishment of more hospitals among the Indian tribes which shall be under the direction of Christian men and women.

V.

It suggests the appropriateness of the work of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations as being of special value in a movement for establishing better religious ideals among Indian young men and women. The following letter as bearing upon this has been received:

"My Dear Mr. Slocum:

I am much interested in your letter to Mr. Mott in regard to Christian work among the Indians.

For the past ten years our International Committee of Young Men's Christian Association has been conducting an association work among the Sioux Indians which, I believe, has clearly demonstrated the workability of this method of Christian work among them. As railroad men, colored young men, etc., the association idea and plan of work stimulates the Indian young men to work for themselves and their fellows. It secures spontaneity and responsibility and provides outlets for their activities in various directions, such as religious meetings, Bible study, personal religious effort, social, physical and educational work.

Compared with the field and its need, our present work is certainly inadequate. Instead of one travelling secretary, we should have three among the Sioux alone. This would be economy also in time and travelling expenses incident to the attempt to cover so large a field which for the most part is without good means of communication. Our present work also lacks the close supervision of a white secretary, such as the work of a native Indian pastor has in the supervision and co-operation of the white missionaries. If we had one such secretary for all Indian work we could gradually extend the work through Indian secretaries to other tribes and sections of the country, such as the southwest and Pacific coast.

The salary of such a secretary, competent to adequately grasp and supervise the whole work, would not be less than \$2400. His travelling and office expenses would probably be at least \$1100 additional, making \$3500 for the entire expense of such secretary's work. Under him would be added secretaries like Mr. Tibbitts at a cost for salary, travelling and incidental expenses at not more than \$1000 for each man.

If the money could be provided we could within the next three or four years secure, train, and set at work five additional Indian secretaries which with the work we now have and the supervision of the white secretary in charge of the whole work would involve a cost not exceeding \$10,000 per year.

If from one to five friends of the Indians who believe in such practical Christianity applied to the Indian problem could be found to provide this modest budget of expense, what great investment could they make for the Kingdom of God in this generation.

Very cordially yours,

(Signed)

C. K. OBER.

P. S.—The government schools furnish exceptionally good opportunity for association work. We have effective associations in Sacone University, Kendall College, Haskell Institute, Santee Normal Training School, Chemawa Training School, Carlisle School, Grand River and Pierre Schools, and the work of these associations could be greatly extended and developed by adequate supervision."

VI.

Your Committee is profoundly impressed with the importance of doing away with the reservation plan, and the establishment

of home life and the ownership of property in severalty for the realization of the best results in the development of Christian character.

VII.

In conclusion, your Committee begs leave to suggest the necessity of a meeting, in the very near future, of the representatives of all the religious denominations to consider ways and means for greatly enlarged work among our Indians.

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, Chairman.

MERRILL E. GATES,

PAUL DESCHWEINITZ,

DANIEL SMILEY.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have a free discussion of the matter treated in the report just read—the religious education of the Indians. In order that all who wish to speak may have an opportunity, speeches will be limited to five minutes each.

REV. JAMES M. TAYLOR, D. D. (President of Vassar College): *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* Dr. Slocum's report is somewhat along lines that I had not anticipated from a talk with him. Now that I have heard the report, I am more than willing to endorse every word. I should have been glad if I could have prepared myself with some thoroughness for such a discussion, but certainly the main point before us is one that must be near to the heart of every Christian man and woman. The earnest, intensified religious work among the Indians is one that comes near to all our hearts, and I, for one, do not grant the statement that was read in a report from one of the secretaries of a Missionary Board that the religious training of the Indian has been left out at the Mohonk Conferences.

What I wish to emphasize is the word of the report regarding the place where this responsibility rests. It is on the Christian church. You will pardon me if I suggest that, in my humble opinion, the Christian church has been relieved of a considerable feeling of responsibility in past years by an earnest advocacy on the part of some that the government should also be interested in this work of religious education. It is simply impossible as human nature is constituted that men and women shall grow to feel that a great government has a responsibility in a certain direction, and not throw off their individual responsibility upon it. That is what happens everywhere where the state is assumed to have anything to do with the cultivation of religion. I think it has been a great mistake and a mistake contrary to the spirit of American institutions to involve the United States government in any degree whatever with a feeling of responsibility for the religious training of the Indian. It cannot do it. If I am asked,

"Are we not a Christian nation?" I say it depends upon what you mean by a Christian nation. If you mean a nation is Christian because you have written the word "God" in the Constitution, then I say, no. If you mean that a nation is Christian because a majority of its Congress will vote a sum here and there for the maintenance of Christian faith, then I say, no. There is nothing that can make a Christian nation excepting to make the individual members of that nation Christian. Christianity is individual from beginning to end, intensely individual, and the moment that you take off from the individual church this feeling of responsibility and put it upon the government, you have slowed up the whole process of Christianizing the Indian. I think in that direction we have made some mistakes and I hope that in the line of this report we are through with that mistake, so that not even the executive of our nation will dare put his name or his signature to a document that will further this idea. The place where this responsibility rests is upon the Christian church. We have tried that other system. There are two systems, as we know, that have been running side by side through the thousand years of Christian history, and it was left to America—and I believe it the greatest contribution of America to statecraft—to initiate the idea of this absolute separation of church and state. The whole history of the other theory is a history of wreck, wreck of religion and wreck of politics. They are teaching that to-day in France, and all of us who are following the history of that education in France know perfectly well from what it came. It came from the effort to compromise at the time of the Revolution between this idea of absolute independence and this idea that the state must help the work of the church. When the Educational Bill came before the English Parliament, I happened to be in London at the time when there was the most heated discussion and I used to laugh at my English friends because of their fear that religion was going to smash because they had made a few steps forward in regard to this separation of religion from the state.

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that my five minutes have expired, and recognizing the justice of a time limit, I will stop without finishing my argument.

DR. CHARLES F. MESERVE, (President of Shaw University): *Mr. Chairman:* I have followed this report and Dr. Taylor's remarks with very deep interest. It is a subject to which I have given much thought, and during the last fifteen years I have made myself acquainted with reservation conditions. I think there are many here that will bear me out in this that you do not find the spiritual atmosphere on some of the reservations that existed fifteen or twenty years ago. I had the privilege during the last summer vacation of spending three days at an Indian Camp

Meeting at Northport, Michigan. The Congregationalists who are here will remember that this was the field where Rev. Mr. Steele labored so efficiently for many years. I found that his labors were still bearing fruit, and the same was true of the Methodist missionaries. Indians for fifty miles around gathered day after day at these services. Years ago the missionaries went with the self-sacrificing spirit of the Master to the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians of Northern Michigan. They learned their language; they lived among them; they preached to them; they set for them the example of Christian living, and to-day you see the result in Christianized and self-supporting Indian citizens.

Let me say in passing, Mr. Chairman, that I think it is very important that young men and young women should be trained to go into needy fields, live among the people, and lift them up. I have rarely listened to a sermon that impressed me more than one delivered by a Methodist minister, a full blooded Indian, Rev. Thomas, from Odanah, Wisconsin, who came to the Camp Meeting and spent the entire week. He was a man of the finest feeling, of deep spiritual development and of thorough training. He could speak fluently the English language, and he exercises a marked influence. I found also Rev. John Jacobs, a full blooded Indian, who has been pastor of the Methodist church for many years at Northport, Michigan.

I was impressed years ago when visiting the Oneida reservation by the great good that had been accomplished by missionaries of the Episcopal and Methodist churches. Had it not been for the work done by these devoted men the Oneidas of Wisconsin would be on a much lower plane than they are at the present time. A similar thought occurred to me some fifteen years ago when I visited the Cheyenne River reservation in South Dakota where Bishop Hare was conducting services. The great need to-day is for consecrated men and women to go out among the Indians and live and labor among them in the spirit of the Master. There ought also to be a strong religious atmosphere around all of our Indian schools where there are enrolled to-day about thirty thousand children. I do not mean there should be proselyting, but there should be a close and sympathetic touch between the officers and students of the schools and the pastors and members of the churches in the cities and towns in which the schools are located. The kind of training that the children receive to-day will determine the condition of the Indians a generation hence.

REV. JAMES W. KIRK: *Mr. Chairman:* Regarding the thirty thousand Indians in Alaska, let me say that years ago when that missionary work was undertaken, the country was apportioned, certain sections assigned to the various denominations, and that agreement has been religiously kept. Just a word about the in-

terpreter. I believe thoroughly in having a man learn the language and then preach, but it cannot always be done. I have visited numbers of tribes and have spoken many times to Indians through an interpreter, among tribes totally strange to me, and the interpreter a stranger. On one occasion at the close of a sermon the interpreter stood at my side and the people gave their testimonies, and every point, every illustration that I gave was brought back to me, showing that there is some effectiveness, at least, in the interpreter. With regard to the marriage customs, who of us in this audience, intelligent and widely read as we are, understand the totem marriages of Alaska. For instance, you have the bear totem. All the people of a given totem, no matter what tribe they belong to, look upon themselves as blood relatives. They would no more think of marrying in their totem than you would among your near relations. There is a purity in the married life seldom found among our own Christian people. I have spent the past summer largely in visiting the various missions in southeastern Alaska, at my own expense. Look at the help that comes to the missionary himself on those islands, scarcely seeing a white man, at least of his kind, in years, when a warm hearted visiting missionary spends a week or two with him, brightens him, touches him again with the light and warmth of a brother's heart and preaches to his people. He becomes a new man and takes on new courage in his work. There is one other reference I want to make. At the great Sitka Mission and training school a young Indian came to me with his Bible and said, "Next week I am going back to my native islands. I want you to help me to make some sermons that I may go back and preach to my people." What is wanted in that land is to have some one who will take these young men in some training school, and teach them to preach the Gospel to their own people in their own language.

REV. A. T. PIERSON, D. D., (Brooklyn, N. Y.): I profoundly feel that we are touching here the very bottom of this whole question, and that any system of education which is established among those that are strangers to Jesus Christ is essentially and fundamentally lacking without the Christian element. We remember the melancholy experiment of the late Bishop Colenso, in taking a number of South African lads and for a term of years making them educational apprentices, leaving them entirely free from all religious constraint or restraint, and then giving them the opportunity, at the expiration of this time, to make their own choice. Every one of them laid aside the garments of civilization and went back into heathenism. A famous educator of India, a man that had been associated in educational work there for forty years, testified that the effect of an unreligious education in India was only at best to lift the level of wrong-doing, to make men dissatisfied perhaps with the grosser forms of sensual indulgence, but to acumenate the mind for the higher and more

refined forms of self-seeking and crime. God has taught us a great many wonderful truths in His Word, and, among others that man is a three-fold personality—spirit, soul, body. The spirit, the highest, the soul intermediate, and the body, the lowest. And God's own method is to *begin* with the *spirit*, and reach down to the soul, and from the soul to the body; man's method is to begin with the body, and reach up to the mind, and he seldom gets any further. The whole history of education goes to show that to establish in man truly religious convictions and to promote his affiliation with God, is to establish him in exalted modes of thinking, and to give right direction to his living, and high moral purpose to his soul, so that you thus make the whole man a new man in God. I feel in most thorough sympathy with the sentiments of the report, and I believe that we ought to endeavor always to embrace in our educational methods that which shall train the heart, which shall bring the whole nature back into sympathy with Almighty God, and by introducing man into a fellowship with God, help his thinking, train his sensibilities, sanctify his living, guide his choosing and give the whole being a new direction. There is no time to expand this thought, but I really think this principle is fundamental in all education.

MISS MARY C. COLLINS, (Little Eagle, South Dakota): We hear about Indian students going back to the blanket. It is the returned student who has had no religious training who goes back to the blanket because there is nowhere else to go. He comes back to his home and when the old people go into the holv tents and have the old-time religious worship, they want to talk to the young man in the religion in which they have been trained, and it is an easy thing to persuade him to paint his face and put on the blanket. The Indian must worship. He must have something in his daily life that satisfies that longing for that higher life, that longing for something that is great, mysterious, above him, that over-rules everything, that is incomprehensible to his finite mind, and so if we leave out of our training the religion of Jesus Christ, we invite some other form of worship. We ask you, our secretaries, we ask you, our churches, not to let the mission schools die out. They were never needed so much as now, because our Indian boys and girls, coming in contact with a rough element that comes West, need something to support them, to keep them from going back to the blanket, and only religion can do it.

MR. JAMES WOOD, (Mt. Kisco, N. Y.): I feel that this Conference is greatly indebted to President Slocum for the report which he has presented. It is so thorough and complete, and contains so much definite information that it is a delightful contrast to the general statements we so often have upon such subjects. Having said this, I want to add that in my opinion, the report

is entirely too pessimistic in its tone and does injustice to the Indian, and, in its conclusion, does great injustice to the Christian workers who have devoted such consecrated service to their instruction. Let me illustrate. It speaks about the investigation made as to the religious life among the Indians. I would ask what would be the condition if such an investigation were made in this township, in the State of New York, in the City of New York, the City of Philadelphia, or the City of Boston? I believe it would be very similar to the condition found among these Indians, and, therefore, I think the tone of this report is entirely too pessimistic. Go into our churches anywhere on the Sabbath day. The mass of people are not represented there at all. So this sort of an investigation of a particular people like the Indians, as compared with the conditions existing elsewhere in the country, is very erroneous in its conclusion, and does great injustice. I say this because I think the impression made by the report will be discouraging, and, while it is intended to stimulate Christian effort, it will tend to discourage it on the ground that if so much has been done and so little accomplished, it is scarcely worth while to go further.

DR. MERRILL E. GATES, (Washington, D. C.): No one who is familiar with the history of our Indian tribes and reservations can doubt that the Christian people of our country owe it to the Indians and to themselves to do much more mission work among them than has been done during the last ten years. The paper just read by Dr. Slocum expresses his conviction, (and seems to have sustained it by much testimony and evidence received through correspondence) that there is great need of additional missionary work on our reservations. He offered a suggestion—a very fruitful one, it seemed to me—that it would be well if all missions and mission schools now in operation among the Indians could be visited thoroughly by some properly qualified person who should be at once business-like in method and sympathetic with the purposes of missionary work and mission school teaching, and should report to this Conference his impressions of the work as now conducted, with definite suggestions for the improvement and the increase of such work. I have wished that we might find the right person, and inaugurate such a systematic visitation this year.

I have wondered whether the letter from a member of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, (Mr. Charles Ober), to the Chairman of your Committee, Dr. Slocum, concerning the work of that Indian Secretary to the Indian Young Men's Christian Associations—whom many of us have had a hand in helping to support,—may not be found to have in it a suggestion of the wisest method for securing such interdenominational Christian visitation of the missions and mission schools among the Indians as would help the churches of the

country and this Conference to take a greatly increased and a more definitely intelligent view of the need of additional mission work among the Indians. Is it not possible that the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association (always admirably business-like in its methods) may prove to be the best non-denominational, yet Christian agency for conducting and financing such a helpful visitation of Indian reservations and inspection of mission work among the Indians?

Why should we not secure a native Indian, such a man as the Reverend Frank Wright, for instance, a thoroughly educated and successful pastor and evangelist, a man on fire with the helpful spirit of practical Christianity, and an evangelist preacher who still appreciates the value of industrial training for Indians, warmly advocates it, and does not sneer at any people or any agency who are trying to give a moral uplift to the Indians—why should we not get him, or some man like him, to spend most of the year in inspecting and visiting Indian mission work, and to make his report to this Conference, next year?

I believe this suggestion to be well worth following out. Without offering any motion, myself, I ask the thought of the Conference as to the practical possibility of good from such a year inspection of mission work to be undertaken and reported upon by such a man.

MRS. THOMAS L. RIGGS, (Oahe, S. Dak.): Last month I stood in a company of two thousand Indians who were gathered together in their Annual Conference, to discuss questions pertaining to their spiritual and their material welfare, and I would like to give you some of their words. One of them said, "It is what we see and not what we hear that most impresses us. It is what people are and not what they say that has most effect upon us." Next to the Word of God in their own tongue, the thing that has made most impression upon the dark coated people has been the lives of the missionaries lived among them, teaching them through their lives the love of God for man. Friends, it is the personal touch of those who have been personally touched by the life of Jesus Christ. If the Son of God was not too great to come to earth to save men, there is no one on earth who is too good or who knows too much, or who is too well educated to go to these souls and teach them of God. And so, friends, we want you to give your best and noblest spirits to touch the souls of these heathen people and turn them to God. We want you to give them Christian education from the beginning, through the primary schools, the secondary schools, and the higher schools, the education which will teach them of God, teach them the love of God, in their homes and in their daily lives, so that they may understand the greater things. And as I looked over that great assemblage of Indians, I realized more than ever before that it is not the three millions spent in the government education, it

is not the expensive school houses, with all their wonderful appliances for teaching, but it is the personal touch of the same love of God for sinners which takes the missionaries out there and which teaches those people and brings them up from their lower life to the higher life. And so we plead for the Christian education, through the missionary, through the Christian teacher, and through the Christian schools.

MRS. MARY C. REYNOLDS, (Boston): I have been for years greatly interested in the Indian question. I made my first visit to the Indian Territory in 1888. I shall never forget my visit to the Blanket Indians in 1892. We went at the earnest request of the Kiowa Indians in Oklahoma and for the first time they heard the story of the Saviour's love, and of the white Christians' desire to help them. As we sat on the grass that day, our interpreter, a Christian man, told those people about the work we had done in other mission fields and the work we were planning to do for them, and they rose and begged us to send them missionaries. Lone Wolf, their chief, said, "I have been to New York and to Washington, I have looked into your homes and churches, I could not understand your language. You have something we have not, and I wish you would send us a missionary. Give my women a chance." We left a young girl there sent out by the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society. Afterwards the American Baptist Home Mission Society sent a man and his wife and the Women's Societies also sent helpers. In six years I went there again, and found a church which had been twice enlarged, and 156 earnest Christian people brought to a knowledge of Christ. All these wild tribes in Oklahoma, Kiowas, Wichitas, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Apaches had come together for a camp-meeting. As I went into the church on the Sabbath of that camp-meeting I was very much interested in the people who came forward for admission to that church. One man said, "I have two wives. I have come into knowledge of the light the past year, and I want to join this church, but I cannot give up my wives. I love them." He pleaded with tears for admission to the church. Who do you suppose were the Examining Committee of that church? Old Lone Wolf, Gotebo and Big Tree, the men who sat on the grass six years before, and heard the story for the first time. After they had examined this candidate they said, "No, when our Lord came, He made a straight road, and we can't make crooked roads in the church. He must wait until one of his wives dies." He went back and sat down with the tears rolling down his cheeks. I was there three years ago and that man has come to church every Sunday, and gives of his means, but he will not give up the wives and join the church.

To-day we have four mission stations among those Kiowas. The industrial work has been carried on also. The first time I

went there to visit them, I wanted to say I had slept in a tepee and I could not do it, it was so filthy, so I slept out of doors. The last time I went, I sat down to a meal with those Indians, and with their tablecloths and nice light bread, it was a contrast to my first visit. Perhaps you know the government said the Indians must give up the tepee, so they built little two-room houses. The Indians bought furniture for the houses and then locked the doors and only opened them for company. But the government said, "You must give up the tepee, you cannot live in it." Then they began to live in their homes. Our missionaries have taught those Indian women how to make bread and keep house. They have learned to make bedquilts and have sold them. They have also been taught how to make articles for the house as well as their dresses.

These Kiowa Indians have a Christmas tree, and before they receive their gifts Christmas eve, they come up and lay down a present for Jesus. Last year they raised over one hundred dollars and sent it to Foreign Missions, and also to the wild tribes who know not the gospel. I want you to believe also that the interpreters, most of them, are Christians.

I will close by asking a question. It is one that Big Tree asked when he was telling me of his own life, "Why didn't you come before? My father died. My children died. They begged me not to let them go out into the darkness. They and I did not know where they were going." Why *didn't* we go before? It is only four days' journey from Boston or New York, and yet until very recently we have not given these Indians a knowledge of the way of life.

THE CHAIRMAN: The time for discussion has expired, and the question is upon the adoption of the report presented by Dr. Slocum.

A vote being taken the report was unanimously adopted.

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.: It appears to me, Mr. Chairman, that Christian Missionary Boards of this country ought to be able to do something better than each one to work in his own way without co-operation with other Missionary Boards. There ought to be something better than mere comity and division of territory. It ought to be possible for us Americans to do what the Japanese Christians have done,—unite in a common effort for a common result. It is pretty difficult for us in this Lake Mohonk Conference to pass any resolution respecting the churches. If we pass a resolution telling them what we think they ought to do, then we are chided for attempting to instruct the Missionary Boards; if we do not pass a resolution telling them what they ought to do, then we are chided because we pay no attention to religion. I have tried to meet the middle ground, Mr. Chairman, in this resolution, which I offer:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Religious Education be continued and be instructed, in connection with the Publication Committee, to send a copy of its report to every Home Missionary Board and to the principal religious weeklies in the country."

THE CHAIRMAN: This resolution, under the rules, will be referred to the Business Committee.

REV. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D. D.: Mr. Chairman, I am authorized by the Business Committee, to recommend the adoption of the resolution presented by Dr. Abbott. It may be acted on at once.

The resolution was adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Next in order is the presentation of the Platform of the Conference by the Chairman of the Business Committee. After its presentation it will be before the Conference for discussion.

Dr. William Hayes Ward read the draft of the Platform prepared by the Committee on Platform, which, after discussion, was slightly amended and then unanimously adopted.

(For a copy of the Platform see page 7.)

The Conference then adjourned until 8 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, October 19, 1906.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are first to take up Porto Rico. The subject will be opened by Dr. Joseph Anderson, of Woodmont, Conn., who has a son living in Porto Rico and who has spent considerable time in the Island.

THE PORTO RICAN PEOPLE.

BY DR. JOSEPH ANDERSON.

To deal wisely and righteously with peoples that differ from us, especially with dependent people, it is of the utmost importance that we should understand them, and to this end should study them—should in fact learn all we can about them. Six years ago Porto Rico was introduced as a subject of consideration at a Mohonk Conference. Each year since then we have been listening to accounts of what our government has done for the Porto Rican people, and to plans for their improvement, but we have heard very little about the people themselves. How thoroughly do we who meet here know them?

I went to Porto Rico with the intention of getting acquainted with the island and its inhabitants, anxious to study them with reference to the duty of the American people toward this new dependency—to learn their condition and character, their present needs, their attitude toward America and their prospects as a community, or an island nation. The knowledge acquired during a ten weeks' visit was of course imperfect, but I was in some respects in a better position to learn the real facts than are government officials.

The American flag in Porto Rico superseded the flag of Spain precisely eight years ago. The year following, 1899, our government made a census of the island, from which it appeared that Porto Rico had 264 inhabitants to the square mile, and was therefore one of the most thickly settled pieces of territory on the globe. The population, which now probably exceeds a million, is a strangely heterogeneous one. The number of the natives who in the census year reported themselves "white" was 578,000; of the foreign whites 11,417, of whom 7,690 were natives of Spain. The negroes numbered nearly 60,000, and the rest, of whom there were more than 304,000, are designated "mixed,"—the mixture representing either white and negro stock, or white and Indian, or Indian and negro, or some one of these combinations united with one of the others. On any day, within any

hour, the visitor in Porto Rico is liable to meet with all these varieties of humanity. We must bear in mind that the earliest settlers were soldiers, mariners, monks and adventurers. Their first alliances were with women of the native Indian stock, but in 1513 the general introduction of negro slaves was authorized, and the other mixtures resulted. The social status of these people was from the first but little better than that of the aborigines, and, as one of their historians remarks—"it was late in the island's history before the influx of respectable foreigners and their families began to diffuse a higher ethical tone among the creoles of the better class." But the evolution of a new type of life is now in process, in which may be recognized, says Mr. Salvador Brau—a high authority—the distinctive qualities of the three races from which the Porto Ricans are descended. They have derived from their Indian ancestors indolence, taciturnity, sobriety, disinterestedness, hospitality; from their negro progenitors physical endurance, sensuality and fatalism; from their Spanish sires love of display, love of country, independence, devotion, perseverance and chivalry. A visitor, even if he were himself a Spaniard, would hardly discover in the average Porto Rican the many good qualities here enumerated; he would recognize, on the contrary, certain serious disadvantages as attaching inevitably to a race so mixed as this.

It would be well worth while, did time allow, to give some account of the different classes into which this people is divided socially; but I can only say that outside of the cities and the large pueblos the great mass consists of the so-called "jibaros"—the peasant class—some of whom are simply peons, earning their living as hired laborers in the large sugar and coffee estates, while others are landed proprietors on a small scale. The jibaros, in fact the population as a whole, constitute a great inert mass, with but few wants and few ambitions, living from hand to mouth, troubling themselves but little about the future or about what the rest of the world is doing. Professor Gifford, who explored the Luquillo forest reserve on the eastern end of the island, speaks of the peasant class as "bright, hospitable, almost invariably polite and generous, and willing to work," and as "a much more hopeful class than the natives of the cities."

That Professor Gifford's estimate is too optimistic would be the natural conclusion of any one who should examine, as I took pains to do, the houses in which these people live. To call one of them a cottage or a cabin would be to waste a good name upon it. One feels at once the appropriateness of the usual term, shack. One of these shacks which I visited measured about twelve by twenty feet. It was built of short boards, or rather, fragments of boards, and showed traces of having once been whitewashed. It was roofed with palm branches and pieces of rusty corrugated iron. A filthy drain flowed in front of it. It was wide open next the street, from three feet above the ground

upward. The door was in the rear, narrow, and too low to enter without stooping, and there were of course no windows. There was but one room, and it contained no furniture of any kind. The earthen floor was rough and broken. I saw a little old trunk in one corner, and a piece of a quilt and a thin red pillow in another. Behind me was a folded cot-bed. Some newly ironed clothes, remarkably neat and clean, were hanging on a pole, and there was an ironing-board supported on sticks. This was all. In a kind of shed in the rear I tried to discover cooking utensils, but failed to do so.

When I spoke of this shack to a physician who had lived in the neighborhood for some time, he said, "O, that is one of the shacks of the roadside. You ought to see those away from the roads!" and he proceeded to describe in quiet but unreportable language the filth he had found in these homes and the dirty practices of their inhabitants. I do not know enough about the life of the poor in other tropical lands, or among Indians or Southern negroes, to make intelligent comparisons; but in Porto Rico, it seemed to me, the conditions were wretchedly bad,—about as bad as they could be. In such an environment how can anything be developed that deserves the name of home? And in one-room shanties, where privacy is unknown, what opportunity is there for the growth of such illusions as develop sentiment and chivalry? The Porto Rico shack, I suspect, is on a distinctly lower level than the Indian tepee,—and I fancy the same is true of the morality developed therein.

Of course there are differences in these abodes of the poor—shacks of different grades. And having recognized this fact, I may say that the shack is everywhere. There are no "good neighborhoods" in Porto Rico—no favored spots in city or country into which the peon and his shanty have not intruded, and this explains, in part at least, the impression one gets of universal slovenliness.

The people who live in these habitations are not only personally more neat, but intellectually brighter than one would expect. The brightness is that which one so often finds quite dissociated from education. An American resident, speaking of the influence of the San Juan newspapers, said, "You must remember that the mass of the people do not read newspapers—in fact cannot read at all." I find that according to the census, this was true in 1899 of 77 per cent of all above ten years of age.

The moral and spiritual character of this population cannot be tabulated, and in fact is somewhat difficult to define. A resident of several years' standing said to me, as I began my inquiries, "Remember that the island is all good and the people are all bad." Of course this was a wholesale statement, and was meant to be so. He of course excepted himself and some other Americans, and doubtless excepted some of the Spaniards and the better class of natives. What he meant was that, tested by American

standards the average morality of the people is of a low grade. "As a rule," he asserted, "they will lie and steal, and they are decidedly licentious." Turning again to the census report, we find certain statistics therein that seem to bear upon this last point. In 1899 the number of married couples was something over 79,000; the number of couples living together without marriage was 42,120. The number of illegitimate children was nearly 150,000, of whom 67,000 were white and 55,000 under five years of age. The subject of concubinage, which such figures as these bring before us, is not new in this Conference and in previous discussions the practice has received somewhat different explanations. The neglect of marriage has usually been explained by the fact that the marriage fee charged by priests of the Roman Church is practically prohibitory. That other considerations are influential is well illustrated by an anecdote related to me by Bishop Blenk, who was for a time the Roman Catholic prelate of the island, and is now Archbishop of New Orleans. A woman, asked why she was not married to the man she was living with, admitted, "I don't wish to be married. If John isn't good to me now, I can leave him, but if we were married I couldn't."

Bishop Blenk mentioned other instances in which marriage was offered gratis and not accepted. Sometimes couples that were willing to marry were too poor, too scantily clothed, to appear in public, so that clothing had to be borrowed for them. He spoke, however, of five hundred couples having been married in one week, and evidently felt that the condition of things in this respect was improving. As for marriage fees, the Bishop said: "They are usually offered and received as gifts, as among Protestants. If Porto Rican priests have charged for officiating in the sacrament of holy matrimony they have violated the laws of the church"—a statement which duplicates that of Archbishop Ryan in this place two years ago. But that violations of church law have been frequent—have in fact been the rule rather than the exception—in Porto Rico, cannot, I think, be seriously questioned. The evidence is too abundant to be overthrown.

Any account of a people must be imperfect unless it makes some reference to their religion, and if time allowed, I should like to report more fully my interviews with Bishop Blenk, with Bishop Van Buren, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and with other Protestant ministers—all going to show that Father Sherman's characterization of these tropical communities as "a Catholic people without religion" is becoming by slow degrees less and less accurate.

I desire further to call attention to a fact in the later history of the island which, I suspect, is not generally known to Americans. The history of Porto Rico is a sad record of tyranny and suffering, of struggle and disappointment, of alternating despondency and hope. Through it all, the chief ambition of the people was to attain self-government, and at last this came to them.

A royal decree, conceding autonomy, was signed on the 25th of November, 1897. The dream was realized, and the enthusiastic leaders began to look forward to grand results. But the dream soon vanished. A great cloud overshadowed them, and on April 21st, 1898,—less than five months after autonomy had been granted—Governor-General Macias suspended the constitutional guarantees and declared the island in a state of war. A few months later Porto Rico became United States territory, and the cherished hope of ambitious leaders was swept away in an hour. The Americans came as conquerors—mild and kindly conquerors, upon the whole, but aggressive and revolutionary—and offered to these men—what? Certainly not autonomy, not even citizenship, not even free trade with the new “mother country.” They had no longer any market in Spain, and the United States markets were deliberately closed against them. Then came the blunder of the change in the currency, and, to out-top for the moment all else, the devastating hurricane with its overwhelming floods. The people were sunken in poverty before; their poverty was now deeper than ever, and disappointment gave birth to prejudice and widespread revulsion of feeling.

The prejudice persists, and I was assured by many that it grows stronger, notwithstanding all that our government has done for the Porto Ricans. It has certainly done a great deal; it has exhibited its paternalism in many ways—in fact has carried it to an extreme—but Porto Rico remains dissatisfied. The mass of the people know little about these things, but the thinkers and the leaders, who perceive that the power is in the hands of alien invaders and also that the fattest salaries are in the same hands,—those salaries that at one time seemed just ready to drop into the laps of the more ambitious and intelligent natives—are sadly disappointed and resentful. They look back with longing, not to the centuries of blundering and cruel Spanish rule, but to the five months of autonomy quenched in war—and meantime we continue to commit the grave mistake of refusing them citizenship!

Dr. H. K. Carroll, speaking at the Mohonk Conference of six years ago, said, “I found no desire in the island on the part of the people for independence. Everywhere I was met with deputations that said if there was any thought of declaring independence they would protest against it.” At the same Conference Mrs. Ruth S. Etnier, who had been a teacher in Porto Rico for some time, said, “The whole thing in a nutshell is, that the people want self-government.” The feeling reported by Mrs. Etnier manifests itself to-day more strongly than ever. The Convention that met in July, 1905, to consider the question of representative government was really a convention in behalf of autonomy. The proposal to substitute for the Executive Council an elective Senate was a proposal to “transfer all power and therefore all responsibility,” as *The Outlook* expressed it, “from

the United States to the people of the island," and that, to-day, is the ideal and the hope of their leaders.

We have, then, on the one side their well-defined movement in favor of self-government, in which the whole island is represented, and on the other side the conviction here at home that the Americanization of the island should be carried forward as steadily and as rapidly as possible. What Americanization means—what it ought to mean—it would be hard to say, but my own conviction is, as I look back over all that I saw and heard in that beautiful island, that the industrial, social and moral elevation of its people even to the level of our American life (which is not so very high, after all) is a heavy task, a labor involving patience and faith, unwearied effort and skillful co-operation; involving also not simply years and decades of time, but generations and perhaps centuries. I found the Porto Rican people cheerful, amiable, willing to work a good deal, and, notwithstanding all their defects, really winsome. But we must remember that it is a tropical people we have to do with, and that however brotherly our attitude may be we could not, if we would, transform a tropical people into an old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon, Puritan community. And, after all, why should we wish to, if we could?

THE CHAIRMAN: The next address will be by Dr. SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has been Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico.

WHAT PORTO RICO CAN DO FOR THE UNITED STATES.

ADDRESS OF DR. SAMUEL M'CUNE LINDSAY.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I do not know that I can add anything new to what I have already said about Porto Rico, as I have not had the opportunity of visiting the island since the last Conference, and my information is now obtained at somewhat longer range. I have, however, kept in close touch with what is going on in our government circles there, and by correspondence with a good many leading Porto Ricans, with the general trend of public sentiment. I do not believe that we are wasting our time in this Conference if we take up a few fundamental propositions concerning conditions in Porto Rico which in a Conference like this we will have to rehearse over and over again for many years before we have the right spirit or public sentiment in this country toward Porto Rico. It is possible to bring both good reports and bad reports about conditions there and it is possible to base such varied reports upon a basis of fact equally indisputable, depending very largely upon our attitude of mind or point of view. It is always largely a question of what we wish to emphasize in a very complicated problem when we speak

of the relations of the people of Porto Rico and the people of the United States. To-night I wish to dwell for a few minutes especially on the topic, "What Porto Rico and the Porto Ricans may be expected to do for the people of the United States." I was very much interested in what Dr. Ward said about the question of race superiority, and the need of getting rid of all that idea of race superiority or inferiority before we can put ourselves in a relationship of helpfulness to any other people. I presume Dr. Ward knows full well that many recent books and our most eminent scientists bear him out in the idea that social heredity is a very much more important factor than physical heredity; that the question of what a race can do in comparison with another race is so largely a question of opportunity that the factor of racial heredity in the purely physical sense may be almost wholly neglected. When we think of the history of Porto Rico and of the long period when the dominant policy in the management and control of that people was a policy of exploitation for the benefit of people not resident in the island; when we consider that the Porto Rican laboring under some climatic disadvantages, was deprived not only of opportunity, but deprived of the results of his labor above what would give him a mere minimum of subsistence through unjust taxation and many other devices in which the Spaniard was especially skilled, I doubt whether we can pass judgment upon his ability as a laborer, upon his capacity for work, for initiative, and for all those things which we admire so much as qualities of success in an Anglo-Saxon community. I doubt whether we have any right to pass such a judgment. I venture to suggest that we suspend judgment on these questions; that we give him at least the benefit of a period much longer than the period of American domination in that island, under another system, a system for which we have a right to be proud of our government and our institutions, a system which will guarantee to him the fruits of his labor; that shall open to him doors of opportunity that heretofore have been absolutely closed, and after such a period, then may we pass judgment as to his capacity for industry and for self-government. The question of self-government which plays so important a part in Porto Rico as it does in Cuba, as it does in the Philippines, is very largely a question of training in co-operation. And that is the very thing in which the training of the Porto Rican heretofore has been deficient. There is no co-operative spirit. There is no spirit of trustfulness, and the very quality of trustfulness, to which reference has been made here this evening, is also dependent upon that relationship. A year ago, when I spoke of the place of education in our Porto Rican policy, *The New York Sun* did me the honor of mentioning some of my remarks in an editorial which appeared a few days after the Conference had adjourned, entitled, "The Cart Before the Horse." And in that editorial, it was said that this talk about education and the need for larger expenditures for

public schools, larger opportunities for such book learning as we usually gave in our schools, was altogether out of place, that what we needed to do for the Porto Ricans first was to give them prosperity, and after that they would get education quick enough. That editorial showed a profound ignorance of the fundamental facts in the Porto Rican situation. What the Porto Rican needs is intellectual stimulus, as the first step leading to industrial prosperity. The door is amply open for industrial prosperity. We have been generous to the Porto Rican in our governmental policy in many respects. We have guaranteed him under the system of law that is gradually being worked out there, the economic opportunities that most people regard as essential in our American states. Nature is generous to him to a degree that we little dream of here. What he needs in order to encourage the incoming of capital, and in order to engage his fellow citizens in such co-operative work as will bring economic success, is the intellectual stimulus of desire for larger and higher things, and until he gets that—and he is getting it to-day, the younger generation is getting it in the public schools in Porto Rico,—until the whole people get that impetus, there will be no possibility of economic progress or industrial prosperity. But let him get the desire for houses, for furniture, for tables from which to eat his food, better food, clothes, and for some of the trinkets and unnecessary things of our modern civilization, and he will quickly utilize the things lying at his hand to build up economic prosperity. I insist that the primary public school, which stands for so much in the minds of the average Porto Rican, is the very necessary first step in our Porto Rican policy. But I should like to see here in this country a strong public sentiment for something else besides furnishing adequate school facilities. We have already, in our platform here in this Conference, emphasized the need of larger educational opportunities that most people regard as essential in our American is an indifference in Washington and throughout the country, in our public press, an indifference toward Porto Rico, which is wholly inexcusable, and which is the great barrier which must be overcome if we are going to fulfill our duty toward Porto Rico. I do not believe that by simply pointing this out that we are going to overcome it. I do not think that simply saying that we ought to feel differently toward the Porto Ricans is going to make us feel differently. The way must be pointed out clearly and concretely, and I believe the way that we will employ necessarily and eventually to reach this desirable goal, is a keener appreciation of the Porto Rican and of his civilization. There are many dark sides to that, many things which are excusable in the light of Porto Rican history, many discouraging things, as we look at it at first sight, but, on the other hand, there are many admirable things in Porto Rican history and in the Porto Rican character and in the Porto Rican method of life, and we want to search these out. I think it is the fundamental principle followed

by every wise teacher, that he attempts to discover the best gifts in his pupil. If we are to put ourselves as a nation in the position to teach Porto Rico as a nation, we must study our pupils and we must try and discover in them something worthy, something of greatness, and to cultivate that, draw that out, and in that feeling of self-respect which will come through this method, the Porto Rican will be more ready to listen to anything that we have to tell him of our own experience that may be helpful to him. There are many things that we can readily learn, many things that the Porto Rican is able to contribute to our American civilization. I welcome the coming together of these two peoples, not because I believe the Porto Rican was so degraded that he is going to drag us down, but because I believe he will contribute something to the upbuilding of our civilization here. We must learn something of the Spanish language and Spanish literature. I want to relate one little instance of what occurred in the Department of Education. One of my assistants took the trouble to make an unusually careful study of the Spanish language. He tried to make himself something of an authority on the subject of the Spanish language and literature. He happened, for the sake of exercise and practice in Spanish, to translate a little Porto Rican poem in the Spanish language into English verse. It was a beautiful little thing and upon the visit of one of his Porto Rican friends, he read it, and this Porto Rican was so pleased that he asked to take it with him, and it appeared the next day in one of the Spanish newspapers. The comment that went over that island about the American who had taken the trouble to learn the language well enough to translate one of the little gems of their poetry into English verse showed that he had unconsciously touched the hearts of the Porto Rican people. It is needless to say that the efficiency of the educational work which that American was able to do from that time on was greatly enhanced. I believe that his experience points for us the way. We must study their language, their literature, their customs if we expect to establish a point of contact. They have much to teach us in courtesy, politeness, hospitality, and in a whole list of things that we would all regard as virtues. They have much to teach us industrially. The skill in handiwork, both on the part of men and women, is something that might be introduced into any of our trade schools and industrial schools in this country to the advantage of both peoples. Their lace work, cabinet work, wood work and many other industries could teach us valuable lessons. Then, industrially, the Porto Rican may contribute many things to our national imports, although I do not mean to suggest that which might lead to detrimental exploitation of the island for commercial purposes. But if we begin to use its products, Porto Rico will produce a finer orange than we can, and Porto Rico produces and sends into this country to-day the finest coffee that comes into our ports. In various

lines of industry Porto Rico may contribute something which we do not produce so well elsewhere in American territory. Lastly, I hope, as a result of the cultivation of a closer relationship between the people of Porto Rico and the people of the United States, that we may develop a new type of statesman in the United States. We are so occupied with the routine business of government that we have no time for the flowery political speeches which one hears in Porto Rico on every side and, which have an important influence on life; we keep our political and business noses so close to the grindstone that we cannot look ahead five or ten years. How many of our public men are able or willing to look ahead of the political demands of the hour or of their district? I take it that it is not an impracticable thing, that it is not a visionary thing for us to ask ourselves what, in all probability, will be the relations of the United States of America to the peoples of this continent fifty years hence. What especially are likely to be our future relations to the people south of us clear to the Cape? It does not take a profound student of history; it does not take a profound scholar to see that those relations are going to be very much closer than they are to-day. They are going to involve very great difficulties in the assimilation of standards now held by peoples so radically different as the Latin-American people of South America and the Anglo-Saxon American of North America. They are going to produce political problems of the first magnitude. What are we doing to prepare ourselves to meet these problems as they arise and to perform our duty toward the people south of us. Is there no obligation upon us to meet them half way in working out the difficult problems of closer contact? We know very well to-day that there is universal distrust of the United States of America the minute we get south of our own boundaries. Nothing has been done in recent years politically that has had greater significance than the visit of Secretary Root this year to the countries of South America, and no Secretary of State has done anything which promised to be more productive of greater benefit to this country. Secretary Root has simply marked the way for us all to pursue and follow up. He has to some extent changed the suspicious attitude by declaring to our southern neighbors that the policy of this nation is not one of territorial aggrandizement. Yet Secretary Root did not have back of him public sentiment that will go much farther and say to the people of South America positively and not negatively what we propose to do for them, and what we expect them to do for us. The army and navy will tell you that we have a strategic position in Porto Rico for military affairs. We have a strategic position also in Porto Rico in regard to the development of the people on the North and South American continent which is vastly more important than is the strategic position of Porto Rico with regard to our naval affairs. Here is our national social laboratory, in which, if we pursue a

generous policy, we will win the hearts of the people of South America and we will weld together the civilizations of the North, Central and South American continents. Is not that a result worth working for? And if so, may we not well give a larger share of time, thought and discussion to Porto Rico and to the Porto Ricans? (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have with us an officer who has seen nearly fifty years of service in the United States Army of which he has been Judge Advocate General. It is particularly appropriate to introduce him now as he was with General Miles' army at the time of the taking over of Porto Rico. We shall have much pleasure in hearing from **BRIGADIER GENERAL J. W. CLOUS.**

BRIGADIER GENERAL J. W. CLOUS: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* It was my fortune to be assigned to General Miles' command, as his Judge Advocate, when he started with a reinforcing army to Cuba, and brought about the early surrender of Torral, the Spanish general. After winding up Cuba, General Miles went on his expedition with an escort of the navy to Porto Rico. The people of Porto Rico received us, not as conquerors, but as friends, and in General Miles' Proclamation to the Porto Ricans, he told them we came there to free them from the yoke of Spanish oppression, to bring them prosperity, and to help them, to uplift them. A few days after our arrival, I was called upon by General James H. Wilson, one of the subordinate commanders of General Miles, to assist him in the organization of the first Supreme Court under American control in the Territory of Porto Rico. I administered the Oath of Allegiance to the three judges appointed by the military commander, and I was very much struck with a little speech that General Wilson made to the judges, a speech and advice which I thought highly fitting. He informed them that in the United States, when a citizen was elevated to the bench, he left behind him political bias. He was required to leave behind him prejudice of politics, of religion, and personal animosity. One of these three judges, after the ceremony was over, remarked to me through an interpreter that that was a grand lesson the General had read them, and such a lesson had never been read them by their Spanish masters.

We indeed took upon ourselves great responsibilities, when we stepped in in 1898 and made Spain get off this continent. Problems confronted us for the solution of which we had no experience, and there is no better proof of that than the fact that many of our public men, even some of those of the bench and bar, were ignorant of the laws, and the institutions in vogue in Porto Rico and in Cuba. One of the Supreme Courts of one of our states passed a resolution, presenting to the Supreme Court of Porto Rico a set of their reports, expressing the hope that the Supreme Court of Porto Rico would reciprocate. When the

Supreme Court of Porto Rico received that mass of law books, they looked at one another in amazement, and did not understand what the Americans wanted. That State Supreme Court was evidently not aware that in Porto Rico the civil law—the Roman Law—prevailed and that under that system there is no case law, precedents do not govern, cases are not adjudicated upon decisions in other cases, but upon principle, upon the writings of the great commentators, hence no necessity for reports of cases. We have been, at the very beginning of taking Cuba and Porto Rico, too hasty in seeking to put those countries in the Anglo-Saxon common law jacket, and we have thereby offended the sensibilities of their educated classes, and in a measure lost their co-operation. Military as well as civil officers vied with each other to heap upon these Latin-Americans everything that we had, and which they could not appreciate, and which did not fit into their institutions and their civilization. One commanding officer issued an order conferring all the benefits of the American Bill of Rights upon the population of the just previously surrendered territory down in Santiago.

The recent events in Cuba have shown us, what many of us long ago thought, that the Latin-American is not yet fit for self-government. Is it a wonder? For three hundred years they were under a stern oppressor, an oppressor that did not teach them virtue in political life, an oppressor that demonstrated to them most ably that it was a virtue to filch from the government. To give you a slight idea of the corruption prevailing in Cuba and elsewhere let me tell you a little story. The subordinate offices in the Custom Houses in Cuba were the property of Spanish grandees living in Spain, who farmed these offices out. One of my neighbors in Havana was a Custom House officer in Havana. He paid three hundred dollars to his principal, a Spanish grandee, and received a salary of about one hundred and seventy-five dollars per month! Yet this man, in addition to paying three hundred dollars to his principal, lived at the rate of four thousand dollars per annum. While I was in Havana, as Secretary and Counsel of the American Evacuation Commission, a letter was sent us from the State Department, addressed to it by a merchant in New York, who stated that, inasmuch as Americans were about to take possession of Cuba, he would call attention to great frauds in the Custom House, that had come to his knowledge. One thousand sacks of coffee had been shipped to Havana invoiced as corn; every tenth sack contained corn and not coffee. It became my duty, under instruction of the Secretary of State and the Commission, to make these facts known to the Captain General in Cuba. Before doing so, I went down to the Custom House, where the vessel had just arrived with the thousand sacks of coffee. I saw the Custom House officers with my own eyes examining every tenth sack. It surely contained corn, but notwithstanding that, there was a trail of coffee from

the boat landing clear to the place of examination, but the customs officer was blind to that fact. I went to the Captain General and told him my mission. He received me very courteously, and politely, and thanked me for the information. Not long afterwards it came to our knowledge that an American citizen of Brooklyn, a well-known Republican politician, had succeeded in persuading the City Council of Havana to enter into a contract with him to build thirteen million dollars' worth of sewers in Havana. This was about a week or ten days before Spanish authority ceased in Cuba. Under the instructions of the Commission, I went to the Captain General and prefaced my remarks by asking him how much of the real estate in Havana was owned by Spaniards. He said, "Three-fourths." I said, "Very well, three-fourths of any expenses incurred by the City of Havana for sewers will have to be borne by Spanish citizens." He said, "Most assuredly." I then told him that the night before the Mayor of the City, and the City Council, had agreed to enter into this contract, and that the formal contract would be signed on the following Monday morning. The General was very much disturbed, assured me that it would be stopped at once, and immediately prohibited further action on the part of the Civil Governor of Havana, and the Mayor of Havana. He became much excited during the course of the interview, walked up and down, clenched his fists, and said, "These people have been deceiving me. They have not told me what was going on. I have grown gray in the service of my government. I am honest, but I am poor. Suppose this thing had gone on, and had been consummated, if I got back to Spain, my friends would say, 'Where are the six millions and a half?'" These statements merely illustrate to you how the Cuban and the Porto Rican have been brought up.

I was very much struck with the remarks of Dr. Lindsay. We can indeed learn much from the Porto Ricans, and we have a great task before us. Political parties, such as are known with us, do not exist in Porto Rico. It is the chieftain of a class or a clan, or a number that controls, not principle. Office is the chief thing. Office is the thing they are fighting for; patriotism is at the lowest ebb. We have a great task before us to make those people co-operate, to teach them lessons of industry and of political honesty. I am a great believer in the writings of Dr. Francis Leiber, who prophetically more than sixty years ago, in one of his lectures at Columbia University, New York, said in substance: "We belong to the Anglican race, the only tribe on God's earth thus far, that has the term of self-government in its vocabulary, and we are destined to carry principles of liberty and civilization all over the globe." It was said by Charles the Fifth, the great monarch of the sixteenth century, that the sun never set on his empire and it may be said of one of the youngest republics,

the United States, that the sun always shines upon Old Glory. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Azel Ames, of Wakefield, Mass., who was formerly Military and Civil Sanitary Inspector of Porto Rico and Federal Commissioner of the Island to Washington, is in the room. We would be glad to hear from him.

DR. AZEL AMES: *Mr. Chairman:* I have only a word I wish to say, but a word of very thorough appreciation and discriminating and cordial endorsement of the admirable address of Dr. Lindsay. Three years' residence in Porto Rico—coming and going—entitles me, perhaps, to have an opinion as to the weight and value of what he has said. Every word of it is worth its weight in gold, and he might have gone even further when he appealed to you for a recognition of the necessity of that co-operative effort which alone can bring our new dependent peoples and ourselves into the most effective and satisfactory relations.

And as to this co-operation I wish to say just one word further. I have the highest regard, always, for the opinion of our good friend, Dr. Lyman Abbott, and I have seen no statement in regard to Porto Rico,—for a casual and brief one—better than that he has recently given us in *The Outlook* on his return from the Island.

But in one particular he errs, and errs naturally, because right as to the general principles that it will not usually do to give too wide opportunity for that operation of greed at which, I am sorry to say, the American people are only too apt. There was a fear, when we were framing the original civil-government act for Porto Rico—I was at that time chairman of the delegation of the Federalists of Porto Rico before Congress,—a natural fear, perhaps, though I never shared it, that there would be a tendency to land-grabbing, and therefore Congress, in its wisdom (and the Executive Council of Porto Rico later unwisely confirmed it) provided that there should be no more than five hundred acres of land allowed to any corporation. It was short-sighted needless and has proved a great hindrance to progress. Experienced business men in this audience will not need to be told that for any considerable undertakings of capital that would furnish large employment, that amount of land would be altogether inadequate. It has been shown in this Conference that for the establishment of large beet-sugar interests in connection with the land of some of the Indian tribes, parties who are proposing to find capital, etc., would not undertake it unless they could have reasonable time—say twenty years—in which to carry on their operations that they might recoup themselves for their large outlay. The principle is similar. The conditions must be such as to make results possible, or capital will not interest itself, and without it—nothing.

Nothing is more essential than due recognition in regard to that primal necessity—*work* for the poorer classes in Porto Rico—than that there should be given such adequate opportunity for capital from the United States to go into the Island and develop new industries or the old ones, as will enable investors to work rightly and *give work* to the great class which chiefly needs it. There are two hundred and fifty thousand surplus laborers in Porto Rico to-day. There must be work provided for them, that they can do, at fairly remunerative wages, if they are going to work up in the scale of right living, and toward higher, better standards.

I was one day lunching with General Davis, then Governor General of the Island, when I was making a report for the U. S. Department of Labor on "The Conditions of Labor in Porto Rico," when he said: "It seems to me, Major, that you have the hardest task of any of us," and on my asking why, replied: "I suppose you are studying these industrial conditions with the purpose of finding some way out of the hard conditions of these laboring people?" to which I answered, yes; that is the ultimate object; when he added: "How you are going in an island where the staple crops, sugar, tobacco and coffee, will pay but thirty cents a day wages, to enable a man to lift up his material and social conditions, I do not see." Whereupon Capt. McComb of the Army, a highly able officer, then engaged upon the tax problems of the Island, said: "I do not agree with you, General; I believe that in an island like this, with such a soil and such a climate, that will raise almost any crop under the sun, and raise it three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, there are possible *some* occupations, *some* products, that will give to such people as these, with the individuality they possess and their readiness to work, opportunities to earn wages that will permit them to come up out of their low conditions"—such low conditions as my friend from Connecticut (Dr. Anderson) has described here to-night. There are other and better "shacks" than those he has described and good people in them, and we want to multiply them. There are great opportunities, but to make them available, we must *co-operate with* these people.

And first and foremost I have hailed with rejoicing as the keynote of this Conference, what I have never heard so fully and admirably expressed here before, viz: the recognition of the gospel of *work*; and of the cardinal truths that we have got to *work with* these people *and take something of their view-point first!* I recognize joyfully here to-night, that the two things that have been most earnestly and clearly brought out in this Conference (and they are the sound basis of work for progress, always, everywhere) have been, that man of every grade in every clime must work out his own salvation, and that if his fellow-man is to help him he must take him *where he is* and *work with him*.

When we get these two ideas into us so that they actuate, possess and govern us, *all* things are possible in the uplifting of our so-called dependent peoples.

Someone has said: "You can pierce the canopy of Heaven with a bodkin and draw all Hell through it." It is equally true that you can pierce the covering of Hell with a bodkin and draw all Heaven through it.

Dr. Ames was followed by Dr. William Elliott Griffis, of Ithaca, N. Y., who heartily endorsed the point made by Dr. Ames that if the dependent peoples are to be uplifted, their would-be benefactors must work *with* them and not *for* them. Dr. Griffis also emphasized the need of bringing the dependent peoples to Christianity, drawing a marked distinction between Christianity as exemplified in the life of Christ and what the speaker termed "the popular Christianity of our land and Northern Europe." "I maintain," said Dr. Griffis, "that the only way is to go right down to these Indians and Porto Ricans, and think what they think; to find their own hearts and their own thoughts, and make that a basis on which to build up the living Christianity of Christ, where there is neither Jew, nor Greek, nor Barbarian, Porto Rican nor Alaskan, but one man in Christ Jesus."

THE CHAIRMAN: Returning to the Indian question, we are to hear from MRS. ALFRED R. PAGE, who has been so intimately connected with the work of Rev. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe, at Colony, Oklahoma.

MRS. ALFRED R. PAGE: *Dear Friends, Members of this Conference:* I am to speak to-night for those who cannot be present to speak for themselves,—our sick and dying Indians, and the missionaries who are spending their lives in trying to carry on the work of our missions, through the southwestern portion of this country. These missionaries are located in the western and southwestern portions of Oklahoma Territory.

Our first work was begun there in 1895, by a half-Indian, who was himself so far gone with consumption that the physicians told him he would not live to reach the field, but out of his efforts there are to-day eleven missions,—three of them Indian and eight of them white. It is of these three Indian missions that I would speak. They are under the care of the Rev. Walter C. Roe. That work is twofold, there are two ends to be sought,—to uplift the Indians spiritually and aid them industrially. You know that Mr. and Mrs. Roe have devoted themselves largely to the practical help of the Indians, giving them assistance along the lines that will raise them from degradation and help them to be self-supporting. They are not here to present a need which is pressing most heavily upon them, and so I think, in these few minutes it would be better to lay it before you as I have seen it myself. When I first went down in 1900, there was a small camp of Arapahoes near the mission, numbering about one

hundred and eighty. That camp to-day numbers less than fifty, and of that great loss, seventy-five per cent has been from tubercular trouble. This disease takes such a quick hold upon them, and they pass away so rapidly that we are called upon to meet one shock after another, as our brightest boys and girls are taken from us almost without warning. The missionaries have been forced to measures that they could not continue,—that of sending the boys and girls that they hoped to help to Arizona or New Mexico, and meeting their support out of their slender salaries. Mr. Roe had desired to lay before this Conference, and before the friends of the Indians, this plan which I will give to you very briefly. As the need is very great, it is necessary to have one that could be put into immediate operation, if possible. He has thought if some place could be selected, either in Arizona or New Mexico, on some north and south, and east and west line of railroads, that would make it accessible to all tribes of Indians, then application could be made to the government for the use of the tents that now lie idle in Washington, and also for the salaries of a physician and of a trained nurse, who could look after the sick. The Mohonk Lodge, which is now self-supporting, stands ready to put in a branch of their work to enable those Indians to help themselves as long as they are able to do so, and to aid those Indians who are caring for the sick to carry on the needed support of their dear ones. Our church stands ready to take up the missionary work there, and with those few requirements we do not see why the work should not be begun at once. I can readily understand that it might be necessary to change that plan in many ways. There should be a separation made between hopeless cases, and those who have a fighting chance for their life, but I do not see why this could not be easily done under those conditions. All work that is sent out should be thoroughly disinfected and that would be guaranteed. With this help we could send our Indians at once from all tribes where the great pressure now comes. (Applause.)

MRS. A. S. QUINTON, (New York): We were thrilled by the story of Mr. Doxon, and I was especially moved by what he said regarding motives, that the Indian must have a motive as have all others. Teaching must create the motive. When our missionaries began work in an Indian village where houses were without windows or floors, the people at first rejected all thought of making a change; but when they saw the advantages the windows went in and the floors followed. The experience was the same at other stations. In our work in Alaska, Dr. Sheldon Jackson being in charge of our loan funds, the Indians were in squalid shelters at first, without morals or sanitation, but under instruction a new life began and now they have a model Christian settlement of thirteen houses. Then they added a social hall, places for instruction and worship, a business league, and various

other improvements and appliances of civilization, and all this in less than twenty years. The motive being created in the heart, all else followed.

Motive is the basis of everything that has power in life, and the motive of greatest power in the human soul is the motive of love. Men die for it. Women die for love of friends, and Indians have died for love of God and of right. Many of these people are hungry for a knowledge of God. Old men have said, "I must know God: I not know Him I not live." The women and children too in many tribes are waiting to know Him. There are still thirty tribes in this Christian land having twenty-four millions of Protestant communicants, who desire Christian instruction, that is, some in every tribe desire it; and they have not the means of hearing the Gospel. They are too remote from missions and churches. The splendid body of Christian men and women here understand this case. Appeals have been coming up here for twenty years with growing force from the beginning, and with special force the last three or four years. If only friends here would newly help to do this work through the Indian associations and the churches! Plans are ready and only means are lacking. We were delighted with the missionary report this morning and would add to the appeal for co-operation, for a working committee of co-operation for the destitute tribes. That is a practical and great need just now. The work now most urgently needed is the Christianizing of those who have had no opportunity. That gained all else that is needed will follow.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed to our closing exercises, REV. EDWARD HUNTING RUDD, of Dedham, Mass., has a word of encouragement for us.

"OUR INDIAN AND ISLAND ACHIEVEMENT AS A RETRO-ACTIVE INFLUENCE."

BY EDWARD HUNTING RUDD.

The well-nigh quarter century of unsurpassed achievement of the Mohonk Indian Conference has uplifted the American nation. The high ideals, the altruistic spirit, the wisely directed influence upon State and Federal legislation, the timely enactment of wholesome laws, the educational and Christianizing influences upon these wards of the Nation, have all had a twofold effect: first, they have enriched and lifted the Red men as the beneficiaries of our efforts; and second, they have mightily blessed those who have invested hand and heart and brain in the work. It is of this second fact that I wish to speak.

There is a retro-active benefit to the doer, in work done for others. To *possess* the altruistic and Christ-like spirit is no small part of the reward for helping others. True giving often enriches the giver more than the recipient. Thus is personal power

increased and worthwhile character constructed. Mohonk is an increasing power for righteousness because she is annually generating and disseminating such influences. Her constructive policy has been and is a mighty asset, but it is also retro-active. This fact evokes gratitude and likewise becomes incentive to ever larger achievements. Some of us began coming to Mohonk in the days of General Armstrong and Senator Dawes, and we have seen the face and form and home and heart of the North American Indian transfigured before us. And these two men were potent participants in that process. Armstrong as Elias the Prophet and Seer, the man of affairs and the man sent of God for the Indian race, now called to his Home above because he had first tabernacled among men, and taught and led them. And with him was that other great soul, Dawes the Moses of the group. A prophet, but more. The firm and wise and loving legislator. And what Moses was to Israel's nation-awakening and law-enacting and life-emerging condition, so Dawes was and is to the Indian race. He was their personal friend and counsellor. But whatever these men were to the transfiguration of the Red man, they were because they were the human agencies of the Christ by whose infinite love and life-imparting grace, the Indian is taking his rightful place among men. The Indian, emerging from barbarism under past present day influences, is fast coming to a recognized and honorable place among men. Those were leaders, already named, and with them were Captain Pratt and Dr. Frissell, the two Smileys—Albert and Daniel—Bishop Whipple of sainted memory, Philip Garrett and General Howard, Sheldon Jackson and Egerton Young, Commissioners Whittlesey and Harris and Leupp, Congressman Sherman and Judge Andrews and President Slocum, Drs. Gates and Meserve and Abbott and a Ward and a Dunning and a Devins, a Wood and a Davis, a Spining and a score of others on the field, not forgetting faithful men and women missionaries, and writers and teachers, the Riggsses and Robertsons and Fletchers and Evans and Carters and Collins and Scovilles and deSchweinitz and Ives and Quintons and many another.

As truly is the Red race coming to its own, through the intelligent consecration of time and genius of these past and present day leaders, through the Divine oversight and guidance of the God of Nations, as did Israel emerge from barbarism to be God's chosen race. But what has taken place in the process? Miss Sybil Carter very finely stated my thought in her strong womanly message when she said, "I *hope* I have done these Indian women some good, but I *know* they have done me good." It is this willing and enthusiastic devotion to the work of uplifting the Indians and those of our "Dependent Peoples" that is developing some of the finest characters in our National life. Led by our masterful and resourceful and humanity-loving President Roosevelt, our American people are measuring up magnificently

to this high and holy mission among the nations of the earth. And the Mohonk spirit has been no small factor in this supreme achievement.

This is a vital part of what James Brice in his "American Commonwealth" calls the "strength of American Democracy." It is but the elaboration of the Master's divine teaching, "He that loseth his life shall find it."

It is in the very essence of such humanitarian work, that it shall develop and expand those who engage in it. Here then, I take it, is a part of its real value to mankind. To note for a moment, the retro-active influence upon some of the great souls who have engaged in this work, is to furnish proof for the position I take here to-night. It was because Armstrong and his successors gave and are giving such superb devotion to the work of redeeming the Red and the Black and Dependent Races, that he and they find humanity turning to them with peculiar gratitude. He and they grew as they gave of their best to their fellowmen of different colored skins.

The life of Bishop Whipple mellowed and sweetened because of his love for the souls and bodies of men, and his message and personality changed the whole Northwest. The name of that gracious and humble-minded statesman, Henry L. Dawes, will not only be a household word for the ages, both among red men and white men, but because he was what he was, and did what he did, and because of the greatness of his task. He grew as his work grew. And lest we dwell too much upon the Indian and his champions for twenty-five years, remember that our Island Dependencies are giving us telling illustrations of the reflex blessing which comes to those who engage in unselfish gifts to the betterment of the child races. Not alone our high commercial supremacy, is our glory, but our unquestioned and unselfish devotion to those whose only claim is that they need the sympathy, wisdom and aid of a stronger nation to establish their own self-hood.

It pays, then, to engage in such brain-stretching and heart-awakening and soul-quickenning service for God and men,—even for the joy there is in the doing. The finest reward for a worthwhile thing *well done* is the God-given ability to do something else *still better*.

Rev. William T. McElveen, of Boston, presented on behalf of the invited members the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That our most hearty thanks be tendered to Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley for their generous and gracious hospitality to us favored members of the Conference and for this another opportunity for the study and discussion of the great problems that affect the wards of our nation. We rejoice with our hosts that they have such a large influential part in solving the perplexing problems of our time, national and international. We congratulate them on the marked progress that has been made this past year by the great causes for human betterment with

which their names will ever be associated. Few men have more faultlessly served their generation according to the will of God than the modest, forceful man whose personality gives to this beautiful home and these gatherings their unique character. We cannot help missing the presence of his charming helpmeet, who in years gone by added so much to our delight. To her we now send a message of love. And we extend to Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley our sincere felicitations at the approach of this rare and golden event in their happy and useful lives that is to be celebrated before this Conference meets next year, and we beg to express the hope that our Heavenly Father will give them more years of unselfish activity in the extension of His Kingdom here on the earth. And we also express our cordial appreciation and sincere gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley who have devoted themselves unceasingly and left nothing undone that could contribute to our enjoyment."

The resolution was seconded in felicitous speeches by Dr. James M. Taylor and Dr. Lyman Abbott and was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Mr. Smiley spoke briefly in acknowledgment of the resolution expressing his satisfaction at the success of the meeting, and his hope that the Conference might continue to grow more and more useful in the years to come. He alluded to the fact that his brother, Mr. Daniel Smiley, shared his interest in the Conference. "I feel satisfied," Mr. Smiley said, "that when my time of life is gone these Conferences will go on. If the Indian problem is solved, there will be something else to take its place, and this mountain will be, I hope forever, a place where some great cause will be championed."

On motion of Dr. William Hayes Ward, a vote of thanks was tendered to the Chairman, Dr. Draper, for his happy, wise and able conduct of the meeting.

The Conference then united in singing "God Be With You Till We Meet Again," after which the Chairman declared an adjournment sine die.

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APPENDIX.

RESUMÉ OF THE YEAR'S WORK OF THE INDIAN BUREAU.

(The following is a summary of the resumé prepared for the Conference by Miss Emily S. Cook of the Indian Bureau and referred to in the address of Hon. Francis E. Leupp (page 19).

NEW LEGISLATION—The most noteworthy legislation of the year was the "Burke Law" which provides: 1st, That any Indian allottee who is adjudged by the Secretary of the Interior to be capable of managing his own affairs may have his land in fee without waiting for the expiration of the 25 years of inalienability; 2d, That an allotment made after May 8, 1906, does not carry citizenship with it as heretofore, but citizenship will come only when the land is patented to the allottee; 3d, That so long as any allotment is held in trust by the Government the allottee is subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States. The law also provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall determine who are the heirs of allottees who die during the trust period.

Other legislation has included acts:

Appropriating \$25,000 for suppressing the sale of liquor to Indians, \$15,000 of it to be used in Indian Territory and Oklahoma.

Authorizing the establishment of a Reform School for Indians and ordering an investigation of the subject of an Indian Sanitarium.

Authorizing the President to extend the trust period of any Indian allotment if the good of the allottee requires it, and providing that money in the United States Treasury to the credit of Indian minors shall draw interest at three per cent.

Permitting an Indian who has an allotment within an irrigation project to dispose of enough of it to obtain a water right for the remainder.

Capitalizing the entire estate of the Osage Nation, each person's share of the money to be held in the Treasury to his credit for 25 years, and his share of the lands, excepting a 160 acre homestead, to be at his disposal when he is pronounced by the Secretary of the Interior competent to manage his own affairs.

Permitting the Columbia Indians in Washington to sell their lands, except 80 acres each, the 80 acres to be inalienable for only ten years.

Permitting the Kickapoos in Oklahoma to sell their lands.

(This it is feared will encourage their removal to Mexico where they have been promised abundant game and untrammelled freedom.)

Removing the restrictions from the sale, incumbrance or taxation of the lands of all mixed blood Chippewas on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota.

Appropriating \$100,000 to obtain land and water rights, buildings and fencing for the landless and homeless Indians in California.

Providing for the settlement of an old controversy between the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians in Wisconsin, and appropriating \$537,000 to pay the Klamath Indians for lands taken from them in 1888 by an erroneous survey.

Making it a crime to disturb any prehistoric ruin or monument without the permission of the Government.

EDUCATION—There have been during the year 261 Government schools (146 of them day schools), attended by 24,762 pupils, and 56 mission schools (3 of them day schools), attended by 4,708 pupils. These, with the 115 pupils at Hampton and 94 at public schools under Government contract, makes a total enrolment of 29,679 pupils—a decrease of 427 from the previous year. The average attendance was 25,492, an increase of 37.

New Government day schools to the number of 19 are under construction and a dozen more are planned. The Government boarding school among the Omahas has been discontinued and the pupils absorbed in the public schools, the Government paying the same rate for Indian children that the State allows for white pupils.

Eight mission schools, with 972 pupils, were conducted under contract with the Government aggregating \$81,261, payable from the trust and treaty funds of the Menominee, Northern Cheyenne, Osage, Quapaw and Sioux tribes on the formal petitions of those Indians.

Mission schools may hereafter receive the rations and clothing to which their Indian pupils would be entitled, if they were living at home instead of in the school.

IRRIGATION—An appropriation of \$185,000 supplemented by tribal funds has supplied help by irrigation to nearly all arid reservations. Work on the Zuni dam is nearly finished, flood damage to the Pala ditch has been temporarily repaired, and a 34-mile ditch has been begun on the Shoshoni reservation. Indian allottees in Carson Sink are to have their arid allotments exchanged for 10-acre tracts with perpetual water rights.

ALLOTMENTS AND PATENTS—During the year 3,067 allotments have been approved and 4027 patents issued; work is being done on the Cheyenne River, Crow, Flathead, Oto, Pine Ridge, Quinalt, Sac and Fox of Missouri, Shoshoni and Uintah reservations.

PROCEEDS OF SALES OF INHERITED LANDS—The sales of such lands in four years have averaged over a million dollars a year.

The Indian heirs are protected by the deposit of the money in bonded banks to the credit of the heirs, no claim against whom may be paid without the approval of the Indian Office. A decision of the Court of Appeals holds these funds to be exempt from taxation.

OPENING OF INDIAN LANDS—The Crow Indian lands were opened for settlement last May. Other lands soon to be opened include the southern half of the Colville reservation, 56,000 acres of the Lower Brule Sioux lands, 500,000 acres of Kiowa lands and unallotted lands on the Coeur d'Alene reservation.

THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES—The tribal governments which were to have ceased on March 4th, 1906, have been allowed to continue until otherwise provided, but with their laws subject to approval and their executive heads subject to removal by the President. Their schools continue under control of the Secretary of the Interior pending the organization of a State or Territorial school system.

DISTURBANCES—But two disturbances arose during the year: one was caused by the interference of some 20 Navahoes with Superintendent Perry in the discharge of his duty which resulted in the imprisonment of seven Indians on Alcatraz Island; the other was a factional difference within the Hopi resulting in the withdrawal of one faction from the village to the desert where they are suffering hardships.

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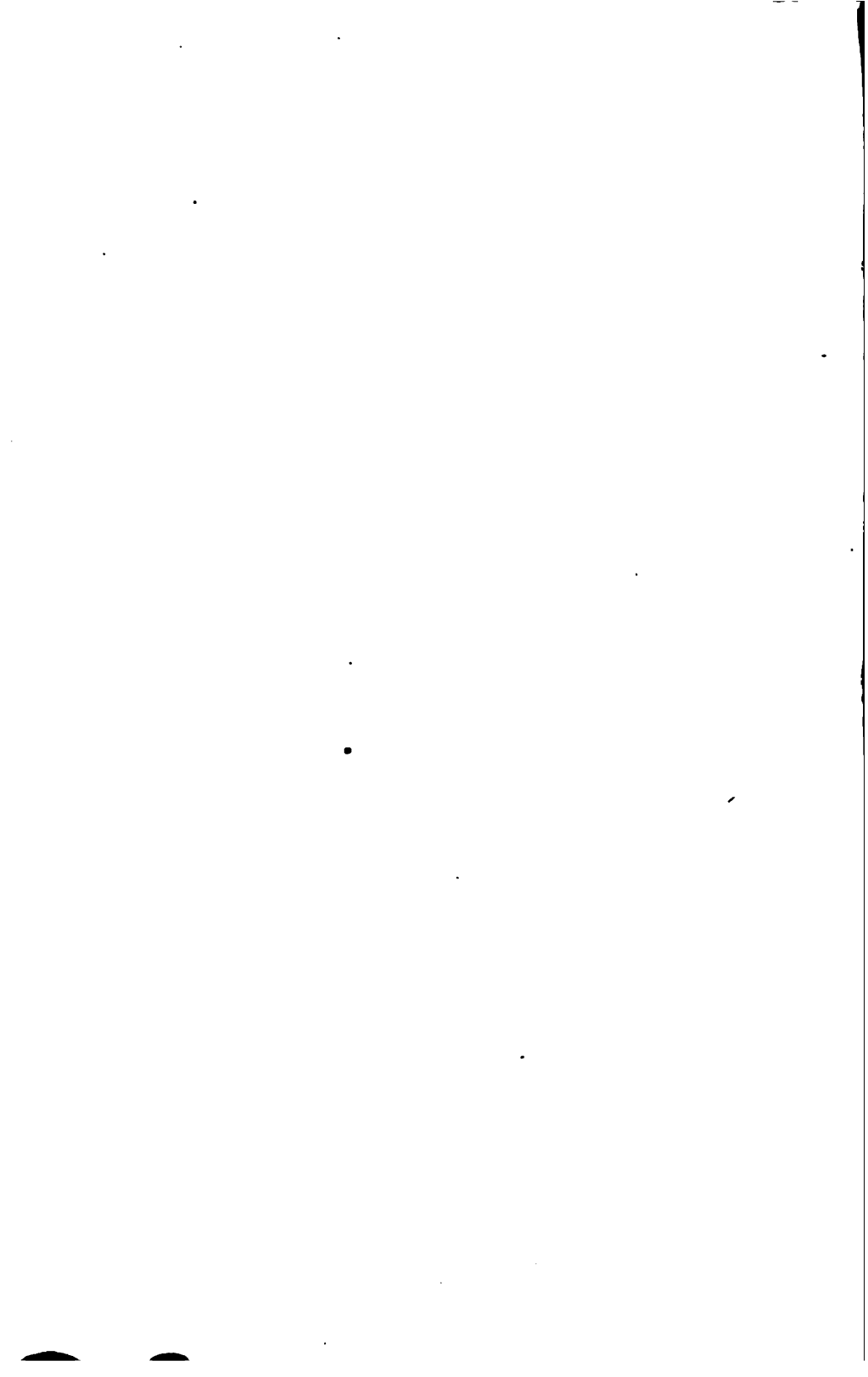
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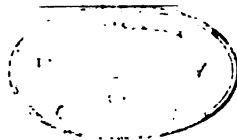


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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
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OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES
1907

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REPORTED BY MISS LILIAN D. POWERS



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PREFACE

The Twenty-fifth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples met on the invitation of Hon. Albert K. Smiley, at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., October 23rd, 24th and 25th, 1907. The topics discussed included affairs among the Indians and in the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii. The discussions are given, practically in full, in this volume.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference, and a limited number is available for distribution to others who may be interested. Applications for reports should be made to the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference.

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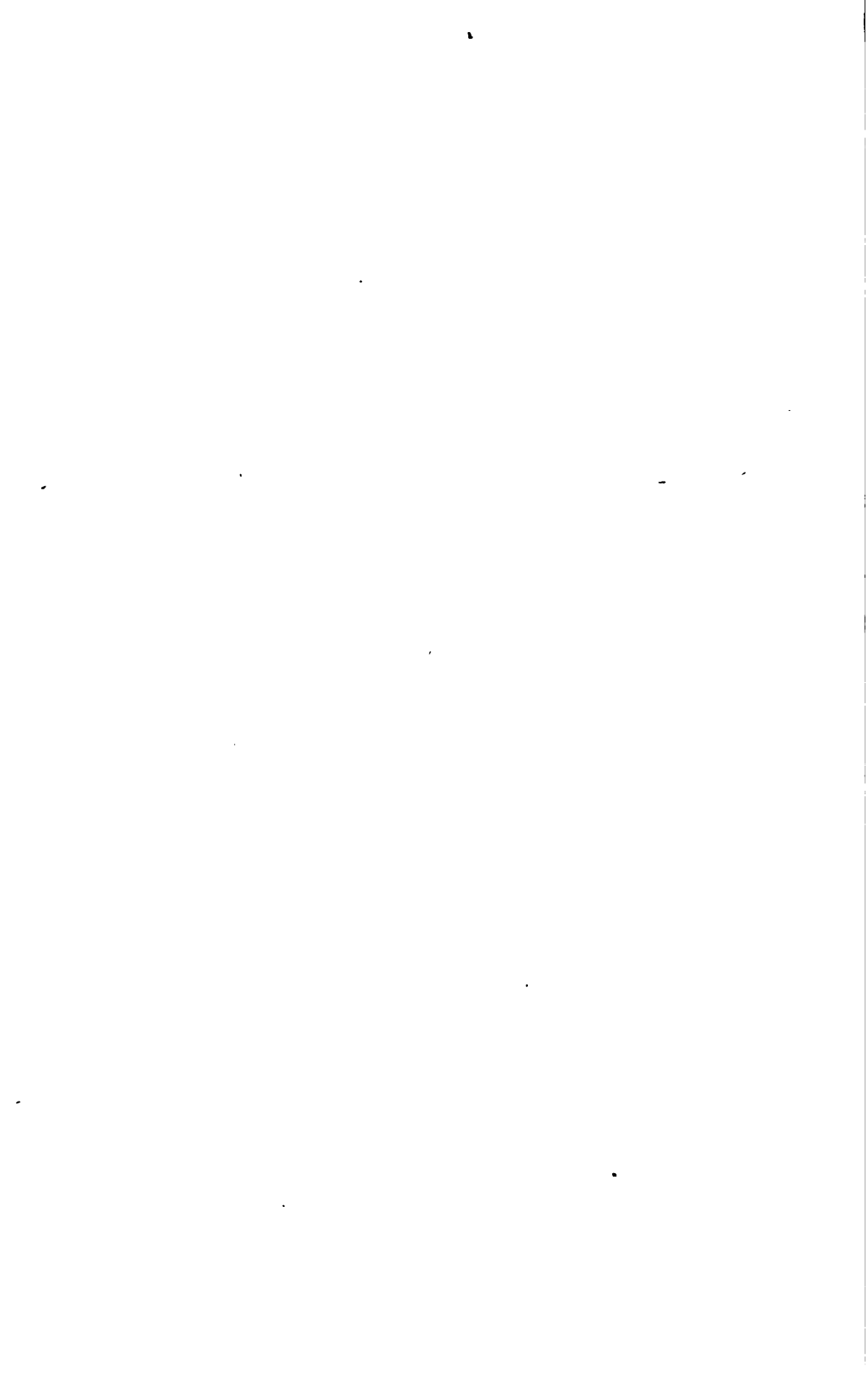
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PLATFORM
OF THE
TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER
DEPENDENT PEOPLES, 1907
(Unanimously adopted October 25th, 1907)

The Lake Mohonk Conference, at the close of its twenty-fifth annual session, congratulates the people of the United States upon the progress made in the education and development of the Indians in the last quarter of a century. The general policy toward Indians adopted by the Government in these later years we heartily approve. It establishes the Indian in citizenship, in a home of his own, charges him with responsibility for the ordering of his own life and the management of his own property, while for a term of years it protects his title to his land and helps him to begin life as a citizen of the State in which he lives.

Recent legislation which reverses the order contemplated in the Dawes Severalty Act, and grants citizenship to an allotted Indian only at the discretion of the Department or at the expiration of the period of protected title, is contrary to the convictions of the Mohonk Indian Conference as expressed in other years, and will tend to prolong indefinitely an Indian Bureau which we hope to see discontinued as early as possible.

We have confidence in the officers of the Government entrusted with the duty of carrying out our general Indian policy. We heartily commend the greater emphasis now laid upon labor by Indians as a means of self-support and preparation for citizenship, and the effective measures adopted to protect Indians against the evils of illicit liquor traffic. To keep clean, honest and efficient that work of administration which is now the chief task of the Government, we look with confidence to a continuance of hearty co-operation between the administrative officers and the intelligent friends of the Indian.

This conference urges upon the Christian people of the country greatly enlarged efforts toward Christian education and the evangelization of the Indian.

While the Indian problem no longer looms up as it once did, new and pressing problems now engage our attention. In aiding Cuba to secure its freedom the people of the United States suddenly found themselves face to face with vast responsibilities. Several millions of people of different races and languages, of different degrees of civilization, in non-contiguous territory, were brought under the jurisdiction of this nation. New political, economical and educational problems were thus created. The supreme moral responsibility imposed was promptly recognized by President McKinley, who said: "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate and to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a great trust." The moral duty thus stated by President McKinley was ardently accepted by President Roosevelt. The welfare of the people of the Philippines has never been lost sight of by the executive department of our Government.

We record our high appreciation of the executive ability, unselfish devotion and sympathetic spirit toward the Filipinos which have distinguished the administration of Secretary Taft.

In spite of the great magnitude of the responsibilities assumed, gratifying and encouraging results have been obtained in the last eight years. The currency of the Islands has been placed upon a stable basis without commercial friction, a general educational system especially adapted to the needs of the Islanders has been established under American and native teachers, and four hundred and thirty thousand pupils enrolled. Great sanitary reforms have been effected. The harbor of Manila has been permanently improved, insular and telegraphic communication has been established and important railway enterprises undertaken. Postal savings banks have been created with beneficent results and an agricultural bank has been authorized by Act of Congress. Land titles guaranteed by law have given a new stability to business enterprises. Local self-government has been firmly established in every civilized community, and the Philippine National Assembly has lately been elected and organized. We

are grateful that insular administration has not been an issue between political parties in the United States, and that the insular service has been placed upon a basis of principle and merit rather than upon one of politics. We urge that patriotism, good morals and good policy shall make this course permanent and strong.

The problems that still confront us in the insular dependencies are moral, educational and economic. While our Government enacts necessary and just legislation, the people of our country should recognize their duty to aid in the solution of these problems through those methods and agencies of Christian education and evangelization which contribute directly to the formation of that moral character upon which all stable society must rest.

By legislation which we regard as directly at variance with the moral duties we owe to the Philippine Islands, Congress has imposed upon them great and unmerited burdens. While all commodities coming to the United States from Porto Rico and Hawaii are admitted free of duty and those from Cuba at twenty per cent of the existing tariff, a tax of seventy-five per cent of said tariff continues to be imposed upon two of the principal products of the Islands, while a third product, produced there alone and therefore not in competition with products of the United States, is admitted free. This glaring inequality does not, we believe, reflect the prevailing spirit of the American people.

While Congress made provision for conferring Filipino citizenship upon persons resident in the Islands at the time of our occupation, no provision has since been made enabling persons to acquire citizenship who have come into the Islands since that time. Special naturalization laws for Filipino citizenship are urgently needed.

We respectfully call the attention of the President and Congress to the following recommendations:

1. We urge that our Government shall steadfastly adhere to the principle that a moral responsibility which we cannot neglect and which is higher than all commercial considerations requires us to legislate and to administer so as to promote the highest welfare of the people of these Islands.

2. We urge that Congress shall without delay legislate so as to effect a radical reduction of the duties now collected on products of the Philippine Islands.

3. We advise that the greatest educational emphasis be put upon the primary schools and the preparation of teachers therefor, and that such instruction shall have special reference to industrial training. The utmost effort should be made to secure the enrollment and attendance of all children. We maintain that it is the duty of Congress to provide adequately for such education even if the necessary money were to come from direct appropriation, but additional funds to those now raised in the Islands would become available there for educational purposes by the increased amount of taxable property which would be accumulated as a result of the reduction of existing duties.

4. Education in the duties of citizenship is an essential element in social and political progress. So fast as the Filipinos demonstrate their political capacity, powers of self-government should be granted and enlarged.

5. We recommend Congressional enactment to enable a large number of persons in the Philippine Islands to be naturalized as citizens of said Islands. We believe that provision should be made by Congress whereby educated and duly qualified Porto Ricans may become citizens of the United States.

6. We urge upon Congress immediate legislation to protect the inhabitants of our insular possessions against the great evils of the opium traffic and the opium habit which already threaten them.

7. We recommend that the application of the Coastwise Shipping Act be permanently suspended with reference to the Philippines, and that Congress give serious attention to legislation necessary to relieve Hawaii from the disadvantages which this law imposes, and encourage the industrial development of Porto Rico.

8. With clear recognition of the ability shown in the administration of affairs in the Philippines and the conviction that we have a body of competent men trained in colonial administration, it still seems to us that the Bureau of Insular Affairs, whose functions are essentially civil, should be ultimately committed to some other department than the Department of War.

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

First Session

Wednesday Morning, October 23d, 1907

The Conference was called to order at 10 A. M. by MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY, who, in welcoming his guests, spoke as follows:

OPENING REMARKS OF MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY

I cannot begin to tell you, my dear friends, how delighted I am to welcome to this Conference the distinguished company I see before me.

This is the twenty-fifth Indian Conference. What a marvellous improvement in the Indian conditions has taken place since we first met! Then the Indians were being rapidly despoiled of ancestral homes, with no courts to which they could appeal, their hunting grounds were gone, and a hostile band of border whites was bent on their extermination. Now the gates of American citizenship are thrown wide open and opportunities for earning a living are afforded. Hereafter they are no longer to be fed and coddled, but are to be thrown on their own resources and must work or suffer hunger.

During the twenty-eight years of my membership on the Board of Indian Commissioners, there have been at least ten persons holding the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, all of them able and honest men, each held responsible for the proper conduct of Indian affairs, but almost shorn of power, which was held by the Secretary of the Interior. Most fortunate for the Indian, the office is now held by one who is not only able, honest, resourceful and of long acquaintance with the Indian problem, but who is also an intimate friend of the President, who has given him almost unlimited authority. I earnestly hope this Commissioner will hold his office till the whole Indian question becomes ancient history.

He is with us this morning and will fill a prominent place in our discussions.

These Indian Conferences had their real origin in Dakota Territory twenty-five years ago. General Whittlesey and I were sent to Dakota to investigate charges made against a powerful organization trying to dispossess the Sioux Indians of large tracts of valuable land. By a remarkable coincidence nearly all the religious and philanthropic societies interested in the Sioux Indians had prominent representatives there at the same time. At someone's suggestion we all met in conference for three days and settled upon a uniform line of policy which eliminated all the interference heretofore prevailing and brought harmony out of discord.

At the close of the meeting I invited the whole body to come to Lake Mohonk the ensuing autumn and spend a week as my guests, promising to invite prominent Indian experts and able philanthropists to discuss the Indian problem. A goodly company assembled here, all invited for a week, but against my wishes they decided to cut down the week to three days.

At that Dakota conference there was one man of strong common sense, a warm philanthropist, an earnest Christian, who took a leading part in our discussions. He had already established a number of very successful schools for the Christian training of Indians, one or two of which I visited. He has since greatly increased his grand work till his name has become a household word with the Indian and the friends of the Indian. I have tried for twenty-five years to bring him here without success. To my delight he came last evening and will at some session of this conference give us a chapter of his large experience. I refer to Rt. Rev. William H. Hare, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of South Dakota.

There are other important matters besides the Indians that claim our attention. Porto Rico, one of the fairest islands in the West Indies, has a delightful climate, a fertile soil and abundant resources. Were there no California, I should like nothing better than to build a winter home there, in sight of the sea, with fine forests and well cultivated grounds around me, and the charming, courteous natives as my neighbors, to show the world that Porto Rico can raise almost everything under the sun. Then I would pester Congress for more liberal treatment.

Then there are the Hawaiian Islands, one of the beauty spots of the world. Isn't it about time to awake to the fact that in the near future Honolulu is to be one of the leading

harbors of the world? Hawaii is the key to the commerce of the Pacific and should at once have large appropriations.

And the Philippines — there is the knotty question of the Conference. The fight is on, whether we shall keep and develop them, or sell them, or give them away, or drop them. I hope the members of Congress who are present and a score of other experts will lead us to a right decision.

Will you allow a novice, whose opinions are likely to change during the next three days, to venture a suggestion?

When Alaska was purchased for seven millions, what a howl of indignant protest was made against such a sum for a barren tract of ice-bound rocks and mountains, where no white man could ever live. Such was the general dissatisfaction that soon after the purchase a majority vote of the people could have been had to sell them for half their cost. and now, suppose England should offer two hundred millions, would we sell? Would any of you vote for it?

Every one of our acquisitions have met with bitter opposition:—The purchase of Louisiana from France, Florida from Spain, the Gadsden purchase from Mexico, Alaska, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Panama. All of these most valuable additions to our country, except the Louisiana and Florida purchases, have been made in my lifetime. So I am used to dissatisfaction and denunciation. Possibly—nay, probably—in twenty years, when the Pacific has twice the commerce of the Atlantic, chiefly under the control of the richest and most enterprising nation on the globe; when Congress has lifted that heavy and inexcusable tariff from the Philippines, and the inexhaustible resources of forests, mines and agricultural products have been fitly encouraged and developed, and Manila has become one of the great seaports of the world; then the cry will be what a fortunate thing for America that the Philippines fell so unexpectedly into our lap! I admit that the Philippine problem is a knotty one, full of difficulties. We have spent immense sums for their benefit, but why not more, on one of our youngest children?

Our Country has in the last few years done many noble acts. Liberating Cuba from Spanish oppression cost us untold millions. We (or one of us) stopped the Russo-Japanese war. We prevented the partition of China. We have been of the greatest service to South America by securing more cordial relations between themselves and us. We are now, with Mexico's help, trying to secure peaceful relations between the Republics of Central America. We have for the first time in history taught the nations how to use plain truthful talk instead of lying diplomacy. At the Hague our representatives

have taken the lead and have won the respect and admiration of the world. The United States has gained an enviable position for its philanthropy. May it ever hold that position.

I now have pleasure in presenting as the presiding officer of the Conference, DR. ANDREW S. DRAPER, Commissioner of Education of the State of New York.

Dr. Draper took the chair and the organization of the Conference was completed.

(For a list of Officers of the Conference, see page 2.)

The President then delivered the following opening address:

OPENING ADDRESS OF HON. ANDREW S. DRAPER, LL.B., LL.D.

Mr. Smiley and Ladies and Gentlemen: Year after year, twenty-five times, the keen interest which the proprietor of this estate has had in all unfortunate men and women has brought this Conference to its gracious hospitality in order to promote the good of the American Indians. Since the war with Spain for the rescue of Cuba, the discussions of the Conference have extended to the millions of people who came under the sovereignty of the United States as the result of that conflict.

At one of our sittings we shall hear from the Secretary of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners about the influence of these twenty-five meetings in stirring Indian sentiment, shaping Indian legislation, and reforming Indian administration. Following my brief introductory words we shall have from Hon. Francis E. Leupp, the altogether admirable United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, some of the interesting details of Indian progress under the better laws and better administration which, it is not too much to say, have largely resulted from the discussions under this roof. And now, and in each succeeding year, we shall expect to hear from officers, agents, teachers, missionaries, and other workers in the Indian service, about the difficulties they encounter and the work they are doing. We shall at all times be anxious to give attention, sympathy, and encouragement to all such and to make any declarations to the public which may serve substantial ends. But it seems as though the Indian problem has been practically solved so far as general policies are concerned, that it is now almost wholly a matter of administration, and that we may well begin to make the people of our new dependencies the subject of our most serious discussions and of our aggressive declarations.

The Philippine problem has come to be the problem of pressing concern to us. There are more people in the Philippine Islands than in the State of New York—perhaps twenty times more than the Indian population ever was. The conditions are hard and the outlook uncertain. It is a hard matter to have such a mass of unlettered, semi-savage, or wholly savage people under our flag, without the possibility of assimilating them as we do the millions who come to us from other lands, and with some inevitable doubts about their ever being able to govern themselves. We are coming to the serious stages of the undertaking and the problem looms even larger than at first. The sober second thought sees that the practical difficulties are heavier, that the moral responsibilities are higher, and that the possibility of substantial results in world progress are more open and unique than at first appeared. It sees also that the reflex influence upon the people and the international standing of the United States, as well as upon world respect for popular government and the coming course of world events, is to be much greater than was at first realized.

It seems to me idle to discuss whether we made a mistake in getting the Philippine Islands upon our hands. They *are* upon our hands. Time spent in wondering whether we ought not to back out of the responsibility, or ought not to sell them, or barter them, or give them away, is time worse than wasted. Aside from that practically universal national pride which will never, without convincing reasons, relinquish any territory that has once come under the sovereignty of the United States, there is a national conscience among us which has some concern about the good faith of governments, and will not give over to utter hopelessness, or abandon to any nation less disposed and less able to promote their best good than ourselves, any dependent people for whom we have once assumed responsibility. And there is no other nation better able to bear the burden, and more unselfishly disposed to do so, than we are.

Nor will the people of the United States seek an arrangement with the great powers by which the Philippine Islands may, like Switzerland, become neutral territory and left to themselves. When the clear majority of the Filipinos show the capacity for building institutions which the clear majority of the Swiss have long possessed, the suggestion will not be repugnant to our sensibilities, but there will then be no point in it.

There is but one thing to do, and that is to turn a deaf ear to the waverers and go right ahead with the load which

we have taken upon ourselves. And we will do it better if we know that we will not get any shillings for carrying it, and that the road is likely to be so long that none of this generation is likely to see the end of it.

Of the spirit and the acts of the executive officers of the government, so far as I know, there can be no words but those of commendation. McKinley started nobly when he said "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a great trust. The question is not, will it pay? but, will we do what is right?" He acted up to what he said. President Roosevelt has been in entire and enthusiastic accord with the ideal attitudes of his lamented predecessor. What Roosevelt has said has been admirably said and when he induced McKinley's Governor General of the Philippines to become the head of the War Department, because through the military occupancy that department had come to be charged with Philippine administration, and he could thereby bring to his own council table and into the position of largest influence upon Philippine affairs the man best informed and most trusted upon those affairs, he did quite as much as he could do in any way to promote the realization of McKinley's and the country's best hopes.

The information which we get about Philippine matters comes through the officers of the army and navy, through missionaries and teachers, and through occasional travelers. In its parts it is tinged by inevitable bias. As a whole it is often confusing and conflicting. Sometimes a poor little fact is dressed up in such literary clothes to get it into the society of the magazines that it must be wholly unable to recognize itself. The government reports are ponderous, unsystematic, lacking in continuity, poorly indexed if indexed at all, and therefore not very helpful even to one seeking information: to the masses they are inexplicable.

The following essential facts are much condensed from a recent article having the earmarks of reliability, in the *New York Tribune*. Under Spanish rule the Filipino had nothing to say about government, either local or general. If he went to church it was to one ruled by the State, and often corruptly. Under American rule the municipal officers are elected by the people, and the provincial officers are so elected, except the Governor, who is chosen by the municipal councils who are themselves elected by the people, and the Treasurer, who is appointed by the Governor General. The people have just elected a popular assembly which, with the Commission ap-

pointed by the President of the United States, will constitute a congress for the islands. The justices of the peace, more than half of the circuit judges, and three out of seven justices of the supreme court are natives. So is the Attorney General and practically all of the States' attorneys. There is a native police of 6,000 men, many of whose officers are natives. The law and the judicial system assure practically every right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Churches are encouraged by government, but are neither supported by nor under the control of the State. Under Spanish rule it is said there were 200,000 children in some kind of schools, and that the average daily attendance was half that number. Now there are 500,000 enrolled with an average attendance of 270,000 in much better schools. The general government is spending \$2,400,000 per annum for schools besides what is expended by provincial and municipal governments. The government maintains 200 pupils in the schools of the United States. The exports and imports have increased something like 50 or 60 per cent. In eight years the public improvements,—buildings, harbor improvements, lighthouses, roads and bridges, and vessels for public service, have aggregated something like \$20,000,000. The harbor of Manila is said to be the best in the Orient. Under government encouragement, but hedged about by safeguards, there has been constructed sixty miles of electric road and a good lighting system at Manila, and in the same way the railway mileage in operation in the islands has risen from 120 to 205 miles, and 709 miles of new road are in process of construction.

If these statements are true, they certainly form the outlines of a picture which is both heroic and heartening. It is none the less so because not conclusive of the whole matter, or because many of the details of the picture are not up to the expectations of some who are not experienced in such undertakings. Of course the whole subject, outlines and details, needs informing and patriotic discussion. There are many in the country, no doubt there are some here, who are skeptical about one phase or another of our policies in the Philippines. Certain kinds of skepticism are often healthy. This is a good place for such as you to express doubts, because one may have them taken out of him and another may make a valuable contribution to the judgment of all.

Aside from the training of Filipinos in religion and morals, which is outside of the government functions and accepted by the religious denominations, and which will naturally have the thought of the Conference, there are three phases of government policy in the Philippines which suggest them-

selves to me as deserving our discussion. These relate to political privileges, to secular education, and to industries.

As to giving political privileges, we are, for obvious reasons, disposed to go much further than other great nations who have had to deal with similar questions. Perhaps we may be disposed to go too far. These people are not like our fathers before the American Revolution. There may be a golden mean between the extremes. Political privileges already conferred are sufficient proof of the desire to give all that may be safely exercised; and if the fact that less than two per cent of the population voted at the recent and first general election for a popular assembly, and that those who did were clamorous for independence without appreciating its responsibilities, is not wholly discouraging, it certainly admonishes us to hesitate about going further at once or about making promises. It is manifest enough that for a long time self-government must be very local and simple, and that the possibility of the safe exercise of sovereignty by the islands at an early day is quite out of the question.

The adaptation of schools to the needs of the situation is likely to be a much more difficult matter than many would at once suppose. American schools may not be of the most service to an *un-American* people, and certainly Filipino schools can not be locally supported and administered to the extent that American schools are. Quite as certainly, the greatest weakness which we are coming to realize in our American system will count even more heavily against them than us. While we are bound to hold out to everyone his equal chance, we will do well if we encourage young Filipinos to be *workmen* rather than lawyers, and doctors, and engineers, and promoters of enterprises, and managers of other Filipinos. There will be enough who will get into the professional employments and the managing positions without our telling them that they will come short of their deserts and miss their opportunities if they do not. Universal attendance within fixed ages and an exact elementary training ought to be made the fundamental factors in the Filipino schools. We may learn much from our near neighbor in the east, Japan, about this.

Filipino industries claim the best attention of the government. No people can have a life worth the having unless they have some understanding of the economic, moral, and social value of work. And hardly can any people be expected to have such an understanding unless work makes money and is convertible into what money will buy. The industrial problem in the Philippine Islands must, very likely, be always

and necessarily a difficult one. It has been doubly so by reason of exceptional occurrences since they came under our sovereignty. If there is to be any American aid to Filipino industries, congressional legislation must open the way for and not hinder it. Federal officers must be led to concentrate their study upon the subject, and, having done so, they must be expected to take definite public attitudes, and, having done this, they must be listened to. The simple industries which will contribute to better living must be encouraged through better implements and improved methods. And other industries which will find or develop markets must be studiously ascertained and methodically introduced by government action and, if need be, by liberal government aid. The amount of money we spend in the matter is of little account so long as it is honestly expended and really leads to self-supporting industries. We are not in this business for commercial gain, and unless there is moral gain we shall be ourselves disgraced, if not debauched, by it. A tariff against insular products for the real purpose of affording superior profits to home industries that are no longer in their infancy is abhorrent to the good conscience and overwhelming opinion of the American people. The Philippine industries are now "home industries" quite as much as any other industries and the circumstances claim for them not only equal terms but any preference which their existence and reasonable prosperity may require. There are some people who do not see things which they do not want to see unless they are told in particular ways. If party managers who control these things continue to turn a deaf ear to the gentle voices which are now protesting, they will find that many objectors will join forces and they will hear from enough people in a way that will be entirely intelligible to them. Not only the revenue tariffs but every other instrumentality of the general government is expected to be used in uplifting the people of the Philippine Islands. McKinley's thought must be carried out. The members of Congress talk most entertainingly, and no doubt genuinely; but congressional action is often so very different from the Congressmen whom we know. There is the rub. The Washington departments and both houses of Congress, as to everything but the coming elections, have come to be the most easily resistive machines in all history.

For myself alone, I have doubt about making the War Department the essential and permanent Washington instrument of insular administration, and it is not relieved by the qualities and the experiences of Secretary Taft. It was natural enough at the beginning because it was then military

administration almost exclusively. Perhaps it was well. Possibly it saved us from purely partizan administration. The military service, as President Eliot points out, is one for protection and not instruction, and it seems as though the essential work we are to do in the Philippines will be more quickly done without any unnecessary control by the military establishment.

We do not overlook little Porto Rico, or our good friends in the Hawaiian Islands. The problem with them is by no means so large. Before the Conference is over you will doubtless know that the Hawaiian people are abundantly able to speak for themselves. And both of these peoples will quickly get the benefit of any insular policies which the overwhelming situation in the Philippines may induce.

In a concluding word, the millions of Filipinos who have come under our care will move out of the darkness and into the light more quickly when it is fully realized that whether they do it or not depends alike upon themselves and upon the people of the United States; that the process is essentially a moral one and the task upon us is one of the world burdens which our own advance has brought to us; that legislation which is not framed upon altruistic lines will not serve any good purpose for them or for us; that efficient administration must have very special reference to the things to be done, and expert opinion must have the respect and the influence which belong to it; and that over all there must be definite, responsive and reachable accountability. And there is reason enough to question whether it is not desirable that there be an independent office at Washington which will have specific and pretty independent charge of insular affairs, which will have power to do things and the right to be listened to, which will be charged with full knowledge about dependencies in general and the Philippines in particular, and which will not only be established upon a legal footing that will enable it to be independent of all meanness if it is willing to be, but, above all else, will be under the direct influence of the better spirit of the American people. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The first speaker of the morning is HON. FRANCIS E. LEUPP, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. After his remarks, he will present a number of workers in the Indian fields who will explain to us the present day operations of the Indian service.

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TOWARD THE UTE INDIANS

REMARKS OF HON. FRANCIS E. LEUPP

Ladies and Gentlemen: Last year I spoke to you at some length on what we are trying to do in the Indian service in the way of getting the Indians away from the reservations, trying to mix them with the white people, and having them work just as white people do. You will hear something more on this subject from one of our lieutenants in the field whom I have asked to address you this morning.

I wish to concentrate what little I have to say upon one subject which may come up a while later, and upon which I wish the members of this Conference to be fully informed. Judging from past experiences they may not get all the information that they ought to have from the newspapers.

Last year, as you may recall, a body of three or four hundred of the Ute Indians started from their reservation in the State of Utah, travelling across the country in the direction of the Sioux Reservation, with the notion that the Sioux country was "Indian country," and that they had just as much right there as anybody else. They said they would rather live there than back where they were. Their idea was to get away from the advance of white civilization into their country; they were particularly disgusted with the thought that the government had allotted their lands to them, and that they had not been consulted quite so much on some points as they felt they ought to be. The reason they were not, was that Congress knew perfectly well that if it waited for this particular tribe to ask for allotment, no allotment would ever be made, the one desire of these Indians being to remain hunters and fishermen—primitive inhabitants of the soil—just as they had been in the past.

They were intercepted on their way across the country about the time that their food began to give out, and when it was feared by a number of scattered settlers in Wyoming, and South Dakota, and elsewhere, that they would begin to make raids upon the cattle farms; and the President ordered out a very large body of troops, so that the Indians could be rounded up without the firing of a shot or the shedding of a drop of blood, and peaceably carried back to their reservations. In the course of the parley which ensued after the Indians had been rounded up, it was decided that they should be allowed to send a delegation to Washington to consult with the President. They had a notion that the President would

listen to their plea for remaining in their old condition. He did agree to receive the delegation, and had a long talk with them, in which he very patiently explained that the conditions in the country everywhere had changed; that it was necessary now for the Indians to support themselves and prepare themselves for the citizenship which was inevitable; and that they as citizens were expected to return peaceably to their old homes. As they protested vigorously against that, and said they would like to go and find a new home in the Sioux country, the President consented, and sent Captain Carter Johnson, an army officer, to visit their old home to look over the conditions and report to him. When Captain Johnson returned, he said that he thought under all the existing conditions, as the Indians had gone as far as they had, it would be wiser to negotiate with the Cheyenne river Sioux, who had some surplus pasture lands, and see whether they were willing to lease the Utes land enough to settle on. This was done. The Cheyenne river Utes agreed to lease a certain part of their pasture at a definite rental, which was entirely satisfactory and the wandering Utes were planted there.

But it was no part of the President's purpose, as was explained to the Utes at the time, and has been repeatedly since, to let them live there in idleness; if they wished a change of climate and surroundings, he was willing to give them a chance to do as they pleased in these respects, but he did insist that they should, like all other citizens, of every race and color, pay for their own support. This was not in the Ute program. So we are faced with an interesting situation. The Utes were first of all offered an opportunity to work at high wages, including free house rent, free water, and free fuel, on the Sante Fe Railroad. They protested that it was a long distance off and they did not want to go so far; moreover, they had a herd of ponies, and they did not know what to do with those. It was suggested that they should do as white people would under the same circumstances—sell the ponies and use the money for the betterment of their own condition. That did not suit them at all. So the President then said: "Very well, we will see what we can find for you nearer home."

During the summer we made an investigation of labor conditions in the northwest, and found an opportunity for all the able bodied men among these people to do unskilled labor at two dollars a day, at a point not far from where the bulk of their band were living, and where the children could go to school within fifteen miles of their work, so that the parents could see them from time to time. This offer they have

absolutely rejected. They say: "We are government people, not like the Sioux—the Sioux have to work, but the government will feed us." Well, I am sorry to say that I fear this bodes ill for the relations of the government and these Utes. I think that later this fall they will be given once more the opportunity of choosing between going to work and doing the other thing—going hungry. Now, the pinch of hunger is one of the greatest educators for any race of people. We sometimes say that we reach the American mind and heart through the purse; with the aboriginal American we reach it through the stomach. When the Indian begins to find that his rations are dropping off, he for the first time realizes the problem which confronts him.

We are cutting down the rations everywhere through the Sioux country, and among the rest these Utes are suffering. A little while hence they will discover that what has been told them was absolutely true—that they must either go to work or go hungry. When that time comes I do not know what the result may be. It is possible, as they have carried their arms with them, that they will rise in revolt; if they do, that revolt will be suppressed, and, if necessary, with an iron hand. I want to say this right here and now, so that every member of the Conference will know exactly what is going to happen, and will understand the position of the government toward those people. It was not the government's fault that they took the course they did in order to get into a place where they could live in idleness and eat the bread of charity. If they persist in that course they will be made to understand what the word "must" means. (Applause.)

I will now proceed to introduce some of the workers from the field. The first I shall present to you is himself an Indian and belongs to the Peoria tribe. When I first entered office I established an employment bureau with the notion of getting the Indians out of their reservations and at work wherever they could find work, just as the white people go in search of it. But, knowing the lack of initiative in many of these poor people, I wanted to have some one give them the start. Mr. Dagenett appeared to be the most satisfactory man for that need; his heart was sympathetically in it; he fully believed in it. I knew he could be trusted to carry out the policy of the Department and I took pleasure in designating him for the head of this bureau. He will tell you something of what has been done in the way of getting the Indians out and putting them at work, and looking after their interests in the very general way in which we do it. MR. CHARLES E. DAGENETT, Supervisor of Indian Employment.

THE WORK OF THE INDIAN EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

REMARKS OF MR. CHARLES E. DAGENETT

Mr. Chairman: In establishing the Bureau of Indian Employment, it was not contemplated to interfere with home building, but, rather, to assist along that line. Nor was it the policy to go on finding employment for Indians and continuing to supervise their efforts; but as fast as it was shown that they could get out and hustle for themselves, to turn them loose. Naturally they were inexperienced; work had to be found of a simple nature, which they could do, and where employment could be found for a large number so as to warrant the placing of some one in immediate charge of them. We cannot expect to always keep the Indians in a hand-box. They must rub up against the world. It is bound to prove fatal to many of them; we expect that. But they must be taught one thing and I believe in this plan of teaching them, and that is self-help, self-reliance. Wherever it is found possible for them to get employment for themselves, especially after they have been out under direct supervision for a few times, we allow them to do so, even though they do not get as good terms as when under direct supervision. I make it a practice not to exercise supervision except where it is absolutely necessary. They are encouraged, as much as possible, to look out for themselves. This plan not only provides for their immediate needs but it also teaches them self-reliance and the value of a dollar,—a knowledge of which they are in special need. Things have always come rather easily to the Indians; they do not understand the value of money, and the best way to make them understand it is to let them earn it. This plan is especially good for the young people.

Of course we do not expect or desire that the Indian will always remain a day laborer. The ideal condition for the Indian, as for any other person, is to have a home, sufficient to support him. But the quickest way to get him beyond the day-labor stage is to hurry him into it. I believe you will all agree with me that it does not for a minute interfere with his home building to have him learn the ways of civilization, learn how to do things.

Many of you have no doubt gone to California, over the "Sante Fé." Near Lejunta, Colorado, where Rockyford melons are raised, there were this summer over 600 Indians working in the beet and cantelope fields. Of these about

500 were pupils of various schools scattered over the southwest, and they were taken there for at least two months, sometimes longer; some who were through school were kept there indefinitely. They all got good wages and were properly treated. There is possibly no western community that is better than those sections of Colorado, where we placed these Indians. What they learned there is bound to be of use to them in their ultimate home building. That, I believe, was as good an education as could have been given them.

When your Overland Limited pulls into San Bernardino, California, the chief inspector who inspects every air brake and axle on your train is a full-blooded Indian. When you reach or leave Albuquerque, the engines have all been gone over, cleaned and oiled, by a full-blooded Indian. The car inspector is an Indian; sometimes the chief inspector is an Indian. The "Sante Fé" has been especially good in employing Indians, partly because they had to and partly because many of the employers were kindly disposed toward them.

Our good Commissioner has spoken of the Ute Indians. I visited them a few days ago and made them a proposition, as I had made them two propositions on former occasions. I proposed to take all of them over to Rapid City, put every able-bodied man at work, put the children in the Rapid City school not more than ten to fifteen miles from where the parents were to work, so that they could visit their children often; take care of all the ponies in our large pasture; and the railroad company would sign a contract to employ all able-bodied men at two dollars a day, the time of contract not to exceed eighteen months. An old Indian chief rose and said, "It is all right for the Sioux to work, but we are government people. It is not good for us to work. We are government people. The government will take care of us!" That is the third proposition we have made to employ them.

Our difficulties have been not so much in securing employment, but in securing Indians for the employment. The Indians have a very natural disinclination to work hard. They are not lazy, but, like many whites, they do not work for pure love of it. It is generally prompted by necessity. In fact, about the best way to promote it is to cut off the rations. Fortunately, where my work has been carried on, the Indians simply had to work; they had very little support at home.

Another difficulty was the ill feeling existing between the western people and the Indians. Eastern people cannot realize the feeling around most of the western reservations, especially those in the Southwest. I have stood before juries and have had them tell me that they would not convict a

white man where the white man's interest conflicted with that of an Indian, especially on Indian testimony. To overcome that feeling and secure employment for Indians where they will be properly treated is not easy. Of course, conditions in the southwest, especially now, are abnormal. The scarcity of labor is abnormal and the wages paid are abnormal, which is not a good thing for the Indian. If he once gets \$2.50 a day he will never want to work for less, and he cannot always get that; in fact, few Indians are worth that at this time. Another difficulty is that they are easily discouraged. The foreman comes down a little too hard—they want to quit and go home. It is also difficult to get them to work long enough to warrant taking them the distance we sometimes have to.

You have heard of the Salton Sea. I was in Miss Cook's office day before yesterday and she called my attention to an article in "Forest and Stream" about that in which—for once—the Indian is given credit; they acknowledge that it could never have been controlled except by Indian labor. In that extreme southwest, especially down along the Mexican border, the heat is intense. About a year ago we put Dr Leeds in charge there, and began to maintain a force of about 350 to 550 men until they finished, last June. They paid these starving Pimas and Papagos a little over \$100,000—good wages—and that "soulless corporation"—the "Harriman Line"—gave us free transportation for all the Indians we wanted to send, their dogs, cooking utensils, etc., through the territory of Arizona. I have found the railroads so far to be the best employers of Indians. They are large, they are able to handle all the men we can get for them, and they are willing to give the Indians a fair chance on the basis of value received. And that is, as you may know, the basis of this work. At no time has it been on a philanthropic basis—it is simply a matter of dollars and cents for value received. Every dollar paid those Indians on the Salton Sea they earned in full.

This, ladies and gentlemen, will give you some little idea of what we are trying to do down there in the Southwest. (Applause.)

MR. LEUPP: Once when Secretary Shaw was interviewed by a number of newspaper men about what measures he was going to take to run down some lawless characters in the banking field, he looked up from his work and said, with pauses between the sentences: "There was a nan in Iowa who went hunting foxes. He took along a brass band. He did not get any foxes." That has been the trouble with al-

most all the attempts of the government to break up law breaking around the Indian country. It has started out with a brass band. So when Congress two years ago gave me \$25,000, with instructions to suppress the liquor traffic, and to spend \$15,000 of the money in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, I looked around for a man who could do business without a brass band. I found him. He has moved so softly that he now enjoys the title, throughout Indian Territory, of "Pussyfoot." He suddenly descends, as if he had wings, on the camp of the law-breakers with no other badge of office than a couple of six-shooters. His hair has become a little sparse on the top of his head, but the people he has been out after have tried to remedy that by putting a price on his head, to make up for the lack of hair. This price is three thousand dollars, cash. If any lady or gentleman in this conference cares to earn it by assassinating Mr. Johnson, now is the chance. I take very great pleasure in presenting Mr. WILLIAM E. JOHNSON, Special officer in the Indian Territory, engaged in the suppression of the liquor traffic.

SUPPRESSING THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN INDIAN TERRITORY AND OKLAHOMA

REMARKS OF MR. WILLIAM E. JOHNSON

Mr. Chairman: I did not come all the way from the Indian Territory to tell you that the liquor traffic among the Indians is a bad thing. All of you who have eyes to see, ears to hear, or brains to think, know all about that.

Two years ago the Commissioner appointed me as special officer to assist in the suppression of the liquor traffic in the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, under the law which he has just cited to you. He gave me no detailed instructions, but placed \$15,000 at my disposal and intimated to me that he expected me to get as much of law enforcement out of it as was possible. The situation which I found in the Indian Territory one and a half years ago, was not at all encouraging from the standpoint of what I was undertaking. The population there was made up of everything that was undesirable. For forty years outlaws and renegades from all points of the country had made their rendezvous in that territory. They had inter-married among the reds, blacks, renegade whites, and a population had grown up that knew very little about law and cared less. They hated law and seemed to think that their chief mission in life was to evade it. The rapidly increasing population had entirely outgrown the machinery of

the courts. Four courts with eight judges had to do with the entire civil and criminal business of the Indian Territory. I found that these courts were congested with over 6,000 criminal cases already pending on the dockets and they were accumulating faster than they were being disposed of. The result was that the courts spent all of their time in an effort to dispose of the jail cases. Those who were able to give bond were practically immune from successful prosecution. The situation required extraordinary measures. It was hardly worth while to arrest a man and bind him over to the grand jury, if he could give bail.

The supply of liquor at that time was coming in chiefly by express and freight. The railways had issued orders years ago forbidding their agents to accept shipments of intoxicating liquors for points in the Indian Territory, but those orders had long since been forgotten. Practically every train that came into the Indian Territory brought with it a considerable supply of intoxicating liquors. My first attempt, therefore, was to break down this source of supply. I did it by inaugurating a system of searching trains. At first I found myself confronted with orders from the superintendent not to allow officers in the express cars. I would go into an express car at night, usually, at first, and notify the messenger that I had come for the purpose of examining that car; that if he permitted me to examine the car, all right; if he did not permit me I would do it anyhow, and if I found any intoxicating liquors I would take him off at the next station and put him in jail. He usually saw the point. By following that policy I managed to break down opposition to searching express cars; and within a few months it was a common practice for all deputy marshals throughout the Indian Territory to search these cars.

Then came the problem of robbers getting on express cars in the guise of officers. I met that by issuing a letter of identification to deputy marshals and my own deputies who were authorized to search cars. The express companies instructed their agents and messengers to honor these letters of identification. That solved the railway transactions as far as whiskey was concerned.

But we were confronted with another problem than that of whiskey. The brewers were making a species of beer, theoretically less than 2 per cent. but practically much more than 2 per cent. This beer was sold under various names, like "Uno," "Ino," "Hiawatha," "Pablo," "Tip Top," and various aliases of that sort. The agents dealing in these low grade beers had arrangements with banks and financial institutions

to go on their bond immediately after arrest. Their cases, owing to the congested conditions of the dockets, would never come to trial; and these people were therefore practically immune from prosecution. I had analyzed by government chemists all of these low-grade beers; and I had in my pockets the opinion of each of the four district attorneys in the Indian Territory that these products were contraband under the Act of 1895. I then went to St. Louis, Chicago and New York, and had a conference with the traffic manager of each railway company doing business in the Indian Territory and the superintendent of each express line doing business there. I showed them the law and the opinions of the district attorneys and the analyses of the government chemists. I asked what they were going to do about it; whether they were going to make a mockery of the matter, or cooperate with the government in enforcing the law. I assured them that if they took the former course the United States attorneys of the territory would cooperate with me and make trouble for the railway and express companies. The result of the conferences was that the railways and the express companies, without exception, sent out positive orders to all agents in and out of the Territory to refuse shipments of anything that came out of a brewery or distillery to points within the Indian Territory. They also instructed their route agents to see that these orders were carried out, and they told me that if I would call their attention by telegraph to any infractions of these orders they would summarily dispose of the offending agents. The result was that within ten days this traffic was practically eliminated, and, half a dozen or so of the agents who had attempted to make sport of these orders found themselves looking for other positions. That settled the beer business in the Indian Territory for the time being. Approximately 400 establishments were closed in this way, and remained closed for quite a long time. Finally they sprung a new scheme on me.

Under the Interstate Commerce Law the railways could not refuse to receive shipments of intoxicating liquors from a point out of the state to some point through the Territory in another state. So they began shipping this stuff, for instance from Kansas City to Dallas, Texas in car lots. When the car got to a point where they wished to sell, for instance at Muskogee, they would replevin it in some local court and then they would have it put on the market again. I faced this proposition: I could not arrest those men and make successful prosecutions because they would simply give bond and go on selling the stuff again. Section 2140 of the Revised

Statutes, which was enacted in 1836 and revised at some intervals since then, gave extraordinary powers to Indian agents, sub-agents or commanding officers of the post in a military reservation. These powers were of two classes. First, there was power to search and seize. Second, there was the power to sell teams and goods and peltries of a man under libel proceedings. The latter part of that section made it the duty of any officer or any employe of the United States, or any Indian to seize and destroy ardent spirits and wine. The Act of 1895 extended the contraband of goods to cover all sorts of fermented and malt liquors in the Indian Territory. The Court of Appeals construed that to mean that if a beverage was either malted or fermented it was contraband, irrespective of the proportion of alcohol contained therein.

While the Act of 1895 said nothing about the authority of an officer to summarily destroy malt or fermented beverages, I took the view that it was the intention of Congress to extend these powers of an officer to cover all inhibited beverages and that inasmuch as malt or fermented beverages could not be introduced without a crime having been committed, that no one could acquire property rights in them in the Indian Territory.

Accordingly we set out upon a policy of seizing and destroying all of these liquors, irrespective of the amount of alcohol contained therein; and two weeks ago the court of the Western District, Judge Lawrence presiding, decided that that policy was according to law. In this contest, myself and deputies were arrested many times in municipal courts that were controlled by whiskey peddlers, and damage suits aggregating about \$170,000 were piled up against me. They even sued the Secretary of the Interior for \$75,000 on my account. But after I had obtained twenty-three indictments from grand juries against the plaintiffs, they found themselves holding the hot end of the poker and dismissed all these cases at their own cost. Myself and personal deputies seized and destroyed 387 gallons of alcohol, 1652 gallons of Choctaw beer, 4821 gallons of cider, 5914 bottles of intoxicating bitters of various kinds, 109,382 pints of beer, 402 pints of wine, 46,072 pints of whiskey, and 194 pints of other liquors.

We have made during the past fourteen months 1532 separate seizures of intoxicating liquors. We have made over 1100 arrests. We have made 890 arrests in cases where the Grand Jury returned indictments. We have broken up 73 gambling houses. I do not think there is a gambling house in the Indian Territory at this time—I do not know of any—and we have made diligent search for them. We have des-

troyed something like \$15,000 or \$20,000 worth of gambling material and paraphernalia. At the current prices of liquors in the Indian Territory we have destroyed about \$118,000 worth of this class of goods. Aside from the destruction of gambling property we have convicted ninety-three gamblers in the courts, besides a large number arrested and not convicted.

We have also seized and confiscated about sixty horses and about twenty-five wagons besides a large amount of harness and saddles, most of which have been sold under libel proceedings.

While we have been able to try but few cases owing to the congested condition of the courts, we have obtained some 70 or 75 pleas of guilty, and sentences have been imposed ranging from thirty days in jail to fifteen months in the penitentiary.

Two of my men, Sam Roberts and John Morrison have been murdered by the liquor outlaws, both while in the discharge of their duty. Another of my deputies, E. J. Sapper was shot through the side of the head while making a raid, but recovered. I have been especially fortunate in my assistants; they are as brave and loyal a band as ever lived at any time, or any where.

This, in a nutshell, is what has been accomplished. We now have the Indian Territory practically free from joints. (Applause.)

MR. LEUPP: It is, as you know, the policy of the administration to encourage Indians to cut loose from the Government's leading strings and walk alone. I visited the little Indian settlement at Neah Bay, in Washington, last year. It is laid out like an ordinary small town. As I was going through the main street I discovered a sign on a tree overhanging a little brook. It read something like this: "It is forbidden, under penalty of law, to pollute the stream by washing or otherwise, above this point. By order of the Commissioner of Public Works." I was a little astonished to find a Commissioner of Public Works, in such a community, and, on inquiring, found that these Indians had evolved a remarkable system of municipal government, crude in many respects, but very effective.

Now I have asked to address you this morning, MR. EDWIN MINOR, who was for some years the Superintendent of those Indians and who acted as Treasurer of the municipal government while he was there. He can therefore tell you a great deal of the inner workings of this municipality.

AN INDIAN MUNICIPALITY

REMARKS OF MR. EDWIN MINOR

The Neah Bay Indian Village is located upon a little body of water of the same name, about 140 miles from Seattle, Washington, six miles from Cape Flattery, the most north-western point in the United States. This little community consists of about three hundred Indians of the fish-eating tribes of the Northwest. These people being fishermen first built their houses near the water in a miscellaneous way along the beach of Neah Bay.

About four years ago these people conceived a crude idea of organizing a city like those in the state of Washington where they had visited during hop picking season; so they conceived the idea of laying out regular streets and arranging the houses along those streets. They had no funds to hire a surveyor, but the school Superintendent in charge suggested that they hire a surveyor to plat the village, and that each one who wanted a parcel in that village should give one dollar toward the hiring of a surveyor. They raised about ninety dollars in that way, and secured a surveyor who laid the village off in regular streets. The plan was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and was approved, and is now a matter of record in his office.

The next problem was the arranging of the houses on the streets. The carpenters improvised a house moving machine, and within one year all the houses were arranged along the streets on individual lots. Today you will find a little village laid out with as regular streets as any other town in the state of Washington; streets not only laid out regularly, but graded up. The back part of the village was a kind of a lagoon, in which the houses were surrounded by water most of the year. That is one of the rainiest places in the United States. The Indians raised something like \$175 by subscription, bought lumber and built a flume from that lagoon to the bay, thus draining the back part of the village, making it a fit place for residence.

To carry on the various public works it was necessary to have some public organization, and with a few suggestions from the Superintendent they organized a village government. That village and reservation were laid off into five districts, and a representative was elected from each one of these districts. These officers were called councilmen. The election is held semi-annually. The vote is by ballot, under the same rules and regulations that obtain in the state of Washington. The five councilmen elect one of their number

as president, who is the town mayor. This council meets monthly. Besides the five councilmen, there are a clerk, street commissioner, building inspector, water commissioner, cemetery warden, whose duties are as the names imply. The water commissioner's duties were to look after water supply and he it was who placed the sign, to which the commissioner just now referred, on the little brook that supplied the village with water. It is a mountain stream of perfectly pure water. This water commissioner was also instructed to devise plans for a system of water works; and no doubt before many years they will have water brought from the mountain through pipes and distributed in the village. That matter was talked of before I left there, and no doubt will come later on. A Constitution or Code of laws was enacted by the Council and ratified by the people in general assembly. These provided that the Superintendent should act as Treasurer and the Agency physician should be health officer. They had another officer called dog-pelter, who was to collect one dollar for each dog and kill all those not paid for. In a little while the dogs in the village became a respectable number.

I might say that this little government that these people are carrying on is entirely of their own organization. It is quite remarkable for full-blood Indians. (Applause.)

MR. LEUPP: You have heard, ladies and gentlemen, from the last speaker, something which will, I trust, refute the assertion so often made that it is impossible to make a citizen out of an Indian. If in the State of Washington tomorrow all race lines were to be thrown down, and the Indians taken into the general body politic, you would find a town already established and running, with every office filled, and all the functions perfectly understood and well carried out. While we are on that general line, I want to introduce to you another speaker who will develop the same idea a little further but in another direction. Those of you who have done me the honor to read my report have seen that I have been very much interested in trying to get some legislation enabling us to incorporate Indian tribes. That idea is not wholly novel or experimental. We have a tribe under our care who have already, a long time ago, incorporated themselves under the laws of the State in which they live; and I will ask MR. DEWITT S. HARRIS, Superintendent for the Eastern Cherokees in North Carolina, to tell you something about this.

AN INDIAN CORPORATION

REMARKS OF MR. DEWITT S. HARRIS

The eastern Cherokees of North Carolina a few years since were decided by the Supreme Court of the State of North Carolina to be without organization, and therefore could neither plead nor be impleaded before the law, which left them in a very bad position. They immediately took steps to be incorporated as a private corporation under the laws of the state. This was done in 1889, providing them with a council and investing all of the rights of property, both personal and real, of the tribe in the council. This council is composed of sixteen members; an executive committee of five members, a chief and an assistant chief. The council is elected for two years, the chief and assistant chief for four years. The executive committee is elected by the council. The council sixty days before the time of the annual election appoint their judges of election in each precinct. Those judges of election come before some properly qualified officer and take oath to conduct that election according to law. The election is held. They have a nominating Convention in which their regular officers are nominated. Each precinct has a Convention in which the councilmen from that precinct are nominated. The judges of election make their returns to the council and the council canvass the vote and decide who have been elected to the various offices. Those officers generally come before the superintendent in charge and take oath of office as prescribed. They organize themselves as any other politic body, and transact the business of their people. They are the court of last resort for their people.

Among other duties devolving upon them according to the Corporation Act is that of assigning homes. All of the property and all of the land belongs to them in common and is subject to them as a corporation. They assign individual homes. If an Indian wishes a home he selects a portion of land, marks out its boundaries, writes out and presents his application to the council, and the council, by formal action, assigns him that land as a home.

There is one fault in their organization, and that is that the powers of the council are absolute, and after they have assigned to one of the members of the band a home, they can dispossess him if they see fit. That seems to me wrong; it tends to break down the individuality of the members of the band. The Cherokees have many of the proper ideas of management of affairs, but like children need direction. This

was wisely provided for in the Incorporation Act by making the representative of the government in charge of their affairs ex-officio secretary and keeper of the seal. He certifies all acts of the council and attaches the seal before they become operative, thereby exercising a veto power.

These Indians are entirely self-sustaining. The government pays them nothing. And as workmen I wish to corroborate what has already been said: employers of labor in that community seek to get those Indians as laborers. I can see material progress among them. Under wise supervision they are becoming more grounded in business integrity. It is now much more difficult to approach them with schemes that are not for their advantage; they are more disposed in business matters to listen to wise counsel. They have not yet reached that position in which they can fully realize the value of a dollar, or can be safely entrusted with it for their own purposes. But they are fast approaching that state. What they have done others can do. Their great drawback has been contact with the whites. Before the time of the Civil war these people were practically segregated from the whites. What whites there were among them were hardy and honest mountaineers. During the time of the Civil war Major Stringfellow of North Carolina commanded a company of these Indians in the Confederate army. He once said to me: "Those Redmen were a stalwart set of men. They were as good as gold. You could depend upon everyone of them. But I notice that the younger generation has not the force of character of their fathers. They are deteriorating." Since the war there has been an increase in the value of timber products. That country is occupied with lumbering interests and it has brought in the floating population that those industries invite.

I am not of those who believe in eliminating the Indian character. I am not of those that believe the Indian is an untutored savage only. I find in him traits of character as firmly grounded as among the whites. I do not believe in eliminating those traits; I believe in taking them, building upon them, pruning and training, but keeping the Indian character as we have found it. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Now I am going to call on a veteran, the HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN, Congressman of the Utica District, now and for many years past Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives.

PROGRESS IN INDIAN AFFAIRS

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to be here before the Conference long enough to say that I think the people of this country, whites as well as Indians, are most fortunate in the man who at present administers the laws affecting the Indian tribes. I have of necessity been thrown closely into contact with Mr. Leupp and I have found him in every case a man of ability, a man of courage, a man of decision and of precision, and a man guided not by political considerations, but by what he believes will be for the best interests of the Redmen. I consider it very fortunate that we have him at the head of that department, and fortunate indeed that year after year he comes here to tell us of the affairs of the Indians for the year that is passed.

Mr. Chairman, you were right when you said that the Indian problem today was rather one of administration than legislation, absolutely right in my judgment. We have legislated almost as far as we can, and now it is a question of getting a force to execute these laws, and I believe they are executing them well; and in no particular are they obtaining so great results as they are in the enforced labor. I was glad to hear Mr. Leupp say how he proposed to treat those Utes who are violating the mandate of the department, violating the order of the officers of the government, whom the Supreme Court says shall be the guardians of the Indians, whom the Supreme Court says shall decide what is best for the Indian rather than for them to decide for themselves. I was glad to hear him say if they persisted in a refusal to obey the mandates of those whose only thought is for their good, that hunger would pinch them until they did walk up to the mark. That is the way they must do with our indolent and idle people. I think the Indian is naturally rather more indolent and idle than he is evilly disposed. That is my notion about it. I am sorry I cannot agree with Mr. Leupp's apparent notion that the thing to do is to incorporate all the Indian tribes. The popular prejudice is rather against incorporations, I think, than towards them. We are quite busy, we trust-busters, with what we have on our hands without being put up against Indian incorporations, I think.

There is one subject about which legislation must one of these days be enacted, and that is the proper disposal of the \$35,000,000 trust funds now held in the treasury to the credit of the various Indian tribes. We will reach no ultimate dis-

posal of the Indian problem until that money is disbursed. But I do not think the time is present, to disburse that great fund amongst the Indians. The time will come, but, my friends, we may as well recognize the fact that the Indian, like the white, who has no more of education or of civilization than the Indian has, will not work unless he is forced to. And so long as he has money in his pocket, he will spend it and sit idly by, and that when that money is expended, when his funds are exhausted, he will then become a charge upon the people of the county, of the state or upon the general government. And to immediately disburse this \$35,000,000 to the individuals of the various Indian tribes would mean this: that, whereas now that principal fund is producing somewhere from a million to a million and a quarter dollars, which are annually being disbursed in assisting in the education, maintenance and support of the Indians,—immediately, within months, (I think it would be measured by months rather than by years) after that principal fund is disbursed to the Indians in severalty, the very large part of it will be spent in riotous living and at the end of that period we will have Indians back upon our hands as paupers with the added degradation of the wasteful and profitless expenditure of that money. And instead of appropriating each year a little less for rations, each year a little less for gratuities, except for education, we will be called upon then to expend more, or else the people of philanthropic ideas throughout the country will say that Congress is derelict in not properly caring for these natural wards, the Indians. So that I believe that the time has not yet arrived when we should set apart and pay over to the individual Indians their proportion in the principal of this trust fund. But that question, When is the time to disburse those funds, and in what manner they shall be disbursed is still one for serious consideration, and still one for legislative action.

The Indian as a whole is not getting worse year by year, but is getting better. That is conclusively proved, I believe, Mr. Commissioner, in your experience with the Sioux. I believe, you will agree with the statement that enforced labor among the Sioux has done more to bring them out of their old selves and to make better citizens of them even than education has done. But we are doing both. And as I say the one avenue of government expense that has increased has been the appropriation for education. We have lessened all other gratuities but the one great expense that has increased up to the present time—and I think it has about reached its maximum—is the appropriation for education. And yet with

all we have done, the appropriation for the Indian service year by year covering the last decade has gradually decreased, so that today, accomplishing more than we did a decade ago, we are spending of the people's money in the neighborhood of two millions and a half dollars less than we did then, and I think that is doing pretty well. I give the credit for that, not so much to the representatives of the popular branch of the United States Legislature who are now here, as to the capable, efficient, honest, energetic administrative officers whose hearts have been in their work, as Mr. Leupp's has been. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I invite a talk from REV. FRANK HALL WRIGHT, who lives at Colony, Oklahoma.

SAVING INDIANS FROM TUBERCULOSIS

REMARKS OF REV. FRANK HALL WRIGHT

Mr. Chairman, Friends of the Conference: I stand before you today representing a cause that is very near to the heart of the missionary. It is a work of humanity. And that is the subject of a sanatorium for the Indian consumptives. This year I was sent out by a committee to select in New Mexico a site for one new mission. Through the invitation of Agent Carroll, we had been invited to establish a mission at the Mescalero Agency. I was to select the site. While there I rode over to inspect a site that had been suggested by Mrs. Roe and Agent Carroll as a proper place for such a sanatorium. My friends, when you look at it from the side of the Indians and remember that this plague really has come from the white man to the Indian, and when you remember how they are dying, like sheep, all over our reservations, it does seem that something ought to be done, and done speedily. Of course as I have sat here and listened to these speeches I can understand very clearly that the work is administrative; we feel that the work is going well in the line of the government; that the missionaries are doing their part of the work; and we could tell you a wonderful story of progress since I last stood here in this hall. But here is one work that might enlist not only all missionaries, but the government as well. I hope the Commissioner will have something to say on that point. Many people ask why the Indian living out of doors as he does should have tuberculosis. It is simply a matter of infection, as every physician knows. The Indian expectorates in and about the teepees. He has no idea of the laws of

hygiene, and of course we must expect that deadly disease to spread among them. So sometimes the finest specimens are afflicted. For instance, Red Bird, a Cheyenne—a fine specimen of humanity and with tremendous chest development—was no exception. He could not resist it. Then we come in contact with young people. For instance, we have in our mission a young woman, Ella Butts, twenty-five years old. She is a beautiful young woman, of splendid character, a devoted Christian, and is hanging between life and death with this awful scourge.

But, my friends, there are many hundreds of those young men and women whom we could save each year, if we had a sanatorium. Agent Carroll is in favor of it, and claims he first suggested such an institution. If we had a sanatorium in New Mexico, we could bring bright young women and young men from various tribes under Christian influences, give them work to do and save multitudes of them. That is the one thing I would like to say. It is a work that would challenge the best of any man's life and be a monument to the man or woman inaugurating it. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Leupp, have you a word or two about this matter?

MR. LEUPP: *Mr. Chairman*, with regard to what Mr. Wright was just saying, I have been looking for two years into this sanatorium idea. We have already established, and are establishing continually, camps for the treatment of sufferers from tuberculosis on different reservations, finding the best places that we can for them. But of course the idea of one great common sanatorium, or two, in remote parts of New Mexico or in Arizona, on the high tablelands there, appeals to people generally. The trouble that I have always found has been in getting the Indians away from home—getting them to agree to send their friends there. The Indian has a great love of his home and of staying among his own home surroundings, and any expostulations or advice or urgency used with him has very little effect when it comes to sending his loved ones a long distance away, even with the view of restoring their health. That I have found to be the chief obstacle. I have been in hope that some charitable association or person would establish under private auspices such an institution as Mr. Wright suggests, for experimental purposes. If we found that it would work, Congress—I feel perfectly confident in pledging the influence of Mr. Sherman—will give us what appropriations are necessary. Mr. Sherman has always re-

sponded in royal style when I have asked him for such aid; and I have no doubt that if he and his colleagues could once be convinced that it was a perfectly practicable idea, they would come to our assistance. The obstacle I have mentioned is the only thing which now stands in our way; but I hope to be able at some future conference to give you a better and more complete report.

The Conference then adjourned until 8 P. M.

Second Session

Wednesday Evening, October 23d, 1907

THE CHAIRMAN: Our topic this evening, is the betterment of religious conditions among the Indians. We are delighted to have as the first speaker the RIGHT REVEREND WILLIAM H. HARE, Bishop of South Dakota.

THE BETTERMENT OF RELIGIOUS WORK AMONG THE INDIANS

ADDRESS OF RT. REV. WILLIAM H. HARE

To make things better, we must find *a good way*—It is not essential that it should be *the* good way; but *a* good way. If we find that and follow it with honest and good hearts, we shall continually be coming upon something better, and finally reach the best. I ask nothing except to speak of *a* good way—

First—As to the use of the word of God in religious work among the Indians.

Some Indians exist only in scattered fragments, the remnants of once powerful tribes. Their condition generally is one of great physical misery, poor, ill-fed, ill-clad and diseased. They are also broken-hearted—not broken-spirited, but their spirit shows itself not in a movement forward, but in dogged resistance to all improvement and sullen retreat to out-of-the-way corners. Soured and embittered, they do not like us, nor our ways, nor our religion. Such Indians were once like a hawk soaring in free air ready to dart upon its prey. Now they are like a hawk with broken wing lying helpless on the ground, but ready to peck at you and tear you with angry talon.

With such Indians immediate use of the word of God, *direct* evangelization, is almost impossible. *Beneficence*, mere humanity, has here a peculiar value, and it should take the form of schools in which their children are tenderly cared for and neatly and properly dressed, and give even more manifest evidence of beneficence in provision for the sick, the old and the helpless poor. In other words, schools, hospitals and homes are here in place. This is the way of God, "He healeth those that are broken in heart and giveth medicine to heal their sickness."

The condition of other Indians, however, is far different. They are not the mere scattered remnants of once powerful tribes.

They exist in large bodies running up into the twenty and thirty thousand. They live in the same general neighborhood. One language prevails among them all. These three conditions give them a certain homogeneousness and coherence. They have, consequently a certain sense of strength and a manly independence, and as a result of these characteristics, a certain friendliness and confidingness. In this case, while schools and hospitals are useful, direct evangelization is possible and of supreme importance. Here the great power is the Word of God—the Word *anyhow*, that is, in the Bible or in a book of prayers, or in a book of hymns. But whether introduced directly and at first, or indirectly by means of schools and hospitals, the Word of God is our strength. If you would better religious work among the Indians, use fully, use wisely and use well the Word of God.

Second—Be sure of the personnel of your missionary force. What is the gun without the *man* behind the gun? and what is the word without the heart and the tongue of the man who handles it? And what are both word and preacher unless the preacher knows where and what that human heart is which he is to aim at? Be sure then, if you would better the religious work among the Indians, that your missionary is the right man. The man to go to Indians is the sympathetic man. I do not mean the man of quick emotions of pity, but the man whose human heart beats with every other human heart. The proper missionary is the man who cultivates the mental habit of asking himself, "How should I feel if I were in the other man's place?" We must confess that in the matter of men, we have had some misfits. But that is no new thing.

In missionary annals the story is famous of Corman, the first missionary bishop sent to the Northumbrian English. Harsh and unsympathetic, he met with no success, and returned in disappointment to his monastery and reported the English as stubborn and barbarous. He was succeeded by Aiden, a man of very sympathetic spirit. He threw himself in with the people. A humble church of split oak, thatched with coarse grass at first satisfied his ambition. No wonder he is said to have possessed a "singular charm of manner and address, which first won his hearers and then incited them to an imitation of his own virtues."

The lesson is, instead of the misfit, get the fit.

Third—What shall you do when you have got the fit? Stand by him. Many will wish to break him down. Therefore, stand by him. The Indian admires stability and strength; but, alas! while so many other things of the white man are strong, his missionary effort often seems to the Indian transient and weak. A missionary appears. A mission is begun. But he lacks good

sense, and has some queer ideas and queer ways; the local enemies of religion make him a laughing stock. He has not succeeded anywhere else; he does not succeed here. He withdraws. A mission building was erected. Now it stands unoccupied. This is a staggering blow, and, if possible, should never be permitted. Therefore, never accept any man except the right man. But when the right man has taken hold, never let him go. What he has begun, carry on. If driven away by irresistible forces, let him bide his time and appear again upon the scene. The work in South Dakota has met with success largely because the chief missionaries have been on the ground for from twenty to thirty-five years.

Fourth—Another help to bettering the work among the Indians will be the use of the Indian tongue. This is often a very difficult and sometimes an impossible task, for many tribes of Indians number but a few hundred, and the languages are numerous. (In North America alone there are sixty distinct linguistic stocks.) But what is dearer to a man than his native tongue? The missionary is after the man. The mind and heart are the man. How can you reach the mind and heart of a man except with the language that he knows and loves? Some missionaries have doubtless clung to the native language too much and too long. Government officials, on the other hand, rarely recognize sufficiently the value of the native tongue—perhaps because they have, necessarily, so much to do with the outside of the man and so little to do with his mind and heart. It is a strange thing, certainly, when, as sometimes happens, a government official forbids the missionary to speak to Indian children in their own tongue when gathered in church or school, and yet, when this same official wishes particularly to make those very children understand, asks the missionary to use the Indian language and interpret for him!

Fifth—Of course, religious manuals should be put in the hands of the Indians, and these manuals (the Bible a portion of it, a book of prayers and a book of hymns) should be at first in their own language; and as all of the Indians in the early days of the mission, and many of them to their lives' end, will not be able to read, the memorizing of the most important parts of these manuals should be made an important part of their Christian training. There should be services in which the whole congregation are trained in saying audibly together sacred words and in assuming postures suitable to worship.

Sixth—*Recognize the religious nature of the Indian.* An Indian once saluted me with this confession: "We Indians have no paper from God; [he meant no written revelation] but we pray to God, and when we think we have anything that will

please Him, we offer it to Him and ask Him to have pity on us." Who could rebuff an Indian's religion after a salutation like that? The old religion of the Indian was a great fact and a great power in his life. It had its sacred stories which fed the religious instinct. The changes of the seasons and the events of individual and social life were marked by holy rites, made attractive by singing, processions and dances. But their whole system of religion goes to pieces in the presence of civilization and Christianity. The people become disconcerted and perplexed. They lose all faith. They know not which way to turn. They are helpless. They become hopeless. They become reckless and do desperate deeds, or they become broken-hearted and sink into pauperism, loathsome disease, and death. The missionary should meet them just where they are.

An Indian mission should, therefore, appropriate what is good in the Indian religion and take it up into the fuller and newer life of our religion. Our religion should be presented to him in a way to enlist his imagination as his old religion did, and encourage his heart. The religion which has its Bible stories, its outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace, its sacred seasons, its solemn liturgy and ritual, can, in the hands of experts, readily do all this.

Seventh—Let the *religious* gatherings be *strong* and convey a *sense of strength*. I should say, therefore: Be sure that, at first at least, the gatherings are thoroughly homogeneous, that is, that only Indians are present; or, at least, only those white people who are like-minded with the missionary and sympathetic. Have no staring spectators, especially none of our brazen race. The Indian is shy. Such heterogeneous presence tends to weaken. If the tribe to be worked with is small, the difficulties are much increased. I should say overcome the smallness of numbers by intensity in spirit and effectiveness in methods. What you lack in extensiveness, make up by saliency and point. Let the church building be a good one; the vestments white and pure, or, if vestments are not used, let the furnishing and equipment be strikingly good, and the music confident—better rude and strong than artistic and timid. Get the good-will and cooperation of the Indian agent. If he will not give good-will and cooperation to a sensible religious effort, he is not fit to be an agent. Let some superior ecclesiastical officer and some of the outside clergy occasionally visit the lonely missionary, and appear with the missionary in dignified procession as if they thought the service an occasion of supreme importance. This will tend to make the mission seem strong.

Eighth—Further, in order to develop the Indians' religious strength, give them sufficient opportunities for opening their

hearts spontaneously and freely in meetings, in which they shall seem to themselves to be prime movers. No dependent people, whether of the Indian or of the colored race, will do their best if they are so outnumbered and overshadowed—much less if they are so overborne—by the superior race that their proper self-confidence is undermined and their own initiative and freedom of thought and expression hindered. Such a relation puts them in the disconcerting, embarrassing, enfeebling position of conscious nobodies. Let them have their own convocations. Let one of their own number be their presiding officer—at least in the absence from the chair of the chief white officer, and that absence, I should say, should frequently occur. Let them assert their wills in the election of their officers. Let them freely express their minds in debating questions and passing resolutions. To most persons this process is as satisfactory as making laws, and often quite as effective and much more safe.

Ninth—Raise up and employ a staff of native workers. The natives will, of course, often lack the power of initiative, the sustained energy, the knowledge of the world and of affairs, and especially the mental equipoise of the Anglo-Saxon; but they know their own people as no one else can, and making use of them will bring with it many advantages.

First, this method of working meets the Indians on their own plane; second, it identifies them with ourselves, and ourselves with them, and shows that "place" and emolument are not reserved for the white race only; third, it makes use of, and gives honor to, men who, while they may have but little education, have good intentions, much tribal influence, and fair gifts of leadership; fourth, it multiplies assistants at comparatively small cost, and thus reaches the many widely separated little settlements of Indians who could not be ministered to by white missionaries, except very occasionally; fifth, it raises up a body of workers in which suitable candidates for the sacred ministry may grow up and be tested; sixth, it tends to counteract the tendency of the Indian, when he comes in contact with the whites, to disintegration, vagabondage and shiftlessness. It develops leadership on the one hand and loyalty on the other. Leadership and loyalty make coherence and strength. This method helps one to *marshal* the Christian people and prevent them from being mere crowds. It helps them do things decently and in order. It begets confidence in the people. A body of disciples under graduated leadership, from the chief officer down to the humblest assistant, is a *marshalled host* and not a lot of stragglers, and the people feel it.

These assistants need not be the regular teachers of the people. Their office may be rather that of pioneers and recruiting agents—

to mingle with the people and conciliate them; to rally them in religious meetings, and to lead them in singing, and train them in the simpler forms of worship. Let them speak also the word of exhortation. Then, later, if they approve themselves, they may be raised to a higher grade and wear appropriate marks, badges or insignia.

Results—That the methods which I have thus sketched may be a good way of religious work among Indians would seem to be indicated by the fact that we have worked upon these lines in South Dakota for many years and the results have been as follows:

We have seventeen Indians in the sacred ministry; we have sixty-three Indians licensed as assistants; the communicants have increased in twenty years from 900 to 3,800, and the offerings of Indians from \$1,500 to \$9,500. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We would like to hear a few words from REV. WALTER C. ROE, of Colony, Oklahoma, Superintendent of Indian Missions of the Reformed Church in America.

REMARKS OF REV. WALTER C. ROE

This question of the Indian and his treatment in a religious way is so many-sided, that it admits of many lines of treatment; there are few people in the world more difficult to reach than the Indian. This is due primarily to the nature of the man. We have crushed him, and we have him down, but only as a man has a tiger down. Those who understand the Indian nature and look into those soft black eyes know that behind this prostrate man is an indomitable manhood still unconquered. And so, in the first place, we have exceedingly difficult material with which to work.

In the second place, this man has been, I might say, almost ruined for the work of love, which we contemplate in his behalf. We need not go into old records of military dealings; the blood lust was fierce and strong. He fought us like a savage, and may we be forgiven that we fought him like savages in return. Let that pass. We need not go into our governmental dealings with them. I am glad always to testify that at the present day our government is following the wisest and the best course that is known. But it has not been true in the past. We know the sad records of treaties made and broken; some made that were never intended to be kept; some made that were unwittingly foolish. Let that pass. We have done worse by this man in his social surroundings. We have put up against him, first the wild

trapper, then the unscrupulous trader, then the rude soldiery, then the unscrupulous agent of the government, as he was in the old days, then the liquor man and the riff-raff of the frontier. And is it strange that he gains a strange conception of Christianity? For to him Christianity means the white man, and the white man Christianity. There we run across a great barrier to our work.

This is not the worst we have done for our brother. We have sapped the very springs of the noblest elements of manhood, those elements of self-support and self-respect. We crushed him, hurled him into the reservation and held him there, and instead of teaching him how to use his activities in some congenial and successful method of work, we doled out to him a little flour, a little sugar, a little rice, a few beans, and debauched the man's very manhood. And so we have taken from under the foundation of this building which we would build those very elements which make a strong foundation. But, brethren, to us who stand for the Christian Church, this is not the worst arraignment. We not only crushed him and hurled him into reservations, but we denied to him, through centuries, the Bread of Life. And so this Redman has an arraignment to make against us as a people, and against us as a Christian Church.

That is the man with whom we have to work and to work with him takes a strange combination of qualities, a great patience, a wise adaptability, and a mighty love. It is the principles of this work to which I would call your thought to-night; the elements that are essential to make it successful.

I have said that this work calls for great patience; for a wise adaptability, for a mighty hope. Now let me very briefly suggest those three lines. No man need ever try to work amongst the Redmen who has not written large upon his banners the word "Patience!" One of the great mistakes in Indian work has arisen because we conceived that it was possible, by changing his environment, to boost this man in one generation up to the point which we have reached after fifty generations. Gentlemen, it is impossible! We must begin at the bottom and lift and teach and carve amidst many disappointments and many relapses, that after a while we may raise him one generation. So let us be patient, both in our individual work and in our aspect of the Indian work in general.

We must have, also, as I have suggested, a wise adaptability. We can never go amongst these men and say, "This is an inferior man—a man who can be dealt with mechanically. We will establish our machine and we will grind out

Christians. No. The Indian is a man of courage, he has a mind, and he has an imagination. These things must be studied and grasped and made elements of power in our work. In all our methods we must show that adaptability which was once recommended to me by a wise old priest who had worked amongst the Indians of Canada many years. He said, "Remember this, you must come to the Indian. He will not come to you." In a limited sense, this is true. This must be our method of approaching him.

But back of all there must be a mighty hope. And now to convince you that we have grounds for hope in this work which we have essayed with our Red brother, I want simply to read you a letter—A story in his own words, of an old blood-stained Chieftain, who became a Christian and an elder in an Indian church, whose son died recently and two weeks later his wife died. This shows what religion has done for him.

"COLONY, Oklahoma, August 5, 1907.

"My Friend, Mr. Roe—I want to let you know what had happened to me. I have received your letter and you had told me you heard about Kenneth being dead, and fourteen days after his death his mother died. I want you to know that ever since this sorrow has come on me I have no taste of my food and when I drink water I don't hardly feel it. I don't feel like the same man I used to be. These people here on the Mission ground, they trying all they can to comfort me, and they tellin' me about how Jesus love us so much, He knows best when He take our people. It is pretty hard for me when I look at my little girl. My tent disappeared all at once; that what taking me. My wife and my son have gone, up right after one another in short time and it is pretty hard for me, I almost forgot that I had a Savior who lives forever. He holds the door open for my family to come into His glory. I soon come up there. When one is taken from our family, why it isn't so hard, but where there is two in my case it is pretty hard; I can't forget it. I can't find no rest. If my son went alone, I wouldn't feel it so much, I would try to serve Jesus more. You read this to the women so they might know some other way to comfort me. God send this sadness to me, I don't know why He did it, but He knows why. I have no home to go to now. I don't know where to get my meals half the time. Maybe if you see me you would have sympathize with me. They even take my clothes from me and I am left without hardly anything. This is to you Mr. Roe that maybe if you talk to me with your own lips it help me whole lot although you are far away. That's what I always think when I cry, nothing helps me. The reason why I wrote this letter to you is I heard you travelin' from one church to another and this letter might help you some way in the church with your work. I want also that Mrs. Roe and Mrs. Page to know about the death of their friend. I am glad you got her to give her heart to Jesus. She was prepared to meet Him. I believe you people really want to help a person all you can to comfort them when they have death in their family. I now really believe that you people truly believe Jesus. She leave us here on this miserable world, she gone to that home above where there is no pain, no death, no cry, where no bad comes in. I cannot kick because He knows best, it's His will, He did that so I'm not goin' to make any trouble about it, I leave it with Him. I'm not

goin' to give this up. It's true and I believe that there is a home above. I want you to feel for me and I just mention how sad I am. My little girl has no one to call mother now. I had forgotten everything. I guess I had lost my mind for a while and now I am sorter sobered up and that is the reason I am writin' this letter to you. Just think about Prudy, she has no one to look after her now. That's what I want to say to you now for I never thought about you people at all when this sad thing came on. She is just like my heart now, she is all alone. That is all and I am your friend, my friends."

"TWO CROWS." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is **BISHOP E. R. HENDRIX**, of the Methodist Church, Kansas City, Missouri.

THE BETTERMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE INDIANS

ADDRESS OF RT. REV. E. R. HENDRIX

It is to the credit of the Puritans that while contemplating removing to this New World they put on record their hope that "in the western wilderness they might both keep their name and nation, and find that the Lord had a people among the nations, whither He would bring them." They dared hope for Christian fellowship among a people to whom they would bring the gospel. John Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians" brought the culture of Cambridge University not only to the church in Roxbury but to the Indians of New England for whom he translated the Holy Scriptures, and despite the usual difficulties which have attended such missionary work Eliot lived to see twenty-four of the copper-colored aborigines fellow-preachers of the gospel of Christ. He found what he was looking for, that "the Lord had a people among the nations."

The Indian problem is not due to the vast numbers involved, for by no one is our Indian population estimated to exceed five hundred thousand, and by the latest returns half of that number is recognized as nearer correct, and even these are diminishing annually. But our American Indians reach from Arizona to Alaska and from New York to Florida. Especially west of the Mississippi their reservations extend from Canada to Texas. The Government has sought to deal justly with the Indian tribes in their several treaties which have pledged them undisturbed possession of given lands forever, but because of the rapid development of the country and the rapid increase of the whites every few years have witnessed the revision of these treaties. Even when a majority of the Indians have consented to new treaties and new reservations a dangerous minority in nearly every case

has protested against the treachery and greed of the white man. Often pathetic scenes have attended change of lands as the aged Indians and their wives have passionately kissed the soil which they are leaving forever. In leaving the burial places of their dead before the advance of the white man it is not strange if the Indians have little respect for the religion of their enemies and pursuers. Our religious work among the Indians must always be weighed in the light of our treatment of them as a nation. If we have confounded the Indians by our spirit of progress at the cost of our religious influence we have that much more indifference to overcome.

Despite the recognized religiousness of the Indian that attends him everywhere, whether in the chase or in war, in his prayers for rain or his annual dance, it is religion without morality such as prevails in heathen lands in all the earth. Lying, theft, adultery, licentiousness and even murder are common sins, and are committed even in the name of religion. Many of these sins are born of indolence and of the irregular, nomadic life of the Indians. When a people are dependent upon the venture of the chase for a livelihood, and with nothing to anchor them in the way of farms with their seed-time and harvests, it is not strange that the vice of gambling should enthrall them. Games of chance strongly attract those whose whole career is marked by chance. Doubtless in its day the reservation system was an advance upon the wandering life of whole tribes. But when whites visiting the reservations insist on witnessing still such scenes as marked the brutal chase of the savage Indians it is not strange that the Indian shows that side of him which is looked for. Even in the state of New York after several generations the reservation Indians have yet to learn the sacredness of marriage. Relatively few Indian children are born in wedlock and polygamy is by no means uncommon.

But it is not enough to make the Indians owners in severalty of their lands and to teach them to till the soil and to trade, to teach them the laws of health and of sanitation. That is simply to civilize them. Our duty is to do more—*we must Christianize them.* Our Lord was more than the good Physician. He was the Saviour of men. The Indian must know of a revealed religion and not simply the religion of nature. He must learn of the Holy Spirit and not alone of the Great Spirit. The story of that one perfect life of the three years of his public ministry of Jesus of Nazareth that has changed the morals of Europe, as Lecky tells us, should be made known ceaselessly among the Indians until they know its power alike to heal and to strengthen. It is not the bringing of the Indian to civilization that is needed but the taking

of civilization to the Indian, not as veneer but as the fruit of Christianity. The appeal which the Indian makes is not to sentiment but to conscience. We owe him more than rations; we are his debtor to give him the gospel which saves.

Only full-blood Christians can reach full-blood Indians. Despite the confessed difficulties of reaching American Indians they are less than what confronts the missionary in countries like India where the system of caste is at once so powerful and so defiant. Neither is the Indian so opinionated as the Hindu or the Moslem, the Buddhist or the Confucianist. The child of nature is happily too, without that species of "domesticated conscience" which is often found among Pharisees of all religions. He has not tamed his conscience to do only what he wishes. It is still teachable even amid the Kiowas, "the Bedouins of the Plains," nearly seventy-five per cent of whom have confessed Christ. The Apache, too, with his blood revenge, can be reached like the belated mountain population of the Appalachians. Even when he falls into sin he is unwilling to go on but comes back to the missionary seeking anew what he calls "the Jesus trail."

Three things impress me as most desirable in bettering the religious condition of the Indian: 1. We must make less of his tribal relation and more of his family relation. The family not the tribe must ever be regarded as the unit of society. The Indian may be depended upon to remember the tribe with its history, too often a history of wrong and of revenge. Let the missionary stress the family life with its sacred obligations and privileges, the duties of husbands and wives and of parents and children. The twining of the hearts of the parents to the children and the hearts of the children to the parents has ever prepared the way of the Lord in the home. The bitterest feuds are connected with the idea of the tribe; let the holiest memories henceforth be associated with the idea of the home. Holding lands in severalty will go far toward enthroning the family and purifying family life. The Pueblo Indians living in villages of their own have always had a more advanced civilization by means of agriculture and their other industries like weaving and pottery. Nearly all Indians have some love of stock and so can soon become the raisers of horses and cattle on farms of their own where the children can find suitable employment and can be reached by wise and consecrated missionaries. It has been found easy to Mexicanize such Indians; how much more the reason to Christianize them.

2. There should constantly be recognized the two great dynamic forces in Christian work, Motive and Companionship. Much of the failure in missionary work has been due

to an insufficient motive. It is a feeble motive which is stirred by mere sentiment or even by pity for their physical and social condition. The only motive that is deep enough and strong enough is this; "the love of Christ constraineth me." Any other motive will fail before the indifference and ingratitude of the Indian. We need a purpose that can float a life when we attempt work for Christ. It is only one who feels himself a debtor to Christ who can feel himself a debtor to the heathen of any land. There can never lack fruits of missionary work when the constraining motive is the love of God shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost that is given unto us.

3. Even with the loftiest and deepest motive to inspire us we cannot do long without that other great dynamic, Companionship. Brave Elijah must have his Elisha as Moses needed his Joshua and Paul his Timothy. Our Lord had regard to this deep need of our natures when he sent forth both the Twelve and the Seventy "two and two." "Two are ten times more than one; else how could one of you chase a thousand and two of you put ten thousand to flight?" Many a faint-hearted missionary would thank God and take courage with some like-minded fellow worker to strengthen his hands.

But even more than such companionship is that supreme joy and strength which come from the fellowship of a Christian worker won from paganism, a son in the gospel. It was the realization of the Puritan's hopes when John Eliot found companionship among the converts from paganism in bleak New England.

While for the most part the Spanish civilization crushed the Indian and English civilization scorned and neglected him, French civilization embraced and cherished him. Doubtless France colonized by means of the priest and the soldier rather than by means of the merchant and the farmer, and so alliances were sought with the Indians from less than the highest motives. But be it said to the credit of the priests, whether of Spain or of France, they established kindly relations with the Indians alike on the coast of California and in the wilds of Canada which have continued to this day.

We need more of the "settlement" idea in our work among the Indians, a willingness to live among them, winning them as John G. Paton won the hearts of the cannibals of the New Hebrides, a far more hopeless people. Already 60,000 Indians have become American citizens. They have needed paternal missions to make them strong for citizenship, as do

thousands of the wild tribes who must yet be reached and molded in the same way. The very blanket Indians respond to a gospel of sympathy and love and power until by successive stages they reach the condition of many of the civilized Indians who are henceforth to cast their ballots side by side with their white brothers. I have witnessed their Christian worship and have enjoyed with them the communion of saints. Their one need is the need of all this sinful world—the knowledge of Christ as a Saviour and the power of serving others in the gospel. Surely “God has a people” among the Indians also.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear from **REV. DR. CHARLES L. THOMPSON**, Secretary of the Presbyterian Home Missions, New York.

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM AMONG THE INDIANS

ADDRESS OF REV. CHARLES L. THOMPSON, D. D.

That the American Indians need betterment—whether by those words time or eternity, or both, be implied—goes without saying. And the first thing to do for such betterment is to give them a chance. For Indians, as for all people, one condition of being “born again” is to be born right the first time. The Indian’s inheritance is startlingly in the way of his regeneration. He will do positive, constructive work only when the hindrances for such work have been taken away.

If you really want to save the Indians clear the ground. We have had them as neighbors and wards for centuries. Except sporadically, we have done nothing to save them. We are waking up now, but in our waking we are making mistakes. The missionary’s zeal is not enough. We must clear the ground and give them a chance.

That chance has been variously denied. It was denied when our frontier line was a battle-front to drive them further from us into the desert or into eternity. There is no religious betterment in the point of a bayonet. It was and is denied them again by the reservation system. Men are not saved by being herded. Again, the chance is denied them when the vices of our civilization have free access to them. “Fire-water” has destroyed tribe after tribe. Around some reservations it still burns, a devouring flame. They have no fair chance.

Above all and most humiliating of all is the indifference or the skepticism of the Church in regard to the salvability of the Indians and this robs them of a chance. We must change our creed on this subject. We must believe in the

grace of God for the Indian and act as if we believed it. Such a creed need not come as a new revelation. It will have the background of some noble history. There have been some saints—John Eliot, John Sargent, Bishop Whipple, the Williamsons, the Riggs and others—whose lives and ministry give the lie to that western aphorism that “The only good Indian is a dead Indian.”

The Indians can be saved, and I use that ecclesiastical term broadly. I do not mean merely an experience of conversion which is often discounted, but I mean all that religion implies to any of us—a redeemed nature—a new character—a strong, God-fearing manhood.

I am coming to the point of this address: How shall this be accomplished?

I think first of all by recognizing that there is no patent way for doing it, and no need for any patent way. Looking around the mass of immigrants in the great detention room at Ellis Island, my friend Commissioner Watchorn said to me: “Look at them! They are folks.” Whatever mystery surrounds the origin of our aborigines, though we may not be able to trace their lineage, by features, form and bearing, they too “are folks;” they have the same capacities for higher manhood that we have. The road may be a longer one to travel but they can travel it.

Definitely now, what are the practical steps to be taken for the betterment of religious conditions? Let me say again there is no need for taking out a patent for religious work among the Indians. They are people and the gospel is adapted to people everywhere, of every color and condition. The only problem is to bring it to them in a way that, considering their heritage and present circumstances, shall make its most cogent appeal. With them, as with people everywhere, the basis of that appeal is on the line of personal contact. You shall not save them by legislation or proclamation. Somebody must do for them what the apostles did for the people around the Mediterranean,—fling himself into their lives—that they may be taught to live the higher life. A concrete illustration will best tell you what I am trying to say:

Thirty-seven years ago a humble German missionary in Chicago, realizing that eight thousand Pimas on the Arizona desert had no friend or helper to the better life, resolved to be their friend. Without the backing of any board or institution, with the zeal of an apostle and the heart of an old prophet, he sought that desert, sat down with those Indians and for ten years lived their life that he might win their

friendship, achieve their language and become fitted to lift them up. It was a long, slow battle. The Pima Indians, like others, were suspicious of the white man; but the Christ-like life conquered at last, and when his lips were opened to speak to them the gospel in their own tongue it found ready entrance to their hearts. Their lives rose to better cheer; nomadic ways were largely abandoned; home-making and the cultivation of the soil followed. Today, after nearly two score years of such patient service, that old prophet may look out upon that desert and see six Indian churches built by his labors, with fourteen hundred professors of faith in Jesus Christ and devout worshippers within those churches. The life of this man is not the only illustration of the fact that the betterment of religious conditions among the Indians must come first of all along the lines of personal contact and self-sacrificing devotion.

But granting now this personal consecration—which is the condition of missionary success on any shore and among any people—what adjuncts may be mentioned as important for the moral uplifting of the race?

I think first among such adjuncts should be mentioned the mission school. I am not forgetful of the splendid work of the government schools—between two and three hundred of them on the reservations—or the splendid influence of the large government institutions. Most important of all the features of the government policy for the uplifting of the Indians is that provision to secure to every child that will receive it the fundamentals of an industrial and literary education. This is a monument to Senator Dawes—more enduring than brass or marble. And it should further and gratefully be said that in many of the government schools the moral influence brought to bear upon the pupils by the lives of Christian teachers is salutary in the highest degree.

But it should also be said that it is no part of the province of the Government to give religious instruction. Such instruction brought to the adult Indian as a rule comes too late. But scores of mission schools maintained by the different denominations attest that Indian boys and girls can easily be led to the acceptance of Christian truth and the illustration of it in their lives.

Much as the denominations are doing in this line of work there are still many tribes untouched by either avowedly Christian education or evangelistic influence.

Another persuasive method of Christian work among the Indians is the introduction of medical missions. When a Christian physician can show them the futility of the incanta-

tions of the "medicine man" and the life-saving power of proper medical and surgical care, a door is open that otherwise had been firmly barred. As on every missionary field, medical mission work prepares for Christian instruction. This is the way the Master took. His disciples everywhere will be wise to follow His example.

The acquisition of the Indian's tongue is, in certain Indian mission fields, almost an essential to the best success. Very wisely the Government prohibits the use of the native tongue in the public schools. The boys and girls are being trained to be American citizens and must learn the English language. On many reservations also there is little need of any other language for the communication of religious truth. Indeed, the plea is often made, is it worth while to acquire the language anywhere because the old people will soon pass away and the rising generation will understand English? But there are reservations where the Indian language will be the language of the people for generations. Take the Navajos as an illustration: Twenty-five thousand of them in such infrequent contact with white people and likely for generations to be shut in by themselves among their mountains, that if those people are ever to have the gospel brought to them in a way they can understand and follow, it must be by those who shall become sufficiently identified with them to be masters of their tongue. The missionaries of the various denominations on the field recognize this and, last August, held a conference on that reservation for the purpose of agreeing upon a plan and means of study by which the Navajo language might be reduced to literary form.

An interpreter is the poorest kind of substitute for the use of the native tongue by the preacher, not only because the interpretation is subject to many handicaps but because there are no words in the Indian tongues that can at all properly interpret some of the most familiar terms of Christian truth. In parts of the country therefore, as in Arizona and in Alaska, remote from the environment and interpenetration of English speech and customs, the acquisition of the native tongue will be for generations of prime importance to the missionary.

The statement of the helps for the religious uplifting of the Indians would be very incomplete if I failed to name the influence of Christian women, going among the hogans and tepees with a message to the women and children of the tribes, comprehensive enough to include all physical, educational and moral needs. Consecrated women who shall teach the Indian women how to make a home, how to train their children, how to live lives above the sordid temptations that

environ them, and how to have an outlook toward the land that is far off—than such angels of ministry there can be no mightier force for the regeneration of souls and the reconstruction of Indian society.

I close as I began: Give the Indian a chance, precisely the kind and quality of missionary labors given to great centers of population, or to lonely cabins on the frontier, or to the pagans of Africa or China.

This is the one and only solution of the religious problem of the Indians. "They are folks;" that is to say, they are souls—souls, we are beginning to understand, of no mean capacity. By all the pathos of past injustice and by all the enthusiasm of new-born hope for their future, as American citizens, let the Christian Church rise to her call and her opportunity, and the American Indians will become a not unworthy part of our Christian civilization. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: REV. DR. JAMES W. COOPER, of New York, Corresponding Secretary of the American Missionary Society, will now address us.

REMARKS OF REV. JAMES W. COOPER, D. D.

In coming before you to-night I do not pretend to any expert knowledge of the peculiar characteristics of the Indian which differentiate him from the men of other races. From my slight acquaintance with him in connection with the administration of Indian missions I am led to agree with Dr. Thompson that Indians are simply "folks." They are very much like the rest of us. Nor should I dare, in this presence, to undertake to speak authoritatively of what is referred to, in the theme announced for our discussion this evening, as "methods for the betterment" of religious work among the Indians. My experience in mission work has been too brief for that. I wish simply to tell the story of how, going recently through several reservations of the Dakotas, meeting them in their homes and churches and religious convocations, visiting their schools, driving with them across the plains, conferring with veteran missionaries whose lives have been devoted to their material and spiritual welfare, I became deeply impressed with the Indian's ability to develop character and capacity, with all the essential elements of Christian manhood and womanhood observable in the best of us.

It is seventy years—I think exactly seventy years—since Stephen W. Riggs and his young bride left their New England home for work among the Dakotas. Their two sons are

now the veterans of our Congregational Indian missions. One rainy day last spring, in the home of Dr. Thomas L. Riggs, I read again the father's story "Mary and I," and his "Gospel among the Dacotahs." One is a personal story of forty years of devoted and self-sacrificing pioneer life; the other, a painstaking study of the life and language of the Dakotas with the record of faithful missionary service. How true it is that love and patience and fidelity have wrought together through all these years to lay a deep and secure foundation for the future development of these people.

We have under the care of the American Missionary Association some twenty churches among the Dakota Indians, with perhaps sixty preaching stations and thirty native preachers. Several of our churches have three or four branches in neighboring localities united amicably in one church organization, thus forming a true Congregational episcopate well worthy of imitation. Our missionaries have general supervision of this work, as well as the care of the mission schools at Santee and Oahe.

I was deeply interested in a meeting of the Dakota Association. I listened to their discussions, which were sufficiently interpreted to me to be pretty well understood. They were discussing much the same questions which we discuss in similar assemblies. They had the same practical problems to solve in their church life which we have, and were pursuing similar lines of Christian work. They were learning how to govern themselves after our simple congregational order, and were studying methods of ministering to one another and to those about them. They had their women's meeting,—where the chief topic under consideration was the home, its orderly management, the grace of cleanliness, the religious obligations of the mother of the family. They had also their missionary society,—which just then was interested in a pagan tribe of wandering Utes, recently assigned to four townships at the western end of the Cheyenne River Reservation. A delegation had already visited the new comers to prepare the way for gospel work among them, and a strikingly sensible and intelligent address was given by the wife of one of the pastors. This "native missionary society" raises a thousand dollars or more annually and maintains several preaching stations, and unlike most missionary societies it carries a comfortable surplus of a thousand dollars or so in its treasury. These Indian churches are few and poor; and yet out of their poverty they contribute more than three thousand dollars a year to benevolence and church support, and in their weakness they last year added to their numbers more than a hundred

on the confession of faith—a proportion far exceeding that of our Congregational churches in the rest of the country.

We were for a time the guests of Miss Collins at Little Eagle, in the Standing Rock Reservation. While we were there a little company of Indians came in from the Upper Moreau to pay their respects. They sat silently for a while after their manner, and then intimated to Miss Collins that they had a special message for me to take home to my people. The spokesman was White Bull, a nephew of that wily old agitator, Sitting Bull, who a few years before had so successfully aroused the tribes to insurrection and sent them out on the war-path. White Bull was on a different errand. "Tell your people," said he, "That we are trying to live as Christians; we are trying to be kind to one another, especially to the poor and sick, for there are many among us who are sick and many who are lame and paralysed and we minister to them and wash their feet."

I know that this is a simple incident, but to me it is deeply significant. It illustrates the type of Christianity which is most genuine, and therefore most promising for the future. Indians like White Bull have learned the lesson of practical religion and in Christ's name try to practice it. There is a religion of the home, reverent and God-fearing. In the church there is Christian fellowship, and wisely organized effort for the salvation of men. There is of course much to be done. These Dakota Christians are but children in the faith, and there are many of their nation still unreached. But the method of missionary service is neither doubtful nor difficult.

I had a delightful letter the other day from Mrs. Thomas Riggs. She writes me that while her husband and I were driving through the reservations, she had taken the stage and gone alone up the Cheyenne River to Cherry Creek, visiting from house to house, carrying sympathy and giving counsel and talking with the people in their homes concerning their Christian life. She says that *this* is the thing which is now needed most of all in religious work for the Indian, and she pleads for consecrated men and women, who will learn the Indian language, mingle freely with the people and render this personal Christian service.

The Indian of our childhood days, with his paint and feathers, has passed away. The Indian warrior and hunter are gone. The pauper Indian, the Indian of the reservation, is passing away. Soon he too will be gone. The Indian is now a man, like other men. He is becoming a citizen, owning his own land and working it. In a few years all that splendid country west of the

Missouri will be like the country east of the Missouri, with railroads, cultivated farms, thriving towns and villages, schools and churches. It will not take long, and the Indian must meet these new conditions. How can he do it? How can we help him to do it, so that he will not be submerged by the new civilization, but may become a part of it, and have his share in its blessings? To do this we must work for him and with him as we would work for and with other men. We need seek no new or strange methods—nothing spectacular or sensational. Patient, self-denying, faithful service, sympathetically rendered and wisely adapted to his need, is all that is required. We must believe in the Indian, and love him with the love of God, as our brother-man and heir with us to all that is good in life.

“Stronger than steel
Is the sword of the spirit;
Swifter than arrows
The light of the truth is;
Greater than anger
Is love, and subdueth.”

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear the address of HON. JOHN J. DELANY, of New York, representing the Roman Catholic Indian Missions.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN J. DELANY

Not the least among the many noble purposes which this Conference endeavors to promote is the work of civilizing our own North American Indians. The plane to which it would elevate these tribes is that of our own European civilization. And it is consistent that such an effort should be made by Christian denominations, for European civilization is Christian.

The inception of the work is met with great difficulty and requires almost superhuman patience, for the white man who seeks to civilize the savage must first gain his trust and confidence, and this is rendered more difficult because of the sins in the past of white men against these barbarous peoples. It cannot be considered unnatural if the white man is a subject of more or less suspicion. He must come, if he wishes to succeed, with an unselfish and benevolent purpose, and must convince the Indian that his only object is the good of the Indian—otherwise no sympathy can exist between the two.

It is discouraging too, to think that while the various religious denominations are struggling to advance the welfare of the Indian, there seems to be a general indifference among

the people as to the condition and the destiny of the Indian. There appears to be a general absence of that sense of duty which the civilized white man owes to the uncivilized Indian, a duty not arising so much from the promptings even of common humanity, as from the recognition of the need of reparation of the wrongs which were originally inflicted upon the people by those through whom we all claim to be the inheritors of their lands. The problem is before us, and must be solved, and the situation requires that the American people shall address themselves with energy and intelligence to its solution. A general public interest and enlightenment are required to sustain such efforts not merely with money or governmental aid, but with a sympathetic moral support.

Recorded history, except as it bears upon the rise of the modern European peoples, tells us little of the races rescued from barbarism. Whatever we know on this subject is drawn almost wholly from the story of the tribes whose descendants now people Europe.

When the Gothic tribes swarmed down upon the civilization of the feeble Roman Empire, they had already been under the influence of Christian teachers, some of them for fully one hundred years, and yet, Professor George Burton Adams says, they had hardly attained a condition as advanced as that in which some of the better Indian tribes were when Columbus discovered America. And their progress was slow. Some of these European races who were exposed to a better environment, and perhaps endowed with superior natural talents, advanced to a tolerably fair state of civilization within two hundred years or three hundred years, but the work of civilizing Europe and bringing the mass of the barbarians under the subjection of law, and to something approaching a true civilization, was the work of fully one thousand years.

It may be that persons who have given little thought to the nature of a work of this kind may feel that we will achieve results more speedily. It is true that our superior material aids may make our work much easier and warrant a greater assurance of its accomplishment within a much shorter time. But nevertheless, after everything is considered, it will, I think, be generally conceded that it is problematical whether the advancement of aboriginal tribes living in a state bordering on savagery, can be brought to a full condition of civilization, except after centuries of persistent work. We may reasonably expect that several generations must pass away before the work now undertaken will be completed.

The work in its true sense cannot be done by even the most intelligent and benevolent helpers alone. They can only strive to enlighten the minds and infuse a spirit into the civilized peoples which will lift them to a condition in which they, themselves, accepting the ideals given to them, realizing their position will endeavor to finish the work of their own improvement and elevation.

When this upward tendency results from the Indian's own effort, he has begun to move along the pathway of genuine progress. It may be necessary to aid him from time to time and to guide him, but the work must largely be his own, and progress, from our point of view, therefore, must be necessarily slow.

Civilization cannot be predicated of any society until it can be said of it that it recognizes the reign of law. A society is civilized when its normal condition is peaceful and law abiding.

I do not believe that it can be seriously contended for a moment that a savage people can be elevated to the higher state of civilization, unless by the influence of religion. Naked speculation might contend otherwise, but historical evidence establishes this conclusion: The contrary has never been done.

It is not necessary for civilization that a people should profess Christianity. There was civilization before Christ, and there is civilization to-day in wholly non-Christian countries; but there must be a great emphasis laid upon the underlying principles of religion before a people in savagery and paganism can be brought to an appreciation of those general tenets of morality which are indispensable as a foundation of civilized life.

There is no question that industrial training is a potent factor. It is indispensable to the elevation of the savage, but true industrial life is based upon the peaceful recognition of certain moral principles which will never be accepted by a barbarous people until they have been convinced in some way that they must, from the standpoint of conscience, admit these principles as right.

The necessity for the abandonment of nomadic ways, the necessity for restraint upon lawless impulses must be accepted by the barbarian long before he has attained the capacity for mental processes which will confirm the propriety of his conduct or the personal experience which will convince him that his course is right. The mere statement of the white man that these principles of morality are good, and that they should bind the conscience of the Indian, will not be sufficient in itself to induce the Indian to accept

them. He must be brought to a realization that they have the approval of a power which is just and good, higher than either the white man or the Indian, before he will accept the matter as settled.

The condition of the family with its various rights and duties in civilized society, may be at variance with the age-long practices of the aboriginal people. They do not readily consent to abandon cherished institutions. Some belief in the sanction of a higher Power for the system of the family in civilized society must be accepted by the Indian before he will change in this respect to civilized ways. Neither the soldier nor the trader can do this work. Only the missionary who seeks his good can reach his heart and train his mind to understand the principles of justice. Until there has been awakened in him a respect for religion, a readiness to submit to its authority and the docility to accept its admonitions, it will be in vain that any one shall say to him, "Thou shalt not." When, however, he is taught to believe, and does believe, then he knows that disobedience of that inhibition is a wrongful act on his part. Thus through the means of religion may he be taught the tenets of general morality, his duty to his God, to his fellows and to himself, followed by a realization that work is necessary and learning from experience to increase the results of his labor by more intelligent and persistent industry.

But all this supposes that religion, which is the only influence that can reach him from without, and induce him to submit to its teachings, must be established in the midst of his tribe, and must be firmly established before we can expect any real step in the direction of true human progress. There is no question that the work before religious bodies of the United States in the elevation of the Indian tribes to civilization is far greater than either the agencies or the resources at command. The harvest is indeed ripe, but the reapers are few, and it seems that unless an extraordinary change takes place in the American people, and more money is procured for the maintenance and extension of this work, only a portion of what might be done can be undertaken.

If we could stimulate all our people to an appreciation of the nobility of the work, it would be an incalculable help to the cause. The good attempted to be done for one tribe may go on for a few years. They may not then be abandoned to look out for themselves. To be permanently beneficial, the work must be continued.

It is not to be forgotten that the savage coming into contact with civilization is very often affected by the vices of civilization. The work once begun must be sustained until

the savage has entirely abandoned his old ways, forsaken his paganism, and, of his own motion, is practicing self-restraint and continuously striving for attainment of those higher objects which are the aspirations of the civilized man.

Even if the agencies now at work in this field should be increased many-fold, the work would still more than tax the forces and resources engaged, and in view of that fact, even if no other and better reason were urged, it seems there could be no more important practical step for the further betterment of religious conditions among the Indians, than by adopting, as the first principle of procedure, that there shall be no conflict by the various denominations; but wherever an Indian tribe, or an individual of an Indian tribe is under the tutelage of any particular denomination, the other denominations should not interfere with its work, but permit it to go on.

If it was understood that no zealot, however pure his motive might be, would be permitted to invade the field which another Christian denomination occupied, and if it were done, he would incur the disapproval of his own denomination which would interfere to prevent it, we might bring about a situation where every Christian influence might work with all the opportunity that could be given to it, for the Christianizing of the pagan savage.

But so long as there is any tribe, or any member of a tribe, without the influence of Christian teaching, the newcomer in the field should seek out that tribe or that people and not, even in the most indirect way, interfere with the efforts of others already engaged.

The immediate effect of such a policy would, perhaps, not emphasize our unity upon the Indian mind, but it certainly would not emphasize our differences. It would do much to prevent discord among the various denominations engaged in this laudable work, and would give the yield of full results to the efforts of all.

Another suggestion which might be of value is that the work of this Conference, and its suggestions and deliberations, should be published more generally, and public attention directed to its work, not for any glory which might come to the Conference, but in the hope that the obligation which the American people owes to the uncivilized American Indian might be more thoroughly understood, and thus a greater co-operation with this work be awakened.

There are many well-disposed persons who believe in the efficacy of religious influence upon the Indian, although they themselves belong to no special Christian denomination, who could be induced to aid the cause, to create and keep up an

active public sentiment in favor of your work on this line, and the kindred purposes of your Conference.

It cannot be expected that even this Conference would arrive, in one session or in two sessions, at the perfect course of procedure, or that even if it did, that procedure would be accepted at once as the best. If we are to face a century or more of this work, and two or three generations of our people be required to continue in this field, in time the best plans will ultimately be adopted. The sooner we arrive at a general consensus as to what is best to be done by co-operation in this great work the better. It will mean the increase in the efficiency of these various agencies in this field. Greater recognition will be given to the work by the public as its fruits become more manifest and perhaps a larger number of persons may be induced to enter actively into the field of religious emancipation of the pagan Indian.

The very contemplation of the work of the Conference will have a humanizing influence. It is so necessary, now that our possessions are being extended, it may help to curb the restless spirit of vain glory so detrimental to free institutions, and make men advocates of right rather than of power. It may be one of the forces that will help our people to glory in justice rather than wealth, and inspire us all with a tenderness for one another, high or low, as the children of one country and the same God. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we shall hear from the Society of Friends, through MR. E. M. WISTAR.

ADDRESS OF MR. E. M. WISTAR.

To work in the present and for the future is of more value than too much telling of what has been done in the past. Perhaps, however, my limited remarks may best have a slight historic background. Of course, they must come as from a member of the Religious Society of Friends and from one actively associated with the administration of Friends' United Indian mission effort for a number of years.

In the year 1682, William Penn, Friend and Governor of Pennsylvania, stood under the Elm tree at Shackamax, by the Delaware River, and in conclusion of an address to the assembled Indians of that locality and day said "Our desire is not to do injury and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. We are now met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, and no advantage will be taken on either side, but all will be openness, brotherhood and love." To

which the Indians responded "they would live in love and peace with 'Onas' and his children so long as the sun and moon shall endure."

Some of us here are very glad to know that on neither the one part nor on the other were these idle words. We believe they were tokens of a pure fellowship and faith on either hand, and through seven generations the pact has been kept.

In asking of King Charles the grant of land which became Pennsylvania, Penn set forth that he had in view the glory of God "by civilization of the poor Indians and their conversion by just and lenient measures to Christ's kingdom;" and George Fox wrote "let them know the principles of truth so that they may know the way of salvation and the nature of true Christianity and how Christ has died for them."

From the early days until now, it will safely be said that some Friends have always been endeavoring to help some Indians and to lead them to a knowledge of best things for this life and for the life to come.

In 1795, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends instituted a standing Committee on the subject of the improvement and civilization of the Indians. This Committee by successive appointments is still continued, and has under its care an Indian boarding school and industrial farm at Tunesassa in western New York still actively supported and operated following an existence of one hundred and nine years. During the past century much individual and unrecorded missionary effort was continuously being made, and the scattered bands were followed as they were dislodged and driven westward by other whites less mindful of the tribesmen's rights and welfare.

In 1869, the year of President Grant's inauguration of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Grant's Peace Policy was also for a short period put into effect. In his first message to Congress we find; "I have attempted a new policy towards these wards of the nation with fair results so far as tried, which I hope will be attended ultimately with great success. The Society of Friends is well-known as having succeeded in living in peace with the Indians in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, while their white neighbors of other sects in other sections were constantly embroiled. They were also known for their opposition to all strife, violence and war. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations of Indians to them, and to throw the burden of the selection of Agents upon the Society itself."

At this juncture our Society organized its Associated Executive Court on Indian Affairs with delegates from the several American Yearly Meetings. Under its direction cooperation

was had with the said Peace Policy while it was allowed to continue operative, and following its discontinuance during a succeeding administration work of a more strictly religious character was taken up and has been actively continued, mostly at ten principal stations and a number of sub-stations, all in Indian and Oklahoma Territories.

To make proselytes for our Religious Society I trust has at no time been prominent in the work of any of these missions, but we hope the plain Gospel message has been faithfully given whereby many loads have been lightened and many souls gathered into the Kingdom of our Lord and His Christ through the influence of the Holy Spirit.

No doubt, some of our best and most effectual efforts have been exerted in connection with, and I may say in cooperation with a few government Indian boarding schools. At this time we have mission stations well established adjacent to Shawnee, Wyandotte and Otoe Government Schools, and for a number of years past (particularly at the two former) our missionaries have had most cordial and agreeable relations with the officers, teachers and pupils therein. Without much definite knowledge in the matter, I judge similar conditions obtain at other schools with other denominations.

How can the general mission effort be broadened or made more effective? Can we have a union that will further its vital interests? That is, the spread of the Gospel Message and the increase of the Kingdom of God. Perhaps this would be too much to look for, even if it should be for the best. And yet, Christianity is social, and innately calls for brotherhood and mutual helpfulness, and I take it, no definition of religion can be more satisfying to one having a true missionary spirit than that it is "to serve God with a pure heart fervently"—"to visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and to keep one's self unspotted from the world." It would seem that in such things denominationalism might be suppressed and results increased.

In the report of the Committee which brought this general subject prominently before us last year, I think Christian Association possibilities was named, and I trust we will give full consideration to the subject of a possible organization with united support. In passing, I would strongly endorse the industrial idea as associated with missionary effort. It should not be neglected.

To return;—Some movement which should, in a measure neglect denominational lines, and yet conserve our resources and gradually cover the entire Indian population as it year by year is becoming obsolete, calls for our care. If we are

in earnest and work with singleness of purpose, some such scheme should not be impracticable.

To name two of the great antagonists which we find ever ready to fight our work and to destroy and not to build up; there is of course *liquor* and there is the *dance*:—liquor furnished by the white man; the old Indian dance made hideous and vilely immoral, also by the admixture of the base white man. Could these two influences be obliterated, a great load would fall from off the missionaries, and a great relief would be found in favor of all that makes for peace and righteousness in those neighborhoods where they now exist. They have been and are today, what similar things in our uncivilized civilization are the land over—a curse and a terrible snare. Possibly some action by this Conference may help to abate them or may induce the Federal authorities to make fresh and stronger efforts for their suppression.

In past years missionaries and missionary organizations have at times had encouragement and assistance from the Indian Department. This has mostly been of an incidental character, but it has been helpful.

In closing I wish to acknowledge this and to express appreciation to the Indian Office for its courteous aid in our humble efforts, and to submit the thought that whatever civilizing work is being fostered and carried on by our Government there must go with it at least a real and substantial leavening of Christ's Gospel or the Government work will not stand; it will not long progress, and it will fail to be permanent. The road over which the tribal Indian has yet to travel in reaching full citizenship of the great nation surrounding him is very rough and treacherous and many are falling by the way. Let us unite in our endeavors to help him forward and to give him an acquaintance, according to our several ability, with the mind of Christ.

For ourselves, as well as for those for whom we expend our endeavors, it is most necessary to "Seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness," for any other course must result in half-hearted labors and indifferent results.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last speaker will be REV. DR. E. E. CHIVERS, of New York, representing the Baptist Home Missions.

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. E. E. CHIVERS

Dr. MacLaren, the famous preacher of Manchester, England, said on one occasion,—“The surest way to petrify the feelings is to excite them and then give them nothing to do.”

Right thinking and right feeling find their appropriate expression in right doing. We need vision. We need sympathy. We need prayer. But vision and sympathy and prayer ought to find expression in practical ministry.

In the phrasing of the topic for discussion this evening, the committee who have this Conference in charge evidently had this in mind. Let me state again the topic: "What immediate, practical steps toward the further betterment of the religious conditions among the Indians are possible?" A distinctly practical topic. In the very form of its statement, however, it assumes that there has been already a betterment. All who have watched the course of Indian affairs during the twenty-five years of the life of this Conference, all who have visited missionary stations on Indian reservations and in the Indian settlements, have been confronted by clear and unanswerable evidence of betterment. We have had fresh proofs furnished us in the statements that have been made by missionary workers and experts tonight; we have had fresh illustration of the fact that the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.

Allow me to cite two more illustrations. Last July I was present at the camp meeting of the blanket Indians, when some six hundred Kiowas, Cheyennes and Arapahoes, Comanches and Wichitas were present, and I took down the statistical report of that Rainy Mountain Baptist Church, with a membership of about 125. After you hear the figures, tell me whether you think they are Christians for revenue only.

That little Indian church raised for its expenses and its missionary contribution for one year the sum of \$991.62. The Gospel finds men. The secret of the indestructible vitality and power of the Gospel is to be found in the fact that it passes by everything that is superficial and addresses itself to that in human nature which is elemental, vital and abiding. When you get beneath the superficial differences of rank, clime, class, and culture, you will find the man that is in all men, and the glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ are to be found in the fact that it speaks to the man that is in all men.

Let me cite one more illustration. The story is of the conversion of one of the leaders among the Crows. Three years ago it was my privilege to establish a school and mission at Lodge Grass, Mont. One of the first fruits of the Gospel of God was White Arm, who made his confession before the multitude gathered at the Baptist Anniversaries in St. Louis two years ago and whom I had the privilege of introducing to that assembly as my brother in Christ,—the first fruits

of the Gospel from our mission among the Crows. I was exceedingly anxious to have him tell me in his own way the story of his conversion. I took him downstairs with an interpreter, and I said, "Now tell me all about it." He laid his hand on my shoulder, calling me by name—

"You Jesus man." Laying the other hand upon the shoulder of our missionary, he said again—"You Jesus man." Then laying his hand on his heart, he said, "White Arm, Jesus man too. Heap good! Heap good! Heap good!"

"But," I said, "tell me all about it. How did it come to pass?"

That is all he said (indicating by gestures). He had been in the dark. Some one had struck a light. Now he saw. Had he not comprehended what the Gospel says, "Whereas I was blind, now I see"? Then putting his hands so (indicating), he said, "Tepee!" and pointed toward the north. "Pretty Shell (that is the name of his wife)! pretty Beads (his little girl)! Go talk. Pretty Shell she come, too!" The missionary impulse had been born so soon. Then pointing in the direction of an Indian camp I had visited with him a year before, then another, then a third, then a fourth, he did this (indicated), meaning to gather them in, and said, "Talk! talk! Church!"

That told the whole story. He was going to gather his people together and have them sit down on the grass before him and talk and pull them to church. And that is just what he has been doing, and last month we signed his commission as an Evangelist, to go and carry the message of the Gospel to his benighted fellow tribesmen. Verily the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one who believeth.

Let me address you on the practical part of this topic, but from a different point of view than that taken by others who have preceded me. I am going to speak, not of work or workers on the field, but would speak of some things that might be done by this Conference looking toward the betterment of religious conditions among the Indians. And what I have to say will be along the line of the admirable report made last year, but which needs, as it seems to me, to be carried still further. The first thing I would name as an immediate practical step is definite and accurate information. We have heard a statement tonight concerning the work that is being done by the Episcopal Church, Reformed Church, Methodist Church, and each one of the Boards of these churches knows what its particular work is. But there is need of a more comprehensive statement, a definite and ac-

curate statement that shall include, first the name, the numbers and the location of the several Indian tribes. Second, the educational agencies that work among them, whether governmental or denominational, boarding school or day school. Third, the mission stations that are established already by the several denominations. Fourth, the centers at which there is need of added missionary effort in order that the given tribe or community may be adequately shepherded. Fifth, the name and number and location of the Indian tribes or settlements which thus far are wholly unevangelized. With that information at our command in tabulated form, definite and accurate, we have a basis for the formulating of a comprehensive plan of evangelization. In the attempt to work out that plan of evangelization, steps might be taken,—First, The communication of these facts to the missionary boards that have already demonstrated their interest in Indian affairs by the establishment of missions. Second, A courteous request or inquiry addressed to them as to whether they will not occupy points contiguous to stations that are already occupied by them. Third, that they be asked how many of the wholly unevangelized centers they would be willing to occupy. Having presented the matter to these boards, then the same thing could be presented to boards that hitherto have not taken any active participation in Indian work. I believe that in that way we might formulate a comprehensive plan for the evangelization of the not very large number of Indians whom we have in this country.

In addition to that it seems to me that the time has come for an appeal in our theological seminaries for young men who shall volunteer to devote their lives to the work of uplifting and evangelizing these aborigines. Young men in our churches, and young women in our churches, in our colleges and seminaries, are responding to the student volunteer call for service in the foreign field. I believe that if this matter were laid before them and urged upon them we should have a response for volunteers along these lines of home work. More emphasis should be laid also upon the work of the Christian matron. I recognize the value of the services rendered by the government matron; but I believe that our missionary Boards, and our women's missionary societies should be petitioned to support a large and increasing number of Christian matrons, who shall go in and out among the homes of the Indian people and teach them in a thousand ways the rudiments of civilized life and at the same time be bearers of the message of the Gospel of the grace of God. I believe there will be a response to such a call.

Some one asked an eminent painter, whose angel faces upon the canvas were the envy of his brother artists, where he got his angel faces. He pointed to a group of ragged and dirty little children playing in the gutter, and said, "I get them there!" O faculty divine, that can look beneath the dirt and the defilement, the defacement and the degradation of sin and see there the lingering lineaments of the Divine, and has faith in the possibilities, through the grace of God of bringing those lineaments out in clearness and perfection again! That is what we need and before such a Spirit as that, the Indian problem and all other problems will find their solution. (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until the following morning.

Third Session

Thursday Morning, October 24th, 1907

THE CHAIRMAN: We are going into a very large and a very serious subject this morning. To me it is the overwhelming question that has come to the altruistic thought and feeling of the country, the Philippine question. Our first speaker is MR. THOMAS LAWLER, of Boston.

WHAT WE HAVE DONE IN THE PHILIPPINES

ADDRESS OF MR. THOMAS LAWLER

I purpose to say a few words this morning on the progress which we have made in the Philippines since our occupation of these islands eight years or so ago. We are now fairly at the parting of the ways in the Islands. We have passed through the era of military government. We have had four or five years' government by commission and this week the era of quasi-representative government has begun with the opening of the new Assembly.

As no people can make substantial progress without a stable currency, one of the epoch-making measures of our rule in the islands was the establishment of the new coinage called Philippine currency. When the Americans arrived at Manila, the unit of value in general use was the Mexican dollar. The value of this dollar fluctuated widely. On my first visit to Manila in 1900, I received for one hundred gold dollars one hundred and ninety-seven Mexican dollars. Later one received as high as two hundred and sixty-six Mexican dollars for one hundred dollars in gold. At the same time there was in use or hoarded up in the Philippines a large amount of Spanish silver.

Now with a currency affected so markedly by such wide influences it is difficult for business to advance along safe and healthy lines; in fact it is hard to see how it advanced at all when one was compelled every morning to find out what his money was worth. By one sweeping act the Commission remedied this state of things. They outlawed the Mexican dollar, giving ample time to get rid of the Mexican money while the Spanish silver was bought in by the government. The new Philippine currency was based on gold, the

peso being worth fifty cents in our money and the other coins in proportion. So completely did this act do its work that in three years I have never seen a Mexican dollar in the islands. To do this without friction or financial disturbance was surely an achievement worthy of note.

Another step in our rule was the establishment of a general educational system for the islands. The schools and colleges of the Spaniards had been widely extended in the islands from the earliest days of colonization. These schools reached for the most part the sons and daughters of Spaniards and well-to-do Filipinos. The American system contemplated wider effort; viz, to reach every child of school age if the condition of the insular treasury would warrant it. It was soon found, however, that the treasury would not warrant it. As a matter of fact, there are about one million, two hundred thousand children of school age in the islands. We have enrolled as high as four hundred and thirty thousand of these children, approximately one-third, while the actual attendance has been, of course, considerably smaller. The present course of study purposes to give the vast majority of pupils only three years of school life. There are higher schools in each of the provincial capitals but not one child in three thousand ever goes beyond the three primary grades. In all the schools the work is carried on in English, textbooks in the English language having been especially prepared for the islands. The course of study is not, however, in any sense American. It is made up by teachers in the Philippines to meet Philippine needs.

Judge Draper has remarked that an American system of schools might not be the best for the Philippines. The Department in Manila has well recognized this fact. Industrial training is the ultimate hope of the authorities and trade schools are being more and more developed in every province.

To carry on this work costs two million, six hundred thousand dollars per year. Cuba under American rule gave four million dollars yearly to educate one hundred and twenty-five thousand children. This comparison will show how economically the schools of the Philippines are conducted.

Another forward movement has been made in sanitation. No one can drink a drop of Manila water today without rendering himself almost certainly a victim of amoebic dysentery. The government is now building a splendid system of water works that will render unnecessary the everlasting search for distilled water that now haunts one in the capital of the archipelago. Similarly there is now being built miles of sewers, establishing a thoroughly modern system of drainage.

With these works Manila should be the healthiest tropical city in the world, and the only tropical city, to my knowledge, with a modern system of sanitation.

The new laboratories which have been built will do a splendid work in studying tropical diseases and in looking to the improvement of farm animals, the soil and the other subjects that make for the betterment of agriculture. In this connection, it may be well to recall that provision has been made for Agricultural Loan Banks to furnish loans at reasonable rates to farmers on the security of their crops, lands or stock.

To teach frugality we have established a Philippine Postal Savings Bank. So highly was this measure appreciated that within four months of its passage no less than sixty-two banks of this nature were opened.

It is interesting to know that in the Philippines there is established by law the Torrens Land Registration System by which your title to property is guaranteed by the Philippine government, a great boon in a country where the constantly changing conditions of the past decade rendered uncertain the title to real property. It is now as well safeguarded as in any city in this land, in fact much better than in most of them.

The great harbor works that are now approaching completion will render it possible for vessels to load and unload at any time. Up to the present, during the whole summer season, the southwest monsoon sweeps with fury across Manila Bay, preventing the lighters, frequently for days, from approaching vessels for freight. They will soon be able to load at any season without the loss of an hour as the great breakwaters which hold back the waters rolled up by the monsoon.

Under the act of Congress of February 1905, the Philippine government is aiding in the building of railways under a four per cent guarantee for thirty years on the bonds. Eight hundred miles are being built in Luzon and three hundred and eighty-eight in the other islands. To illustrate what a boon this will be I will mention one case. It now requires a disagreeable voyage of thirty hours to go from Manila to Albay, the great hemp district. With the new railroad it can be reached comfortably in eight hours.

Before closing, I would like to say a few words on the question, "How does the average inhabitant, whether of Spanish or native stock, look upon our rule?" From frequent conversations with them I would say that the Spaniards welcome our rule. They have property and feel responsibility, and they welcome American occupation as that of a respon-

sible government. They are unqualifiedly opposed to native rule. In any discussion of the question of leaving the island, we must remember that the thrifty, responsible Spaniards have the right to demand of us that, having taken out Spanish rule, we must leave them a ruling authority strong enough to protect their interests. I have never talked with a Spaniard who did not look with appall on the prospect of our withdrawal. Outside of the Philippine native politicians, the average Filipino doesn't care to talk a great deal. If he does talk, he will complain of the increased cost of living since American rule. Prices have soared sky high. House rents, food and clothing have practically gone on a gold basis, which simply means they have doubled in price. The internal revenue tax levied on business and profession, the cost of betterments for the widening of streets or the laying of granolithic sidewalks, not to dwell on the high tariffs levied at the custom houses, all fall heavily on the small real-estate owner and the business man. The Filipinos do not deny that the money has been expended honestly but they say that we are going too fast, that we are trying to make Manila in ten years a modern city. They would like fewer park and Luneta improvements in Manila and better roads in the provinces to enable them to reach the markets. In regard to the failure of Congress to give them free trade with the United States, they are simply unable to express themselves at all. Language fails. If it didn't, it would not be fit for publication. However, hope springs eternal in the human breast, in that of the Malay as well as that of the Caucasian, and while strong men in Congress are fighting for them, the Filipinos continue to hope.

Another action they cannot fathom is the Coastwise Shipping Act. By this act the Philippines will come in the course of a year or so under the coastway shipping laws of the United States, and vessels plying for instance from Manila to Cebu must be under American registry. It is bad enough to include Hawaii under the senseless and tyrannical provisions of these shipping laws but to pull into the net islands seven thousand miles from San Francisco would be a subject for Homeric laughter were it not so tragic. If there is any one thing I hope this Conference will do, it will be to ask the postponement, at least until the Greek Kalends, of the date when these shipping laws will go into effect as against the Philippine Islands. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker, and we are very glad indeed to welcome him, is HON. PAUL CHARLTON, Law Officer of the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY

ADDRESS OF HON. PAUL CHARLTON

When Magellan and Legaspi went to the Philippine Islands early in the sixteenth century they found a people using a written language—Tagalog. A majority of the people were not savages even at that time, and probably a majority of the inhabitants of southern Luzon, the Visayas and the Moro Province adhered to some form of Mohammedism.

During the centuries since that time, under the Spanish rule, the people were governed by the military, and the local administration of provinces and municipalities was carried on by the priests of the Roman Catholic Church, actually, even if not in all cases nominally.

The children of the *Principales*, and a few bright ones among the lower classes, received fragmentary primary instruction in the parish schools, but the instruction given was mostly religious. During the nineteenth century reading and writing were more generally taught in these schools, always in the dialect of the province, never in Spanish except in the few cities—the policy of the Spanish Government being to keep the body of the people more easily in subjection through inability to inform themselves, and of the Friars in charge of the schools to maintain their influence by being the sole intermediaries between the people and the Government.

There was no native participation in Government. The people rallied about the head of some powerful house, or a Cacique, or a *Principale*—usually a Spaniard.

At the time of the census (1902–1905), forty per cent. of the population of school age could read, and twenty per cent. write *some* language. Nominal Christians composed ninety-four per cent. of the population, the remaining six per cent. being Moslems or savages.

The Archipelago is divided into thirty-nine Provinces, of which thirty-four have complete local self-government, except that the Treasurers are appointed, not elected. In six Provinces the government is more or less military—there being Provincial Councils, composed of the chief Provincial Officers. In these Provinces also, there are schools and courts as elsewhere in the Islands, and the whole population has ready access to convenient courts for the preservation of rights, and a universal free-school system, where English is taught, and the subjects are graded as in the United States.

The census showed that of the civilized male inhabitants, of voting age, 1,137,776 were illiterate, and 589,889 were literate, i. e.—able to read or write *some* language, not necessarily Spanish or English. Taking the literates over the age of twenty-three as all

being able to speak, read and write *some* language, a considerable number might still not possess the necessary qualifications under the Election Law (P. I. Act No. 1582, Sec. 13); or be subject to some of the prescribed disqualifications (*id.*, Sec. 14).

The Act of Congress, approved July 1, 1902, being the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and Organic Law of the Philippine Islands, provided (Sec. 6) for the taking of a census of the Islands when the Philippine Commission should certify to the President a condition of general and complete peace throughout the Islands, with submission to the authority of the United States.

On September 11, 1902, the Philippine Commission certified to the President that:

The recently existing insurrection of the Philippine Islands has ceased and a condition of general and complete peace has been established therein; . . . the Commission recommends to the President of the United States that he order a census of the Philippine Islands to be taken by the Philippine Commission, in accordance with the provisions of said section. Be it further observed that the foregoing certificate does not and is not intended to certify that the conditions concerning the Lake Lanao Moro district, which district forms but a small part of the territory occupied by the Moros, as those of absolute and complete peace, but that, in the opinion of the Commission, the language of section 6 and the certificate therein provided for were not intended by Congress to require, before such census should be taken, that complete peace should exist in the country of the wild Moros who never have taken any part in the insurrection referred to in section 6.

Accordingly, on September 25, the President ordered the census to be taken by the Philippine Commission. The census thus provided for was completed and published on March 27, 1905, and that fact was certified to the President by the Philippine Commission on March 28, 1905.

As provided in section 7 of the Act of Congress above, on March 28, 1907, being two years after the publication of the census, the Commission certified to the President that the conditions of the Act had been complied with. Thereupon, and upon the same day, the President, by Executive Order, directed the calling of a general election for members of the Assembly, and, upon April 1, 1907, The Governor-General of the Philippine Islands issued a proclamation, embodying the certificate, resolution and Executive Order. (For a copy of the above-mentioned proclamation, see appendix.)

On January 9, 1907, the Commission had enacted "The Election Law"—(P. I. Act No. 1582), in which provision is made, in detail, for the division of the Islands into voting districts and precincts; for the basis and amount of representation; for the qualifications and disqualifications of voters; for the supervision of elections; for the registry of voters, and, generally, for all the machinery and safeguards found in the best modifications of

the Australian Ballot Law in force in the United States. (For text of qualifications and disqualifications of voters, see appendix.)

We have not, in this country, complete returns of the registration. Given a population of males over 21 years old, who were literate, i. e.:—"able to speak, read and write" *some* language, amounting to about 600,000, there must be deducted, (1) males between the ages of 21 and 23 (the legal voting age); (2) all such persons as could not "speak, read and write English or Spanish"; (3) all persons who did not possess one of the other qualifications; or (4) were obnoxious to any of the disqualifications. The vote actually cast at the election on July 30, 1907, aggregated 98,000, or one in six of the literate male population over 21 years old, which would be greatly reduced if the deductions just mentioned were made; most probably cut in half.

It is difficult for an Anglo-Saxon, without long, intelligent, and extended observation and study of a naturally subject race, to form any just or fair judgment of the effect of a personality stronger, or richer, or more prominent, upon persons who have long been under such domination. If such person should let it be understood, in any community where he lived, that he deprecated the idea of persons of lower class attempting to put themselves on a plane of political or social equality with him by registering as electors, the number who would brave his resentment would be small.

The Secretary of War, by his great opportunities for observation, his devotion and love to this people, his capacity for sane and fair executive action is certainly superior as a judge of the extent of the autonomy which can be granted to the Filipinos, and of his capacity for absolute self-government. In a recent address in Manila, where he has redeemed his promise to open the Filipino Assembly, he said that his views of the political capacity of the Filipino people were unchanged; that, in his judgment, they would not be politically fit to govern themselves for a generation; and asserted his belief that, as to the powers of the Assembly, they would be exercised conservatively, as the people felt their responsibilities, and acknowledged the necessity of supporting the government.

Since the publication of the census, in 1905, political agitators, each with a personal faction, have formed *groups*, and in the Filipino press, and by personal speech, have exploited *each himself* as the possessor of the only panacea for the political disabilities of the people, and as the *only* person who can lead them to absolute autonomy.

In no sense, as we understand it, is there any semblance of a political *party* in the Philippine Islands. There are groups of

persons, for the most part ignorant, who are attracted by denunciations of the government, and extravagant, impossible promises.

The farmer, and the plain man, over there is called "Juan de la Cruz"—John of the Cross. He is more simple, more gullible, and as easily led as were the negroes in reconstruction days; and, as then in our south, so now in the Philippines, the *Carpet Bagger* is abroad in the land, promising the equivalent of "an acre and a mule," with other immediate and substantial advantages—in return for a vote.

But even the most ardent so-called anti-imperialist need never expect to have the satisfaction of throwing into the face of the executive branch of this or of the Philippine Government a parallel of the excesses of legislation and administration which horrified this nation in the reconstruction days. The people, if quiet and easily led, are of a different fibre, quality and tradition from the freed slave; we have the balance wheel of the Commission as an upper house; we have the tradition and present existence of a fair, humane, and progressive government.

At the election there were returned "Nacionalistas"—extremists—who want, as their organs say, "urgent," "electric," "immediate" independence. The men who, before the election, affiliated with this faction ranged from *Dominador Gomez*—member from Manila, a demagogue whose very extravagances have destroyed his influence in the Assembly, though they appealed to the low element sufficiently to secure his election by a plurality of 31 in a vote of 3,000. He is a convicted felon; has been incarcerated in Bilibid Prison; is out on bail after conviction for embezzlement, and for a gambling fraud, and is under indictment for other offenses.

The following is a sample of the logic and fervor of his pre-election utterances:

"On the road of bitterness, with the cross upon my shoulders, tritulating slanders and reptiles, I am pursuing under the insistent fire of most galling attacks the dangerous path of Philippine politics. I shall always consecrate all my energy and enthusiasm to the making of worthy citizens of the Filipinos, of independent individuals as indispensable elements in the formation of a future cultured community, a people always vigorous, and a sovereign and glorious nation. The stripes of prison uniform which are such a terror to many may perhaps mark the delicate epidermis of my organism, but they will never succeed in furrowing, not even in the slightest degree, the integrity of my honor and my faith, which I consecrate with fervorous unction at the altar of my free and independent conscience."

Commenting upon this effusion, "La Democracia," the organ of the Progresistas—the Federal party, declares:

"This is the spectacle the people are witnessing in the Nationalist camp, and it would seem to be high time all Filipinos rally to the defense

of national decorum devising the means of checking such proceedings, which clearly prove that we need foreign tutelage to prevent us from tearing each other to pieces. We are becoming more and more confirmed in our conviction that if independence were granted us to-day, tyranny and oppression would reign supreme in the Philippines, and, saddest of all, we would be oppressed and vexed by our own kind, and civil war would be inevitable. The mask of patriotism, which covered the vilest passions, has been torn off sufficiently to let us see clearly and act accordingly."

To the same group belongs *Fernando Guerrero*, editor of "El Renacimiento," an extremist newspaper of Manila. He is a man of the pure Spanish type; a hater of everything American; with the qualities that differentiate the Spaniard from the Anglo-Saxon; a dreamer, a poet, an advocate of impossible, impractical theories. A more dangerous man than Gomez, and his bitter enemy. He is the other delegate from Manila.

Until the meeting of the Assembly, its speaker, *Sergio Osmena*, of Cebu, was also affiliated with the "Nacionalista" faction, and is undoubtedly the man of most solid influence in the group. A man of probity, and of high personal character.

Less radical, but still making the demand for independence, the main plank in their platform, are the "Independientes," "Immedialistas," and several groups of "Independentes." Their views are analogous to those of the "Gold Democrats" in the United States.

The "Progresistas"—or *Federalists*, are those who, recognizing the beneficent and unselfish work of this people to theirs, are supporters of the government policies.

The election returns showed them to be in a large minority, but it was anticipated that, on the organization of the Assembly, it would be found that in the Philippines, as sometimes in the United States, *platforms* are "things to get in on; not to stand on."

At once on the organization of the Assembly the re-organization of the groups or factions composing it began.

The delegates, no longer intoxicated by the plaudits of their personal following, found themselves confronted with responsibilities, and limited by the rules and law governing the Assembly. This has produced disintegration of the groups, or factions, and has resulted in a re-distribution, on conservative lines, of which a majority support the policies of the government.

The Assembly has powers of legislation comparable with those of the lower branch of Congress, the only limitation being that in case it fails to pass suitable and sufficient appropriations for the maintenance of the government, "an amount equal to the sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills shall be deemed to be appropriated." This provision was adapted from section 54 of the Act of Congress approved April 30, 1900, providing a

government for the territory of Hawaii, and the reasons for it are obvious.

The number of delegates is 80, elected from 34 Provinces, on the approximate basis of one delegate for ninety thousand population. The islands were divided into 80 districts, and the districts were subdivided into 799 precincts.

It is to meet biennially, to sit for a maximum period of ninety days, and may be convened in special session, on the call of the Governor-General, for specific or general purposes.

The salaries of the delegates are fixed at P. 20 per sitting day, and, in lieu of mileage, their necessary traveling expenses, from and to their homes are paid. To meet this expenditure the Commission has appropriated the sum of P. 500,000, of which salaries will take P. 288,000, and expenses, P. 212,000.

The Peso represents 50 cents in our currency.

It is further provided (Sec. 8) that the Philippine Legislature, i. e.—the Commission and the Assembly—shall elect two resident commissioners to the United States, who shall be entitled to official recognition as such by all the departments of our government. They are to be paid salaries of \$5,000 a year, and \$2,000 additional to cover all expenses.

In spite of the fact that this Assembly is an experiment in government not before witnessed in history, as applied to a people of the racial, social and mental characteristics of the Filipino; in spite of the prophecies of evil, hurt, and failure proceeding from certain quarters in this country and abroad—in accordance with the mandate of the American people, as expressed by their Congress, the President and the Philippine Government have called and convened the Philippine Assembly; and it is the firm conviction of those best qualified to judge, that the Filipino people, as a people, by their moderation, and recognition of the beneficent and unselfish work that is being done by this nation to theirs, will justify the wisdom of Congress in granting them this further extension of autonomy.

You will be told by a speaker who follows me, a gentleman born and educated in those Islands, of "The Making of a Nation." He will tell you of local self-government, universal free education, public works in sanitation, road building, and harbor improvement—all the work of eight years—of convenient courts that command the respect of *all* the people, of liberties and opportunities dreamed of, but denied under the Spanish occupation. He will tell you of the high hopes of his people for their future, and of their full and grateful appreciation of what has been, is being, and is promised to be done for them.

And now a last word to the critics of what they are pleased to call "the policies of the government."

I am astounded daily, as I read these criticisms and attacks, that men presumably of ordinary intelligence, information, and perspicacity should be so stupid. Unfairness and pettifoggery one learns to expect with the experience of years, but a critic is expected to base his judgment on *facts*—facts that exist, not on bubbles that *look* solid, but *are* empty.

And the first basic fact that somehow always escapes them is that the legal status of *the Philippine Islands has been created by the Congress of the United States, which alone has power to change it.*

Secondly, that *the executive branch of any government administers, does not make the laws.*

That there have been mistakes of administration in the non-contiguous territory under our jurisdiction is most freely admitted—men are but human, and, therefore, erring instrumentalities, and when each of us looks in his mirror he sees the reflection of one of them. The statement that there have been *vital* errors of administration is challenged for proof. None has ever been made which has not been refuted by facts accessible to the maker before the statement was made.

What the people and the government of the Philippine Islands need and ask is understanding and support. Whatever discontent exists among that people has been started, and is kept alive and fomented by citizens of the United States. And, it appears to me, it may fairly be said that their propaganda should be directed rather to obtaining their object—if it has any sane and sound basis—from the only source from which it can proceed—the Congress of the United States—than by factious agitation and impossible suggestion to raise false hopes and to stir up the demagogues among a people of so inflammable nature as the Filipinos. That it can serve no useful purpose is apparent to the most uninformed. And, therefore, the fair deduction from its continuance is that its animus is one of destruction rather than construction; of hurt, rather than of help.

We all know how easy it would be for any one of us to edit a newspaper—in *his mind*. And, I suppose, any of us could learn the book part of an ordinary surgical operation in a short time as thoroughly as a practiced operator. But editing the paper and doing the operation have quite a different aspect when you are *doing* them. Observation and participation in the government of our non-contiguous territory for several years have taught me that the parallel of difference exists there.

In any event, up to this time, the fears of those gentlemen, who from clubs and libraries edit the Philippine government, and do the great, remedial operation of its administration, do not appear to be shared by the President and the Congress of the United States, or to have shaken their confidence in the

wisdom, ability, and integrity of a man who, setting aside the great ambition of his life, has devoted his great head and his great heart, for his most productive years, to the uplifting, moulding, and re-generation of a people—the Honorable, The Secretary of War. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall now draw upon the large information and experience of the REV. DR. ARTHUR J. BROWN, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

OUR MORAL PROBLEMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

ADDRESS OF REV. ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN, D. D.

Our problem in the Philippines is a serious one. It is a stupendous task to govern wisely seven and a half millions of people, differing not only from us but among themselves in race, in traditions, in language, in customs and in religion, scattered over an immense territory, divided into more than a thousand islands, and all separated from the seat of our government by ten thousand miles of land and sea. We cannot expect to succeed where other nations have failed unless we heed the lessons of experience. The laws of the moral universe will not be changed because this particular country is involved. It is not true that "everything will be all right," unless we resolutely make it all right by honest, unselfish endeavor.

The question whether we ought to have taken the Philippines is now an academic one, whose discussion may be left to college sophomores. We did take them and the real question for us to consider is: In what spirit shall we keep them and to what ends shall we govern them? I found both Asiatics and Europeans curious to know. A decade ago, Asia knew little and cared less about America. A few men in diplomatic circles were pleasantly impressed by the consideration shown to Asiatic nations by the ministers of the United States, but even they had but a faint idea of the extent of our territory and the number of our population. The American army was unknown. American warships in Asiatic waters were few and small and sometimes so antiquated that our navy was the laughing stock of European squadrons and the humiliation of our own officers. We had no trained diplomatic or consular service, and though our representatives were usually able and sensible men, they lacked, as a rule, experience in statecraft, and were half paid and poorly housed in comparison with the ministers of European powers. Thus while at home we were boasting in Fourth of July orations

that we were the greatest nation on earth, the majority of the inhabitants of the earth never knew of our existence and those who had heard of us regarded us as some insignificant country, so remote and so lacking in spirit as to be of no consequence.

But the suddenness and decisiveness of America's conquest of the great Philippine Archipelago startled Asia as well as Europe "Like an alarm bell in the night." The Oriental now sees that a new world power of the first magnitude has appeared in the Far East, and half in curiosity, half in fear, men are asking: "What is the United States going to do in Asia, and what does it stand for?" Americans may well ask that question themselves.

The objects which we may seek in the Philippine Islands are three in number. Perhaps they are not mutually exclusive, for there is a sense in which all three may be combined. But so far as our determinative purpose is concerned, we must choose between them.

The first is military power. In that vast Archipelago, the United States occupies a strategic point of the first importance to a people ambitious of world-dominion. Possession there so entrenches us in the Far East that we have an enormous advantage over any European nation in the race for ascendancy in the Pacific. Even apart from the mainland, we have in the Philippines themselves a great extension of our national territory and the consciousness that we are masters of a numerous population.

The second possible object is commercial profit. In the Philippine Islands, there is a new market for American manufactures, a base from which our commercial operations can be extended through Asia's "open door" into her teeming interior regions.

That both the national and the commercial motives animate a considerable number of the American people is undeniable. Newspapers and magazines teem with articles discussing these phases of our new foreign policy. Innumerable orators, some of them in the halls of Congress, declaim to the same effect.

But the prospect of great financial gain to the United States is not bright. Though the material resources of the Islands are rich, the Filipino will not develop them, the American is not able to perform the necessary labor in such a climate, and the Chinese, the most reliable workers in the Philippines, are being excluded by our Government. We must remember, too, that our occupation of the Philippines will always necessitate a far heavier military and naval ex-

penditure than we have yet made. Manifestly, so vulnerable a point as the Philippines can not be held without a strong fleet in Asiatic waters. The American people might as well understand that such insular possessions necessarily involve such an enormously increased military and naval expenditure that the profits of the Philippine trade will, for a considerable period at least, look small in comparison.

Moreover, the lessons of experience are overwhelmingly against the supposition that a foreign power can successfully seek its own aggrandizement in the management of colonies. Selfishness invariably defeats itself. Self-aggrandizement as a motive leads to self-destruction. Christ enunciated a law which the experience of a hundred nations as well as of myriads of individuals has shown to be profoundly true, when He said: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it."

But apart from their effects on ourselves, we should sternly reject both the motives of military power and of commercial gain because they are unworthy of us, because they ignore the interests of the people over whom we rule, and because they involve a betrayal of the trust which God has committed to us as a nation. I rejoice in all that has been done for the Filipinos by the Executive department of our Government; but the Legislative department has lamentably failed to do some things for the Filipinos that it ought to have done. I need but mention this strangling tariff and the threat of oppressive coastwise navigation laws. Let us hope that the moral sense of the American people will peremptorily insist that the next session of Congress shall remedy this injustice, and let us in this Conference make a deliverance which shall help to create an imperious public sentiment on this subject. The politician who sees nothing in the Philippines but trade or a stepping-stone to Asiatic power is unworthy to vote on the affairs of the Archipelago. Are we never to rise above the level of cigarettes and molasses? Must these seven millions of people be sacrificed to selfish ambition? Surely the conscience of the American people will answer that question in the negative.

The third object is the one which we should resolutely set before ourselves, namely, the welfare of the Filipinos. The poet Bailey was right when he said: "There is but one worthy quest, to do men good." In all their relations with the Philippine Islands, the American Government and people should hold themselves to a self-sacrificing sense of duty. We can help these people. If we undertake the task in the right spirit, we may be the means of bringing to them untold blessings, and we shall also experience in our own national life that "whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it."

To urge that a monarchy can do this work but not a republic, is simply to plead the baby act and confess the impotence of that form of government that we have long boasted to be the best. To argue that we should rid ourselves of the Philippines because they are an unprofitable burden is thoroughly ignoble. Have we a moral right to vacate our responsibilities in that way? A nation, like an individual, does not live unto itself. A just man cannot shut himself within the four walls of his house with the excuse that its cares demand all his energies. He has obligations toward the community of which he is a member. Its weak and immature are his responsibilities before God and man. So the United States can no longer be a hermit country. It has entered the community of nations, and it must accept its share of the world's work. It was Cain, the murderer, who said that he was not his brother's keeper.

These new problems are appalling, I grant. But nations gain in character not by timidly dodging responsibilities, but by boldly facing them. When the United States finds itself face to face with duties which grow out of a Providence which has made it strong and prosperous, it has no right to evade them, however little immediate profit may be seen in their discharge.

There has never been a time in our country's history which demanded higher qualities of character in our public men. No political influence however great, no party service however valuable, can justify the placing in our national councils of narrow, sordid, unscrupulous men. Patriotism which ends with a local constituency is essentially unpatriotic for it subordinates the real welfare of our country to temporary and personal expediency.

"A time like this demands
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor, men who will not lie."

I believe that the Filipinos will respond to such a just and considerate policy. They have been characterized as lazy, cruel, treacherous and superstitious. It is true that they have done much to justify these charges. But let us be reasonable. How can we expect the Filipinos immediately to trust and love a foreign conqueror after their long and grievous bondage to cruel Spaniards, to be humane and honest under the tutelage of Castilian brutality and duplicity, to be

moral when the children of their alleged celibate priests played upon the streets, to be industrious in a land where tropical exuberance easily supplies man's need, where climatic conditions tend to languorous existence, and where the results of thrift, if achieved, would have been filched by greedy oppressors? The more I learn of what these people have suffered, the greater is my wonder, not that they are not better, but that they are not worse. It took Anglo-Saxons five hundred years to acquire the qualities which fit them for self-government. We are far from perfect yet, and shall we condemn Malays because they have not acquired those qualities in less than a decade?

Give the Filipinos a chance—some decades of fair treatment, of just laws, of American political and educational methods, and of a pure Christian faith—and I believe that they will justify the hopes of their well-wishers rather than the sneers of their detractors. Said Senor Felipe Buencamino to me: "The heart of the Filipino is like his fertile soil, and it will as surely repay cultivation. Sow love and you will reap love. Sow hate and hatred will grow."

And this leads me to say that our real problem in the Philippines is not political or educational; it is moral. From Secretary of War Taft down, students of the Filipinos agree that the vital need of these people is character. The defects from which they are suffering are not so much governmental and intellectual as personal. "Nations and men," declared Matthew Arnold, "whoever is ship-wrecked is ship-wrecked on conduct. In vain do philosophical radicals devise fine new programmes which leave it out. Whoever fancies that anything else will do instead is baffled and confounded by the sure event."

Beyond question, this is true. Stable government rests on the character of its citizens. There can be no regeneration of society until there is regeneration of the individuals who compose society. In the language of Herbert Spencer, "there is no political alchemy by which you can get golden conduct out of leaden motives," or, in the pithier phrase of Moody, "If you want good water, it is not enough to paint the pump; you must clean out the well." On the tablet to Washington in the Hall of Fame in New York are these words of the Father of our country: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles." Wise legislators frankly admit that personal character is beyond the sphere of civil law. Its

enactments can regulate the outward manifestations of evil, but they cannot change the heart from which the evil motive springs.

Nor is it in education alone to produce the requisite change in character. Education is as necessary as government, but there is no power in arithmetic and geography to make bad boys good. The first use of English by an Asiatic is usually profanity. Some of the worst scoundrels in America are college graduates. To educate a rascal is ordinarily but to make him a sharper rascal. This is not the fault of the public schools. They teach morals as far as they can, but they are forbidden by their very constitution from teaching the basis of morals. They are avowedly purely secular. Knowledge is power, but it depends upon the principle which regulates it whether it is a power for good or a power for evil.

While therefore the Government enacts wise and just laws and the public school educates the mind, the churches of America must solve the fundamental problem by communicating to the Filipinos those spiritual principles which form the personal character upon which all stable self-government must rest. Missions to the Philippine, may therefore justly claim the sympathy and support of all Americans who would help in the uplifting of the Filipinos.

This work cannot be left to any one religious body. Protestants are not in the Philippines, as some appear to suppose, to make war on the Roman Catholic Church or to embarrass the high-minded American bishops and priests who are earnestly trying to reform the abuses of the Spanish friars. On the contrary, we thoroughly respect them and their efforts. But the sixteen tribes of Indonesians were never Roman Catholic; they are Mohammedans. Nor are the twenty-one tribes of Negritos Roman Catholics; they are Pagans. Of the approximately six millions of Malays, Bishop Brent of Manila is authority for the statement that more than four millions have left the Roman Catholic Church and have followed Aglipay, that able and astute Filipino who has taken advantage of the popular revolt against the Roman Catholic Church to found an independent church, a church which has no real basis but hatred of Rome and the furtherance of ambition. Thus the Roman Catholic Church today is reaching less than half of the population of the Islands.

The Protestant Churches are therefore called to the Philippines, not only by the general missionary summons to preach the Gospel to all men, not only because it is as unthinkable as it is un-American that any section of American soil should be denied religious freedom by making it the exclusive pre-

serve of any one Church, but by the fact that a majority of the people of the Archipelago are now actually more accessible to the Protestant missionaries than to the Roman Catholic, and that we can do for them what urgently needs to be done. Indeed, the Protestant missionaries, so far from forcing themselves upon the Philippines, have thus far been able to do but little aggressive proselyting, the Filipinos voluntarily flocking to them in such numbers that all their time has been required for instruction and organization. In spite of the fact that the Filipinos now understand that they do not gain favor with their American rulers by becoming Protestants, in spite of the demoralizing example of irreligious Americans, in spite of the rigid care with which the missionaries examine applicants and reject the unworthy, there are now in the Philippines more Protestant communicants than were ever enrolled in any other foreign field within the first decade of missionary effort; and the number is increasing with amazing rapidity, the net increase of the Presbyterian Missions alone last year having been thirty-five per cent, which is nearly ten times the net rate of increase in the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

I would that there were time to cite some of the many instances that might be given to show the large practical value of this missionary work. These spiritually transformed Filipinos are today the strongest moral force in the Archipelago and in their multiplication lies the hope of the future.

If at this time, the selfish, short-sighted politician is unworthy of leadership, equally unworthy of respect is the Christian whose outlook is limited to his own land or whose sympathies are simply sectarian. Charity which stops at home is not charity at all but selfishness and provincialism. The call now is for men who can enter into the purpose of God regarding their country and its new possessions, who stand so close to Christ that they, like Him, will be inspired with a catholic, all-absorbing love for all men and an unrelenting purpose to uplift them at any cost of time and trouble. It ill becomes Americans, who are themselves the products of a free Christianity, to say that the same cause will not produce the same effect in other peoples. God has given to America great blessings.

The conflict of arms in the Philippines is now nearly over, but the conflict of moral forces is only beginning. America lacked not martial courage, grudged not material resources for the physical warfare. Shall it want Christians of large hearts and broad vision, and holy purpose, for the spiritual warfare? What a wonderful thing it would be if our coun-

try should signalize its emergence as a world power by the moral as well as the material regeneration of an oppressed people! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we are going to hear from two Congressmen whom we are very glad, indeed, to welcome here. First, the HONORABLE W. A. JONES, of Warsaw, Virginia.

WHY WE SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE PHILIPPINES

ADDRESS OF HON. W. A. JONES

Until within a comparatively recent period the American mind had apparently reached a state of weariness, if not indeed of actual indifference, concerning all things Philippine. Recent happenings, however, have unquestionably served to awaken waning interest in Philippine affairs, and to direct anew public attention to the immensity of the burden which the United States has assumed in the Far East. For one, I am sincerely thankful that such occurrences as the anti-Japanese outbreak in San Francisco, regrettable as that was, followed by the determination to send practically the entire Navy of the United States on some mysterious mission to the Pacific Ocean, have at least served the one good purpose of causing the thoughtful American citizen to pause sufficiently long amid his eager pursuits to ask if the time has not at last come when some just and honorable way may be discovered, some feasible plan adopted, by which the humiliating, burdensome and highly menacing political relations now existent between the United States and the Philippine Islands shall forever cease.

That the acquisition of these islands, viewed from every possible standpoint, was a colossal blunder most well-informed people now freely admit. There were those in America who, at the time of their acquisition, believed that the Philippines were a veritable El Dorado; that they abounded in marvelous undeveloped and hitherto undiscovered wealth, and that as a field for exploitation they were unrivaled. The wonderful stories that were related as to their amazing riches unquestionably served to arouse the commercial spirit and to excite the cupidity of a considerable element of our American citizenship, so that it is safe to affirm that what we call "Commercialism" was largely responsible for the acquisition of the Philippines. That their failure to "make good," in commercial parlance, will have much to do with determining their future political status is also, I think, true. I need not, therefore, undertake to establish by any argument, what is quite universally conceded, that in a com-

mercial sense the Philippines have proven to be of small, if, indeed, of any real value whatever to the people of the United States.

If any American money invested in an industrial enterprise of any magnitude in the Philippines has ever yielded a dollar in actual returns to the investors, I am not advised of that fact, if, indeed, it be a fact. Here and there may be found an American who may have realized a small amount from some inconsiderable investment in hemp and cocoanut raising; but as a rule financial bankruptcy and ruin have overtaken those who have invested any considerable sums in Philippine enterprises.

It is no reply to my argument to say that large sums are even now being employed in the construction of new railroad lines in some of the islands. This is true, but the foreign capital thus employed does not depend for its remuneration upon the prospective earnings of the road. If it did it is safe to say it would not have been forthcoming. The plighted faith and credit of the Insular Government is behind the bonds of these projected enterprises.

I am entirely aware that it is often asserted that the possession of the Philippines, and particularly the city of Manila, is essential to the promotion and development of our trade with China; but I confess that I have never been greatly impressed with the force of this argument. All we need to secure access to the markets of China is the rigid enforcement of the "Open Door" policy, and if we continue to hold the Philippines we can not demand such a concession in China and decline to grant it in our Eastern possessions. No trans-Pacific commercial steamship line running between any home port and any port in the Orient now calls at Manila, for obvious reasons, and the only American trans-Pacific steamship line plying between San Francisco and Chinese ports does not approach Manila nearer than at Hong Kong, its Eastern terminus. Moreover the cost of the unloading and trans-shipment involved in the impracticable scheme of making of Manila a "gateway" for our Oriental commerce would, if actually attempted, be attended with destruction to whatever trade with China is now possessed by the United States.

But the fact that nothing is to be gained in a commercial sense, by continuing indefinitely the retention of the Philippines is not the worst feature in our relation to them, even if viewed purely from the selfish standpoint of American interest; for there is a fiscal as well as a commercial and economic side to the proposition.

It has cost the people of the United States a vast deal of money to demonstrate that trade does not always and universally "fol-

low the flag." How much no mortal man can say. The late Edward Atkinson, than whom there could have been no higher authority, figured it a year or two ago at six hundred million dollars. There are so many elements, impossible of definite ascertainment, which should enter into any even approximately accurate calculation, that it can never be known what the total outlay has been. Perhaps it is enough to know that the sum is one of appalling magnitude. It is, however, safe to affirm, for this is capable of mathematical demonstration, that in no single year since the beginning of American occupation has the total value of all the trade between the Philippines and the United States been equal to the amount directly appropriated out of the treasury of the United States in any one of the nine years of that occupancy for the purpose of maintaining American sovereignty in our Asiatic possessions.

There are to-day stationed in the Philippines more than seventeen thousand soldiers, paid and maintained out of the treasury of the United States. The monthly average for this year of American soldiers in the islands has been 12,380, and the average number of Philippine scouts 4,758. These figures are exclusive, of course, of the 6,000 native constabulary, who, although commanded by officers of the United States, are themselves paid out of the Philippine treasury. For the ten years just preceding the war with Spain the United States Army averaged yearly 27,000 men, the average annual cost of whose maintenance, including pay, was \$23,700,000, or \$877 per man. Now, on account of the marked increase in the cost of army supplies it is estimated by competent authorities that the cost of maintaining a soldier in this country is at least 25 per cent. greater than was the case in the period which I have given, and, if this be true, it is now costing on an average \$1,100 per man to maintain our army here at home. If then we shall take into consideration the 20 per cent. extra allowance of pay to soldiers and 10 per cent to officers employed in foreign service (for the purpose of soldiers' pay the Philippines are regarded as foreign territory), and add to the sum thus obtained the enhanced cost of maintaining soldiers seven thousand miles away from our nearest coast, it will be found that the cost per man in the Philippines is at least 25 per cent. greater than the cost at home. In other words, it costs more than \$1,400 per year to maintain each American soldier serving in the Philippines.

I have gone somewhat minutely into this subject for the reason that it has been quite generally understood that the cost of maintaining a soldier in the Philippines was about \$1,000 a year, whilst, as a matter of fact, it is at least 40 per cent. greater.

The cost, then, of keeping our American soldiers in the Philip-

piners this year, may safely be placed at \$17,332,000. The native scouts receive one-half the pay of the American soldiers, but the cost of their maintenance can not be a great deal less, so that I am well within bounds when I state that the cost of maintaining our army of occupation in the Philippines exceeds annually the sum paid for their purchase.

To this enormous annual expenditure must be added, among other items which I shall not stop to enumerate, the cost of maintaining the Army Transport Service, the Asiatic Fleet, the Mosquito Fleet distributed throughout the islands, and the Bureau of Insular Affairs at Washington. Then, too, we are spending millions under the elaborate and costly scheme adopted for the fortification of Subig bay and the protection of the city of Manila, and still other millions are being swallowed up in the construction of great naval stations and dry docks, so that the sum total of the financial burden which the possession of the Philippine Islands is annually entailing upon the people of the United States can not, in my judgment, be less than the stupendous sum of forty million dollars, and if it were possible to segregate and bring into this account every item of national expenditure properly chargeable thereto, I firmly believe the sum I have named would be swollen by many millions. This is the dollars and cents argument against the retention of the Philippines.

If it were true that the taking upon the shoulders of the people of the United States of this insufferable burden had materially contributed to the improvement of the industrial, financial, social and moral condition of the Filipinos, it would still be an open question as to how long our duty toward them, and our so-called obligations to the nations of the world, would require such sacrifices as these at our hands. But the truth is, humiliating as must be the admission, that neither their material welfare nor their moral well-being has been improved under American rule. That their condition is infinitely worse to-day than it was when Spain exercised dominion and sovereignty over the islands is the testimony of many well-informed people. They have lost their old-time Spanish markets without having gained compensating advantages in those of the United States. The powerful and selfish beet-sugar and tobacco interests of this country have caused to be raised up tariff barriers which their feeble industries can never surmount, and the cordage trust, which monopolizes the trade in hemp in the United States, has secured the imposition of an export tax upon that, the most valuable product of the islands, which has operated to deprive the Filipino farmer of the larger part of the profit which should legitimately be his. At the same time, too, that his taxes have

been doubled (for they have been doubled) the cost of his living has been greatly enhanced. In addition to these insuperable obstacles to prosperity, directly attributable, in some instances, to American greed, in all to American occupation and rule, the loss by disease of a large proportion of their work animals has reduced the inhabitants of many of the provinces to the most pitiable state of necessity and want. Poverty and misery are everywhere abroad in the land, and so deep-seated and widespread is the discontent and distrust of the masses that nothing short of the relinquishment of the sovereignty of the United States can work a beneficent change in these pitiless conditions, satisfy the conscience of the American people, and redeem from shame and ignominy, the once fair name of our liberty-loving Republic.

Only a few days ago Bishop Brent, of the Philippine Islands, addressing the House of Bishops at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church of America, assembled in the capital city of my own state, declared with great emphasis that present conditions in the Philippines were simply "horrible," and I know not where to look for more thoroughly disinterested testimony than that which fell from the lips of this godly man who has consecrated his life to the stupendous task of uplifting our "little brown brother" in the Philippines.

I have now said, in effect, that the interests of the people of the United States, as well as those of the Philippines, imperatively demand that we relinquish control over the islands, and I believe the sooner we can get out the better it will be for them and for us.

I have not spoken of the strong racial antipathies and the general state of bad feeling between Americans and natives, so much to be deplored, but, which, nevertheless, is almost universally prevalent. That this racial antagonism has increased in intensity and bitterness is well known, and this fact, to my mind, affords one of the strongest reasons which can be urged for the immediate abandonment of a policy which during a trial of nine long years has produced such an amazing crop of evil results.

But we are constantly being told that the Filipinos are not capable of exercising the functions of self-government, and if left to themselves would sooner or later pass under the dominion of one of the great land-grabbing nations of the world. That they are capable of establishing and maintaining a government of their own, such as you and I would care to live under, I do not contend; but that they are capable of devising a governmental system which would meet their simple requirements I do not question. Just what particular form of government would

best suit their conditions, oriental environment, mode of life, Eastern habit of thought and temperament, I am not prepared to say; but from what I have seen, and what I know of their educated, well-informed, substantial and influential classes, I am thoroughly persuaded that they are capable of establishing a government of some form which for them would be infinitely better than any we could give them.

But surely it does not lie in our mouths to say that they are incapable of free self-government, for we know that they did establish a constitutional government, republican in form, and, as I believe, well suited to their needs, which was successfully administered until we destroyed it and erected over its ruins a military despotism. That for a time there might be internal dissensions and bitter party strife, perhaps bloody revolutions and disastrous civil wars, I shall not attempt to deny; but tell me which of the great nations of Europe or America, boasting the highest civilization and the most perfect system of government, has escaped these chastening experiences? What has been the history, in this regard, of England and of France, of the Republic of Mexico and of our own great Republic? We boastfully proclaim that we live under the most orderly, the most humane, the freest and the best government on earth, and yet for every four and a half years of peace which have marked our upward progress in the science and art of government our national life has been marred by one of bloodshed and war.

The Filipino tao will compare favorably with the Mexican peon in mental capacity and in moral worth, and yet the people of Mexico have erected a model government through which they regulate their own affairs without the aid of foreign interposition; for, despite the dense ignorance of the masses in Mexico there is in that Republic, as there is in the Philippines, an educated class capable of directing public affairs.

Prior to the year 1889, when the present Emperor of Japan promulgated that constitution which has appropriately been styled "the Magna Charter of Japanese liberty," and which converted in a single day an absolute despotism into a constitutional monarchy, the Japanese people had never exhibited, or even evinced, a desire to participate in the government of their country. Since that epoch-marking day, to the astonishment of all the world, they have reared in the Orient an elective assembly, or parliamentary body, as truly representative of public sentiment as any popular assembly in existence, and developed statesmen not surpassed in all the world for patriotism and sagacity. In the light then of the splendid achievements of this Oriental people, are we not

justified in indulging the pious hope that, if given the opportunity, there will be early developed in the Philippines that governmental capacity and statesmanship which will insure to the wretched inhabitants of those islands a just and stable government of their own creation?

With few exceptions the governors of the thirty odd provinces into which the islands are divided are Filipinos, and every fiscal or prosecuting attorney, throughout the islands, is also a native. Three of the eight members of the Philippine Commission, three of the seven members of the Supreme Court, including the President of that, the highest judicial body in the islands, and the President of the Civil Service Commission, are Filipinos, as are many of the judges of the courts of first instance, together with, if I am not mistaken, the Attorney-General. In the popular Assembly, but lately convened, there are many members whose patriotism and ability are beyond question, and it should not be overlooked that there are, too, in the islands many men of character, good education and a high order of intelligence who have consistently refused every inducement offered them to accept office under the Insular Government. What better assurance can be given that there is in the Philippines an educated class capable of establishing and maintaining an efficient and stable government throughout the archipelago?

It will scarcely be denied now, I think, that the sentiment in the islands favorable to an independent national existence is well nigh universal. Five years ago it was boastfully testified before a committee of Congress that the Federal party, organized under American auspices and influences for the purpose of creating a public sentiment favorable to American occupancy and rule, had a membership of three hundred thousand. Three years later Dr. Teyera, a member of the Philippine Commission, admitted before a meeting of American Congressmen, held in the city of Manila, that this pro-American Federal party was now extinct; that the native sentiment in favor of independence was universal, although there were still, he declared, those who were opposed to *immediate* independence. If we can accept as true the reports which are now daily coming from the islands, those who are opposed to immediate independence are confined, for the most part, to the office-holding element among the natives, and representatives of foreign business houses established in Manila and other seaport towns. The truth is that the sentiment in favor of immediate independence, or autonomy secured by international treaty, is daily increasing in fervor and intensity. There is, in my humble judgment, but one way

known to man by which the ever-increasing agitation for independence can be put to rest.

All well-informed and thoughtful Filipinos realize that they could not maintain their independence against any one of the strong naval powers of the earth; but they are not so deficient in a knowledge of the political history of the world as not to know that the independence of weak European powers, notably those of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, has been secured through international treaties.

Many good reasons might be advanced for the belief that it will not be difficult to secure for the Philippines, in the event they are given their independence, an international treaty of neutralization. Such an agreement would involve no risk to the signatory powers, but it would remove the discriminating customs duties, export and import, now imposed for the sole benefit of American commerce. Nothing, therefore, in my opinion, could be easier than for the United States to negotiate with England, France, Germany, Russia, Spain and Japan a treaty guaranteeing the independence of the Philippine Archipelago.

If it be the purpose of the United States to relinquish their sovereignty over these islands, then it is our "plain duty," as well as the part of wise statesmanship and fair dealing, to say so in plain and unambiguous terms. The straightforward and honest thing to do is to tell the Filipinos in unequivocal terms that the United States will withdraw from the Philippines and give them their independence so soon as they shall have established a stable government of their own strong enough to afford ample protection to life and property at home, and wise enough to avoid foreign entanglements. Then, the President of the United States should be authorized by Congress to negotiate an international treaty of neutralization, such as will secure to the people of the Philippines perpetual, independent national existence.

If such a humane and righteous course as I have thus indicated shall be pursued by the United States, all agitation will quickly cease, and hope will take the place of despair in the Philippine heart, whilst at the same time the people of the United States will rejoice and give thanks that an intolerable burden has been lifted from them, that their traditional principles and ideals, so long trampled upon, are to be re-affirmed and forever re-established.

There are many reasons to support the belief that the time is at hand when this declaration of future policy should be definitely announced. I am not unduly alarmed over the somewhat disquieting rumors with which the very atmosphere we breathe is laden. All the talk to the effect that war

with Japan is imminent is, in my judgment, as unfounded as it is unfortunate. Still, I realize that there is always a possibility that the United States may become involved in a war with Japan. If war should come, the retention of the Philippines will be to us a source of the greatest weakness. Fortify them as we may, and at whatever cost, they would fall into the hands of Japan within a fortnight after the declaration of war, if, indeed, their capture did not precede rather than follow such declaration. Once in the possession of Japan they would remain there indefinitely. It would not be possible to send troops enough across the Pacific to effect their re-occupation. Our standing army is, of course, absurdly inadequate to such a stupendous, if not impossible, undertaking. The militia, our chief reliance in time of war, could not be drafted upon for the reason that the Constitution of our country expressly provides against their being called upon for foreign service, and volunteers, for obvious reasons, would not be forthcoming.

Is it not then the part of wisdom, to say nothing of humanity and justice, for the United States to withdraw from the Philippines when such withdrawal can now be effected with honor and credit? I have never considered the suggestion that the islands be sold to Japan, or any other country; for to me the thought is simply unthinkable. Neither would I favor selling them to their rightful owners, the Filipinos, for such a disposition of them would constitute national disgrace. There is but one safe and honorable course open to our great American Republic, and that, in my judgment, is to set them free.

This, my friends, is the grave question which now presses for decision. My prayer is that it may be speedily and rightly decided; for in the language of James Anthony Froude, the eminent English historian, "if there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall to pieces from mere incompetence for its duties."

THE CHAIRMAN: It gives me special pleasure to present as the next speaker the HONORABLE M. E. DRISCOLL, of Syracuse, Member of Congress from Onondaga County.

"OUR PHILIPPINE ENTANGLEMENT"

ADDRESS OF HON. M. E. DRISCOLL

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I can add to this discussion nothing startling or new. I am one of a large and

growing class of Americans who sincerely regret that we got into the Philippines, and do not know how we can honorably get out. I entertained these views from the outset, and on my visit to the Islands two years ago they were confirmed. I have but little patience with the assertion that we took the Philippines from Spain and then bought them, and have the same kind of title as to so many chattels purchased in the open market. Just after the Spanish War that sentiment was quite freely expressed, especially by business men, who claimed we were justified in holding them for commercial purposes as a foothold for the expansion of trade in the Orient. But those people are now being convinced that they are a white elephant, and are inclined to return to the principles, ideals and traditions on which this Republic was founded.

They have cost us several hundred millions of dollars, and are now an expense, directly and indirectly, of perhaps thirty millions annually. We keep there about 14,000 American troops and about 6,000 native soldiers officered by Americans. We maintain a large naval station at Cavite and a considerable part of our navy. We police the Islands, and other countries get the most of their limited trade. Our soldiers and civilians there become accustomed to government by force—not a good schooling for government by majorities. Political contact with inferior people is not uplifting. The climate is very unhealthful, and many of our young men contract rheumatism, malaria and oriental diseases, and as soon as discharged from the service they apply for pensions. Some of them get on the rolls and will be a constant expense. Far better for those young men to have good health and earn their living than to become dependents on the government. The Islands double our coast line, and in case of war our naval strength would be divided in two. Strategically they are a source of weakness, and economically a burden. But, if so disposed, we do not know how to let go.

No useful purpose can be served by complaining about what has been done. It is claimed that they fell into our hands and we had to take them; that our occupancy was a necessary result of the war. But were we not easily persuaded? And could we not have escaped from our present dilemma had we been resolutely set against it? The really white-skinned people of the world are derived from the north-western part of Europe. During many centuries they have been hiving and swarming, and though small be their original home they practically dominate the earth. In ancient times they were bold and fearless mariners, and ever since they

ceased to be sea pirates they have been land grabbers. It is in the blood. Our civilization is that of Western Europe slightly modified by a few centuries of political and climatic conditions.

After the wreck of the *Maine* the war spirit in this country was irresistible. But it was not undertaken for acquisition or aggrandisement. I am very credibly informed that after the Spaniards were defeated and it was manifest that our Government could make its own terms, President McKinley did not want to appropriate the Philippines. His desire was to take an Island, advantageously located, with a good natural harbor, construct our own fortifications, docks and improvements, and keep it for a coaling and naval station, and relinquish the balance of the archipelago to Spain. Further, that time and again he said "Oh, if Admiral Dewey had only reported the victory of Manila from Hong Kong or San Francisco." But our people were intoxicated with success. The fire of battle and conquest was in their veins. The commercial and expansion spirit of the country demanded that we keep them. They were looked upon as a vantage ground in the Far East—an open door to the trade and commerce of China and other oriental countries. There was a strong sentiment in several of our churches in favor of retaining them. Many patriotic but thoughtless Americans gloried in the prospect of our beautiful banner floating over extensive possessions on the opposite side of the earth. I am persuaded that the majority of our people were for it. A majority of both parties in Congress were for it, and the Treaty of Paris was made and ratified.

It is asserted that this is a great, rich and philanthropic nation, and that it is our duty to assume our share of the white man's burden and do our part toward the civilization of the world. That may be true generally. However, I do not believe that philanthropy or charity justifies a father in taking into his family an inferior child, the effect of whose social contact is to injure the character of his own children; nor should a nation enter into such relations with an inferior people that the effect is to lower its citizenship by a single degree; and I very much fear that result in this case.

It is also urged that after we destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and overthrew Spanish power in the Islands, it was our duty to establish a government there to protect life and property and maintain law and order; that we had no right to destroy the Spanish rule, and sail away and leave all foreigners to the mercy of the natives, and the Islands in a state of disorder and anarchy. That is a very strong

argument, and I have no contention with it. But, perhaps, if we did not claim to own the Islands by right of conquest and purchase we could have got along more amicably with the Filipinos, and the dreadful warfare would not have followed.

The immediate consequences of the Paris Treaty were unfortunate. Doubtless the Filipinos were sorely disappointed. They expected, and perhaps with some reason, that we would help establish their independence. They did not understand us, nor we them. They are very polite and courteous, even when they have murder in their hearts; and Americans are abrupt and even brusque in their manner. Irritations and misunderstandings led to hostilities, and they were subdued with a vengeance. They were pursued into the mountains and through swamps and jungles while a man remained in arms. Their fields were laid waste, their barrios destroyed, many of them killed, and most of them reduced to destitution. No big man ever whipped a little one into personal regard, and no powerful nation ever yet pounded a weaker one into love and affection. They are human, and hate us with an abiding sullen hatred; and there is not much love lost.

"He may be a brother of William H. Taft,
But he aint no brother of mine."

expresses the personal regard of the average American for the average Filipino.

Secretary Taft is a big man: big-brained and big-hearted. He is really fond of those little brown people, and would like to raise them up industrially, financially, morally and politically so that they may be competent to maintain an independent government. My notion is that he would rather accomplish that than be President.

Nearly three years ago President Roosevelt's annual message to the Congress contained this eloquent sentence:

"On the other hand our people must keep steadily before their minds the fact that the justification of our stay in the Philippines must ultimately rest chiefly upon the good we are able to do in the islands."

That expresses the highest views of our people toward them. We are trying to do good there. Manila harbor has been deepened, a breakwater constructed, the disease breeding moat around the walled city filled up, and the sanitary conditions very much improved. Many fine buildings have been erected, a trolley system constructed and other important improvements made. Railroads are being constructed throughout the Islands, schools have been established,

and the children are being educated. We are not exploiting them in our own interests, but are spending money lavishly for their betterment, and are in good faith trying to fit them for self-government, a task which no other colonizing nation ever attempted. But they cannot forget, and therefore do not fully appreciate our kindness or respond to the good we are doing for them. This is a manifestation of human nature of which history abounds in examples.

The Filipinos are a product of their climate and environment. They are musical, warm-hearted, hospitable and courteous. They are small, weak little people, only about half size. Their chickens are half size; the eggs half size, and hardly that; their horses only half size. Everything there is small, except their hopes and aspirations, which are full grown. Their speakers are oratorical and eloquent. Their appeals for nationality and independence were polite and pathetic. Americans who are familiar with the orations of Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry and the early history of the great Republic, who sympathized with the struggles of Poland, Finland, Ireland and the South African Republics, and who now sympathize with the common people of Russia who are striving to break through the barriers of caste and oppression, can scarcely help sympathizing with those little brown people in their ideals and aspirations for nationality and independence. And yet it requires only a very little observation to convince one that they are not now fit for independent self-government in the form of a republic, according to our idea of fitness. No Asiatic people has ever displayed the qualities of head and heart necessary for a republican form of government, nor has any tropical people.

The results of the recent election show that out of a Christian population of about seven millions the total voting strength was only about one and one-half per cent, and out of a total of eighty-one members sixty-four favor immediate independence. These figures indicate that if they should now undertake self-government but a very small proportion of their people would have any voice in it, which is not representative government according to our notion.

If we should withdraw our army and navy to-morrow, the chances are there would be an uprising the next day, with Aguinaldo in the saddle. That would mean an oligarchy. If that is the limit of their capacity, and if they should be able, even as an oligarchy, to maintain a reasonably stable government and protect life and property, I would prefer it to perpetual government by this nation. If the masses of their people must have government by a few, let that few be their leaders rather than our soldiers.

But we believe that they have some capacity for development, and that with education, assistance and encouragement they will improve, and that a larger proportion will take an interest in public affairs, and exercise the political rights of citizenship. Let us hope that their General Assembly, just opened, will display some ability along conservative lines, and give promise that in the near future they will be competent to manage their own affairs. Then I believe the American people will secure an agreement from all the aggressive powers to keep hands off, surrender their occupation of the Islands, and give them a chance to work out their political destiny.

This fervent wish is prompted as much for the benefit of our institutions and welfare of our people as for them.

The Declaration of Independence was the perfect flower produced by twenty centuries of trial and sacrifice on the part of the bravest, wisest and best men of their times. It was the consummation of their struggles, hopes and aspirations, the grand embodiment of their conceptions. That just government is founded on the consent of the governed is the central idea of that famous document. For that idea the distinguished signers executed their death warrants in case of failure. For that idea resolute patriots suffered at Valley Forge. For that idea they fought a hundred battles from Lexington to Yorktown. For that idea for eight long years they went through the valley of the shadow of death, and resisted British guns and gold until the independence of the colonies was recognized. For that idea the Colonial dame, widowed but resolute, placed his father's musket in the hands of her beardless boy, kissed him farewell, gave him her blessing and sent him to the front. On that idea as a cornerstone has been reared our magnificent superstructure, the Federal Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. For that idea the Civil War was fought. For that idea we declared war again Spain. For that idea let us hope that this nation will never inaugurate a permanent policy of government by force. For that idea let us pray that we may live to see the day when our little brown brothers beyond the sea may so prosper and develop, industrially, financially, politically and morally that their hopes and aspirations may be realized, and that they may be able to establish and maintain an independent republic in the Orient after the model of the great Republic of the West. And for that idea let us hope that we may never again become involved in such an unfortunate and un-American entanglement. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we are to hear from Mr. WILLIAM A. SUTHERLAND, Superintendent of Filipino Students in the United States.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE PHILIPPINES

REMARKS OF MR. WILLIAM ALEX. SUTHERLAND

In my journeyings throughout this country I have found prevalent among the people with whom I have talked Philippine matters, two different attitudes: one, of supreme indifference as to the past, present or future of the Filipino; the other, that of the man who, of an overconservative not to say antediluvian turn of mind, fearful that we shall be unequal to the burden, wants to turn the Philippines loose to themselves, and in the quickest way. This latter attitude of apprehension and that of all who believe that its cost is greater than its worth, I wish to consider for a moment.

I heartily agree with our great Secretary of War, the Father of the Filipinos, when he says to the Filipino, "You must work out your own salvation; then if in a generation or more to come, the Filipino can carry his own burden of governmental responsibility and still desires it, it will be shifted from our shoulders to yours and it is quite essential that the shoulders that receive it shall be broad enough and strong enough to carry it." No man can tell what a day, much less a generation, will bring forth.

Now the feeling exists that the Philippine Islands and its Government are costing the United States an enormous amount of money annually, and many who look upon the sordid side of the question give that as a potent reason why we should immediately dispossess ourselves of the Islands. To such, it should be said that the Philippine government is costing the American not one penny. Many attribute the increase in the American Army and Navy of the last decade, to the poor Philippines and say that thus we have spent 600 or 700 million dollars on them. I do not deny the influence that the acquisition of the Philippines may have been in confirming us in a policy of expansion, or of imperialism if you will, with its accompanying great naval and military forces, but I do say that the American nation is, and always has been, irretrievably and eternally committed to the policy of expansion, and the acquisition of Louisiana, Texas and Alaska have been incidents in the development of that policy. The Philippine Islands are to-day, and since the establishment of Civil Government by the Taft Commission have been, self-supporting. This government even declines to assist economically by removing the tariff barrier

between the Philippine Islands and the United States, yet says to the Filipino, you must be ruled over by American officials and pay them good fat salaries, out of the fruits of your by-us-depressed industries. You must accept our governing and must also pay for it with money we keep you from making. To those who say the Philippines are costing us too much, I would say the Philippines are costing us too little. The United States Government should require the Philippine Government to provide for the primary and industrial education of every child in the Philippines and say to it, "What you can't pay for, I will." There are to-day half a million children in the Philippine public schools, all instruction in which is in English. If there were funds and facilities for them, a million children would be enrolled within a year. There is an awakening since American occupation, in educational matters there, which is unparalleled in history. Is it not more than remarkable that the end of the first generation of American occupation will find more Filipinos speaking English than now speak Spanish after three hundred and seventy years of Spanish domination?

Then there are other dissenters who fear to keep the Philippines "because they may get us into trouble," forgetting that this great government of ours, and every other great world movement, was conceived, born, nurtured and strengthened, by trouble. These I call the chicken-hearted, and no chicken-hearted reason can turn the soul of the American people from its purpose to deal justly with the Filipino people.

This brings us to the Philippine problem, which is merely, what shall we do with the Philippines? When in the fullness of time the day shall arrive when we are called upon to make good those promises to the Philippine people to bring them to a reasonable state of progress, enlightenment and self-restraint, and then place in their hands the reins of government, the time will then have arrived to solve the Philippine problem, and for that far-distant day I present a plan which I have never heard suggested for the final solution of this problem. I believe that this plan could not be adopted within the next generation, and while like all human plans it has its weaknesses and its difficulties of consummation it is one that could probably be adopted with honor and with reasonable certainty of success.

In brief, it is as follows: As long as we keep the Philippines, give them every possible opportunity for education and material progress—and this, I believe, we are now doing or will do. Then when they are reasonably prepared for self-government, give them complete independence: turn over to them every governmental function, and let them continue alone to work out and consummate their nationality along the lines that their own

racial characteristics may incline them, for any other sort of government is unnatural and in the end must miserably fail.

I propose, therefore, that when we give the Philippines independence, unhampered and territorial, that we keep Manila. Therefore, I call this plan the "keep Manila" plan. Manila bay, surrounded by lofty mountains, is almost a complete circle with a diameter of thirty miles, Manila being exactly opposite the mouth of the bay. This narrow mouth has practically in its center a rock-ribbed isle which, on account of its character and location, can be almost impregably fortified, and by proper submarine mining on both sides of the island to the mainland of Luzon, and with a sufficient naval defense which we must always maintain in the Orient at all events, Manila becomes virtually unassailable by sea, and can, by suitable land forces and fortifications, be made impregnable by land. Then keep Manila with a radius of ten miles around it, make it a free port, open to the commerce and merchant fleets of the world. Our influence, in every sense, would be predominant in the Islands and ever present, but we would scrupulously and conscientiously keep our hands off all internal affairs of the Filipino Republic.

Our sphere of usefulness would be as great in the Orient with Manila only, as it is with all the three thousand islands; our voice would be as potent in the council of nations when that great question as to the future destiny of one-fourth of the population of the world, the destiny of China, is being evolved as it is now, and this I believe to be our great mission in that great field. England, with Hong Kong alone as a base, is the strongest foreign government in the Orient, backed, of course, with her great naval and military force. She has made Hongkong, an insignificant little island seven hundred miles northwest of Manila, one of the chief commercial cities of the world. We could do far more with Manila.

When the proper time shall come, I say give the Filipino his independence, but keep Manila. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we are going to have a few words from a young Filipino, Mr. VICENTE ALBERT. He need not be afraid of anybody in this Conference. Everybody here is his friend. (Applause.)

THE FILIPINO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

REMARKS OF VICENTE ALBERT

Gentlemen: I am here merely as a student, and not as a teacher; nevertheless, I am a Filipino; and I consider it my duty to give you my views on conditions in my country, immature

though they be. The topic upon which I am best qualified to speak is a Filipino's view of what interpretation is to be placed on the outcome of the elections just held in the Philippine Islands.

The report has been carried to this country, and widely circulated, that after nine years of American rule there is still in the Philippines a general and deep-seated unrest and disloyalty among the Filipinos. Again, the false, if not malevolent, statement that the Filipinos are to-day as discontented as they were under Spanish rule, has been adduced as an argument to justify an inglorious advertisement for the sale of the Philippines. Obviously enough, this talk of the desirability of selling the Philippines and the futility of attempting to educate the Filipinos in the science of self-government, grew out of the elections to the First Filipino Assembly. It has been said that the success of the "Nacionalistas," whose platform calls for early independence, shows, in itself, the general sentiment of the people; in other words, their dissatisfaction with the existing government. I most emphatically deny the correctness of such a conclusion. A brief and impartial review of recent political events in the Islands, will demonstrate that there are indications of a better understanding and an ever-increasing harmony between the American government and the Filipino people.

There were two political parties fighting in the arena for honors in the Assembly: the "Progresistas" and the "Nacionalistas." The platforms of both parties are, briefly, as follows: The "Progresistas" want ultimate independence for the islands after a period of training in the science of self-government under American guidance; the "Nacionalistas" believe that the Filipinos are now ready for the establishment and maintenance of an independent government. Consequently, the real and paramount issue between the two parties in the last electoral campaign was the present capacity of the Filipino to maintain an independent government, the "Nacionalistas" taking the affirmative and the "Progresistas" the negative of the question. Such an issue being one that touches the national pride of the people, how could anybody expect the defeat at the polls of a party that appealed to the voters' *amour propre*? Hence the success of the "Nacionalistas" was a foregone conclusion. It cannot, in any way, be taken as an expression of discontent, but rather as a preference for and a clinging to the ideals for which we fought against overwhelming odds only nine years ago. And yet, gentlemen, out of the total number 98,000 votes cast at the elections, 25,523 were secured by the "Progresistas," 44,223

by the "Nacionalistas," and the remainder of the votes by candidates who had neither platform nor party, but ran independently, each on his own popularity. Over one-fourth of the entire vote cast was secured by the "Progresistas," which, under the circumstances, shows that conservatism is rapidly and firmly taking hold of the minds of the Filipinos; and this in spite of the utopian dreams engendered by the late Malolos government.

Those who honestly believe that the creation of a native assembly was a step taken hurriedly and calculated to retard the establishment of a republic in the Orient, should not forget these two facts: that the Filipinos are governed without their consent, nay, against their will; and that the greatness of the American nation is due principally to the democratic principles that control the conduct of her statesmen. Be the positive results brought about by the Assembly what they may, merely by inaugurating it the American government has succeeded in winning over a great number who formerly made strong opposition to the government and suspected the sincerity of America's intentions; for the election of a radical majority can have no other significance than their willingness to cooperate with the Island government in promoting the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of the Islands. It may be argued, as against this view, that the mere acceptance of office under American sovereignty does not necessarily prove that there will be an end to disloyalty and opposition. Besides the argument that can be drawn from the fact that many radicals have become the conservative and faithful supporters of the American government upon assuming office, as in the case of the Provincial Governors, the following facts may, also, be advanced in answer to such objection: First, before assuming office a Delegate must take an oath of loyalty to the established government; second, it is acknowledged by all Filipinos, irrespective of political creed, that the Assembly must be the test of the Filipino's capacity for self-government; third, while it is true that among the radicals elected to the assembly there are a couple of dreamers, and a few others who are demagogues, it is beyond question that the great majority of them are sane and intelligent in their radicalism, and might well be denominated *evolutionists rather than revolutionists*; and, lastly, the unfailing change of attitude on the part of the opposition in any country, upon coming into power and being confronted with grave national problems. And if this be not sufficient, allow me to invite your attention to the words of Dr. Justo Lukban, himself the leader and founder of "Naciona-

lista" party, in referring to the duties of a Delegate to the Assembly:

"The Assembly is the legislative body of a colonial government and it cannot, therefore, deal with the question of independence, which, under the Treaty of Paris and the Philippine Bill of 1902, can only be treated by the Congress and the people of the United States. Hence, it is of vital importance that candidates for the position of Delegate should clearly set forth the measures and laws which they expect to push and favor in the coming Legislative Assembly and plainly explain to the people that such measures are within the power of the Assembly to enact, instead of discussing the question of independence. Therefore I think that the platforms of political parties are necessarily composed of two parts: (1) the petition for independence, and (2) a sincere offer to help the American government so long as independence is not granted."

This, gentlemen, is my humble, but nevertheless sincere opinion with regard to the opening of the First Filipino Assembly. Permit me now to convey to you my own hopes and convictions, with the understanding that in so doing I make no pretense to speak as the representative of any particular faction in the Islands, nor, indeed, even as the mouth-piece of my fellow students here in America.

I believe, gentlemen, in my people; that people whence sprung a Rizal, who gave to the world so sublime an example of self-denial and self-sacrifice, and proved conclusively the power of a Filipino to govern himself; and I believe, also, gentlemen, in the mission of America; I believe she is not only making, but is willing to make sacrifices in guiding us along the difficult pathway that leads to self-government. I earnestly hope that our ambitions and ideals shall, one day, be crystalized into a form that will not reflect ingratitude on our part, or, at least, a want of appreciation of the disinterestedness and altruism of America's motives. That day, gentlemen, is not far distant; and I predict its dawn with the participation of the Filipino masses in the formation of Philippine public opinion. The education and uplifting of the sons of the soil, and above all, the new and vast opportunities that are placed within their reach, will furnish the living evidence of America's work, and will carry to all hearts the conviction that we were in error in blindly attempting to perpetuate the government of Malolos, whose aims were too numerous and too complex to be carried out by the few men available for the task. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the REV. DR. CHARLES C. CREEGAN, of New York.

OBSERVATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES

ADDRESS OF REV. CHARLES C. CREEGAN, D. D.

In my tour of the world nothing touched my heart more than a scene on the plaza at Manila when the famous Philip-pina band played "The Star Spangled Banner" in the presence of perhaps thirty thousand people, mostly natives. As soon as the first notes of this national song were struck every man arose to his feet, uncovered his head, and remained silent until the last note was struck. As I stood under the folds of "Old Glory" and saw this exhibition of loyalty for the flag of my country, I was greatly moved, and I felt then and I feel now that it is not only possible to develop these simple people into loyal subjects, but it is also possible to make them—within a single generation—capable of self-government.

In discussing the Philippines let us refresh our memories with some facts touching the geography and the possibilities of the resources of the country and of the peoples of that archipelago.

(1) *Location:* The Philippines embrace more than three thousand islands lying, as you remember, just east of China of which geologically it was at one time a part. The distance from Hong Kong to Manila is six hundred and fifty miles, and by the present line of steamers it requires three days to make the journey. It is twelve hundred miles from the northernmost point of the archipelago to the southernmost point. From east to west it is seven hundred miles. Only twenty-five of the islands are of sufficient size to claim special mention.

(2) *The Land Area:* The aggregate soil area is 127,853 square miles, or more than that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

(3) *Let us note the position of the archipelago on the world's highways:* Manila is the natural port of call for ships plying between the Occident and the tropical Orient, or between Australia and the Orient. One can hardly circumnavigate the globe by any natural route without touching the Philippines at some point. When Magellan discovered the Philippines on the first voyage that was ever made by anyone around the world, it was not because he was looking for these islands but rather because he could not do otherwise than find them if he kept on in a direct course. Much might be said of the strategic importance of these islands.

(4) *The Philippines are the commercial key to the tropical Orient:* For America or—if we neglect our opportunity—for some other nation there will be in time a commerce there greater than the world has ever seen. This becomes evident when we recall the fact that there are four hundred million people in China, fifty million in Japan, not to speak of Korea, Siam, India and other portions of the Orient.

(5) *Manila, a city of three hundred thousand people, not without considerable beauty, and not unworthy to be compared with New Orleans is, as vessels run, eight thousand miles from San Francisco and Seattle and it requires thirty days to make the trip:* When the time comes, and it must come soon, when ships will not call at ports in Japan as they do now, but go direct from the cities on our Pacific coast via Honolulu the voyage will be shortened at least a week. No impartial observer can visit Manila without noting the wonderful improvement which has been made in that city since the American possession.

(6) *Mindenanano, with an area of 46,700 square miles, and Luzon, with an area of 57,000 square miles, are by far the largest islands, each of them being larger than Cuba. After these Samar is the next largest island, with 5,448 square miles. The other islands are smaller, some of them being only specks in the sea, uninhabited and probably of little commercial value.*

(7) *Mountains and volcanoes:* Nearly all the islands are traversed by mountain ranges of volcanic origin running from north to south. There are many volcanoes, twenty of which are active much of the time, while thirty are extinct or at least dormant. Earthquakes are of very frequent occurrence and may be felt every week or two in some portions of the archipelago. No damage, however, of consequence has resulted from them in recent years.

(8) *Mineral springs:* There are many mineral springs in the islands some of which have been known and valued for generations by the natives for their medical effects. These waters range in temperature all the way from very cold to boiling hot. Some fifty of these springs have been analyzed and it is claimed for them that they rival the springs at Saratoga and some of the famous springs of Austria and Germany.

(9) *Rivers and harbors:* There are many streams in the islands, some of which are navigable. The largest river is the Rio Grande de Mindenao, which drains the central basin of Mindenao Island. This stream which has a fall of some five thousand feet, from its source to the sea—not to speak of many other streams—would furnish splendid water power for factories and electric works. There are many harbors, some of them among the best in the Far East. Manila is the best known and the most important. A concrete sea wall has recently been built by our government at Manila, furnishing a land-locked harbor secure from typhoons for vessels drawing thirty feet of water. When plans are completed, the largest ships can tie directly to the dock. In all other ports in the Orient all vessels are obliged to transfer their cargoes and passengers to lighters. It will

not be many years until Manila will be regarded as the safest and best harbor in all the East.

(10) *The Population:* The population of the Philippines is about eight millions. Of these a large per cent are members of the Roman Catholic Church. The first church of that faith was built in Manila in 1571, only fifty years after the islands were discovered. As a general statement the more civilized peoples—including Mohammedans as well as Christians—are confined to the coast regions and the valley systems, while the wild tribes—which number more than there are American Indians—are to be found chiefly in the mountains.

(11) *Character of the People:* The great bulk of the population is of Malay origin, but it is divided into many tribes speaking many dialects. It is doubtful if in all the world there is a region of equal extent where so many languages and dialects are spoken. One cannot but hope that the English language—saturated as it is with ethical and religious thought—may become—through the public schools—the one great language for all the people.

(12) *Rich Plains:* The many streams running down the mountain sides have carried with them tropical vegetation and have built up rich plains, one of which in northern Luzon is two hundred miles long. Many of these plains and valleys are as rich as any in India or China, but as yet the larger number are uninhabited. Some of these plains have been cultivated from two to three hundred years, but the methods of agriculture are far inferior to those in use in Japan and China. If the rich plains of the Philippines were cultivated as similar plains are tilled in Japan, the archipelago would be capable of sustaining forty-eight millions of people, or six times the present population. One of the crying needs of the Philippines is for several first-class agricultural colleges properly located, where the boys may be taught the best methods of farming, fruit culture, forestry and the like.

(13) *The Climate:* The Philippines are all—as you will remember—in the tropics and are therefore very trying to Americans and Europeans. Bishop Oldham told me that one-half of his staff of missionaries had been driven to America by the trying climate. Many of the teachers from the United States have either died or been obliged to return home on account of the climate or from tropical diseases. The government has a large and well-equipped laboratory where scientific physicians are doing all they can to combat with tropical diseases. They have reduced the death rate to a large extent since American occupancy. Improved methods of sanitation, the paving of streets and strict quarantine regulations have made wonderful changes in the health record of Manila.

(14) *The Forests:* The Bureau of Forestry tells us that there are vast forests of ebony, mahogany and other hard woods in the islands which they estimate cover about half of the archipelago and are valued at two billions of dollars. While in the islands I personally examined seventeen kinds of hard wood the names of many of which I had never heard before, but the quality of which was equal—if not superior—to any hard woods we have in the United States. Having been brought up with a knowledge of hard woods, I give it as my opinion that it would be difficult to find better material for cabinet purposes and for the finish of beautiful homes and public buildings than is to be found in our island possessions. One great difficulty, however, is to get access to these forests and market the timber. When these hard woods are brought by team to the mountain streams it is found they sink like lead. The tall pines which are abundant in many parts of the islands are not worth cutting because the white ants would destroy them inside of a few months if used for building purposes.

(15) *Railroads:* Some three hundred miles of railroad have been completed on Luzon, and possibly two hundred (I cannot give the exact mileage) on two or three of the other islands. Not less than one thousand miles of road will be completed in the near future. This, with the building of good wagon roads—a want greatly felt—will open the interior of the islands to the commerce of the port cities. According to the papers most of the twenty-six million dollars required for the building of railroads on Luzon were subscribed in London rather than in New York. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the English are familiar with colonial enterprises, and it is chiefly from this source that they have received their wealth during the last hundred years.

(16) *Lighthouses:* One of the first things done by our government after it took possession was to build lighthouses at every important point. One hundred and five lighthouses, up to date, have been erected.

(17) *An agricultural bank to aid farmers in moving their crops has just been established:* Prior to this the farmers were obliged to pay from twenty to one hundred per cent. interest to get money to move their crops.

(18) *Telegraph and Telephone Wires:* There are ten thousand miles of telegraph and telephone and cable in the islands binding together all portions of the archipelago. Is it not wonderful that an American living on almost any island in the Philippines can communicate with his friends in New York or Chicago within an hour?

(19) *Good Roads:* There is a road from Manila to a mountain resort, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, where

it is possible for one in an automobile to make the trip with comfort and ease in two days. Roads and bridges are being constructed on many of the islands and soon the highways in the Philippines will possibly surpass those in this state, which perhaps is not saying much.

(20) *Schools*: There are a large number of parochial schools, but since I saw but little of these and have no statistics touching their number, or facts in regard to their character, I will leave others to speak of them. The public schools in the Philippines are, in my judgment, doing more to bring to these simple but teachable peoples a higher civilization and prepare them for self-government than any other agency or influence at work in the islands. There are engaged in this work nearly one thousand teachers from America and perhaps five thousand native teachers. I was greatly pleased with what I saw of these schools, especially the large normal school and the excellent industrial school in Manila. I also saw considerable of high and primary schools in a number of the cities and villages within a radius of one hundred miles of the capitol. It is most hopeful for the future of these people that five hundred thousand children were enrolled in the public schools last year. Since there are one million two hundred thousand youth between six and fifteen it is evident that the number of schools should be greatly increased.

(21) *Missionary Work*: Others will no doubt speak of the work among the Roman Catholics who compose the larger part of the population. After the American possession the Protestant denominations entered into a system of comity dividing up the field in such a way that the work would not be duplicated and in order that the expenses should be reduced to a minimum. I found that our Methodist brethren, and Presbyterian brethren, in eight brief years, have enrolled twenty thousand members, and that excellent work is being done by the Baptists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists and other denominations. The Young Men's Christian Association is now erecting a splendid and much-needed building in Manila, and the Navy and Army work of this organization is in a flourishing condition.

(22) *What has our Government done to prepare these people for independence?* More has been done, in my judgment, in the same length of time than has ever been accomplished before by any nation in dealing with a dependent or subject people. (Applause.) Great Britain with all her power to rule and her large experience—running through generations—with colonies in all parts of the world—has never done as much for any people in the same length of time with the possible exception of her rule in Egypt. There is far less discontent on the part of the better class of Filipinos with American rule than there is among the inhabitants of India, with English rule. If only we

in America would do five things we would soon see as much loyalty toward our government on the part of these people as there is toward English rule on the part of Canada. The five things are these: *First, let us quit at once and forever unjust criticism of the American Government as it is administered in the Philippines.* (Applause.) No nation can do its best at home—not to speak of the control of colonies on the other side of the globe—when members of Congress, distinguished clergymen, and not a few newspapers are finding fault all the time. I read some of these criticisms in the Manila dailies while there—quoted from New York and Boston papers—and I saw the bad effect it had upon the minds of many of the leading Filipinos. *Second, let us cease discussing the question as to whether Admiral Dewey should have sailed away from Manila immediately after destroying the Spanish fleet.* We all know that he did not sail away and we have made considerable history in the last nine years. *Third, Let us back up the splendid work of our American teachers in the public schools and increase the number of schools and teachers* until every child in the archipelago has at least the advantages of a good common school education. *Fourth, let Protestants and Catholics alike send out from cultured and Christian America a sufficient number of our best Christian teachers in order that all these people—including the wild tribes of the mountains—may have a pure religion which is thoroughly ethical—not the worst that Spain can give—but rather the best that America has to give.* *Fifth and lastly, if these people are ever to become fellow-citizens of the United States, loyal and enthusiastic followers of our flag, we must give to them the same commercial advantages that we give to any other part of our territory.* (Applause.) It would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer—not to say a professor of political economy—to explain why we don't admit their goods to our markets free of duty.

In conclusion I wish to express my great surprise in finding a civilization among the Filipinos far surpassing anything which I had expected from the reading of books and review articles and speeches of certain Congressmen touching these peoples. This civilization is not entirely due to Spain—which has been in possession of the islands since 1531—for I have high authority in stating that there was considerable advance in learning, in music and in arts before Magellan ever saw these islands. From what I saw of these people in their churches and homes and schools; in their shops, stores and farms; when I noted their hospitality, their courtesy, their brightness of mind—in general, their honesty and virtue—it was borne in upon me that if we would only announce to these people with the same candor which characterized our Congress in dealing with Cuba that we are

not in the archipelago to enrich ourselves nor to stay indefinitely, but that if they will avail themselves of the public schools and other means of development—will be loyal to American rule—in thirty years we will trust them to establish for themselves an independent government. If such an announcement were made by our government in good faith I am strongly inclined to believe that all dissatisfaction with the American rule would largely cease; that the people would have the highest possible motive to prepare themselves for independent government and that in thirty years we would find them worthy and capable of establishing a government which would not only be a blessing to themselves, but—since they are the only Christian people as yet in all the Orient—would be helpful in carrying streams of Christian influence and culture throughout the East. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We would now like to have a few words from COL. ELIJAH W. HALFORD, who has been in the army since 1893, and who spent two and a half years in the Philippines.

OUR PURPOSE IN THE PHILIPPINES

REMARKS OF COL. ELIJAH W. HALFORD

Mr. Chairman and Friends: I did not know that I was to say anything, and so, of course, am unprepared. I can only say that we have had an extremely illuminating and interesting discussion of a question very near to my heart. It is a great happiness for me to be here and to find the Philippines put to the front in this conference.

I was particularly impressed with Congressman Driscoll's remarks. I agree entirely with everything he says, except those things with which I disagree. But particularly I agree with him in his conclusion. If anybody in this assembly will tell me of a person in this country who is not in favor of giving to the Filipino people the very largest possible measure of self-government that can be safely and practicably accorded them, I would like to have him produced. He would be such a curio I would travel some distance to see him.

I have tried to keep track of things regarding the Philippines, and I have never heard the suggestion that the American government is there to stay perpetually and to keep the Filipino people subjects. We are there for the sole and only purpose of giving to these little brown people the largest possible measure of self-government and of helping them to the very largest possible life under our free institutions. And if we are not there for that purpose we had better never have gone there, and we cannot get out of there too quick. But from President McKinley down to the present moment, I

look in vain at every expression official or otherwise, of any man worthy to be listened to, which does not agree that we are in the Philippines for the purpose of setting their people upon their feet in a higher life, and assuring them a future more hopeful than it would be possible for them to have had unless the American people in the Providence of God had gone there.

We assumed nothing for the Philippine Islands. It was no assumption when we got the Philippine Islands. They were dropped into our lap in the Providence of God, and we should have been recreant to the heritage that has come to us through our Revolutionary fathers and to our national faith and spirit, had we failed to do exactly what we have done. I have seen the progress there. Of course, it is somewhat of a disadvantage for anybody to talk about the Philippines who has been there any length of time. Mark Twain disliked to be embarrassed by facts. It is a hard thing to be talking when you are so embarrassed; you cannot have that freedom of expression so enjoyable to many. But I was there at the beginning of things. It was my fortune to be the first President of the Evangelical Union, the organization of the Protestant missionaries in the islands. The missionaries could not agree among themselves and so they elected me their President. I was in that office until I left the Islands, and came in close contact, through religious work and otherwise, with what was doing for the Filipino people, and I have nothing to say other than "ditto" to all that has been reported here of the wonderful improvement. Some day, please God, if we have the "patience, adaptability, and the mighty hope," which you have had toward the Indian peoples for twenty-five years, we shall see the Filipino people set up in their own self-government, whether it be an independent government, or whether it be in some relation to our own government. I believe they will so like the American government by that time that they will be perfectly willing to be a part of us and to stay with us. We have become so related to each other, that—paraphrasing the language of Daniel Webster—I have felt that we could say—"America and the Filipinos, now and forever; one and inseparable!" That is what I believe will be the outcome of the Filipino proposition. And when that day shall come, I fancy there will be no voice raised anywhere in the United States but one of praise to God and of self-gratulation that we have been able to put this people into a new life in their old home.

And I am not of those who believe that when we may be well done with the Philippines, should another such duty

come to us the American people would run away from it. If another dependent people were dropped upon us as the Filipino people were, whom we could help to free self-government, I believe we would thank God for the opportunity, and bravely and cheerfully accept the responsibility. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to have the pleasure of an informal talk by COL. HUGH L. SCOTT, Commandant of West Point, who for several years was Governor of Sulu in the Philippines.

A SOLDIER'S VIEW OF THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION

REMARKS OF COL. HUGH L. SCOTT

I have been asked to say a few words about the Philippine Islands—and, first, let me disabuse your minds of the idea that I am, as a soldier, disbarred from giving an opinion on this subject because the soldier desires the retention of the Islands for selfish reasons, than which there can be nothing more erroneous, for of all the American citizens the soldier carries by far the greater part of the white man's burden. Which one of you gentlemen in civil life knows what he pays as his proportion to the support of the Philippine occupation? But the soldier must leave his country, kindred and friends and go there himself, always at a great sacrifice of money and convenience, and often of life or health.

It is acknowledged by all that we have put our hands to the plow; some are for turning back and suggest giving independence to the people at once and washing our hands of them. Let us examine this proposition. To whom will we give this independence? Where will we find the proper persons to receive and exercise it? Will it be the Igorrote of the north, whose importance is measured among his fellows by the number of human heads in his possession? Will it be the Tagalog who is hated by the Igorrote, the Maccabeebe and the Visayan, and the Visayan by all the others, the only common bond among these being the fear and hatred of all for the Moro? Who will contend for these? The real outcome of this would be that all the Philippine Islands, if not seized by some foreign power to whom we could thus abandon them, would be conquered by the Mohammedan Moros and their inhabitants made Mohammedan at the edge of the sword.

The Moros ravaged the Philippines for 300 years, burned the principal towns, enslaved thousands of the people, and robbed them of life and property. If the American hand

should be lifted they would do it again; they are the only people in the Philippines who would be able to keep their independence safe from the inhabitants of the other islands; but at what a fearful cost to those inhabitants of life, liberty, property and religion.

Other suggest the selling of the Islands to the Japanese, but in reply to this I simply answer what man is there in a responsible position in public life who will seriously propose to sell, or give, five million Christians over to a non-Christian power? If, then, we cannot sell or give them away, we come back to President McKinley's proposition: "The Philippines are ours—not to exploit but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government." This is the path of duty we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us. The question is not, will it pay? But will we do what is right? In other words, then, we must so administer the Philippine Islands as to build up out of their heterogeneous materials a nation of approximately one language, one purpose, and a common culture. If the American soldier deprecates the retention of the Philippines on his own account, the more thoughtful among them, as American citizens, desire their retention believing that the time will surely come when the industries of this country will be overproduced and the scenes of 1895 be re-enacted, and we shall see skilled American workmen at the point of starvation with no work, and the manufacturers without an outlet for their goods. When that day comes again the only outlet now visible is the Open Door in China whose millions should now be treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy.

I will remind you gentlemen that upon the outbreak of war with Spain, Admiral Dewey's fleet was ordered to leave Hong Kong, and there was not a port in the Orient at which he could purchase or obtain one pound of food or a pound of coal for belligerent purposes, and he was obliged to take Manila or leave the Orient. This proved to be the strategic center of the Asiatic coast—the center of the circle on whose circumference are situated Nagasaki, Hong Kong and Singapore, and whose radius is five days steaming from each. To give up this dominating advantage, thus apparently placed in our hands by Providence, without our seeking, for some far-reaching purpose in the working out of the destiny of our race and for the protection of our Oriental commerce, seems worse than criminal.

To the objection that the occupation is too costly and is against the wishes of the Philippine people, I reply that the Islands themselves bear the greater part of their own expenses

and if given advantages would bear more. And it has already been pointed out that there is at this time no homogeneous responsible Filipino Nation, and it can be said that the greater part of the inhabitants of the Islands desire only to be allowed to earn their living quietly; and it is believed that if economic advantages were accorded them in our markets the greater part of the people would be satisfied and would soon be prosperous and happy under American rule.

The United States have had a much more altruistic purpose than any other colonizing nation in the Orient and has held consistently to the purpose of governing the Islands in the interest of their inhabitants. I can speak more especially of the Moro Province under the Governorship of General Leonard Wood who commanded the Military Department of Mindanao. A portion of this province comprehended the Sulu Archipelago as its most southern district, the last of our islands toward Borneo. I became Governor and Military Commander of this archipelago, containing 182 islands and 80,000 souls, in September, 1903. Upon arrival we found a fearful condition of anarchy in the interior. Murder, robbery and kidnapping were affairs of daily occurrence; slavery and slave trading were practiced and the American Government could legally interfere only in the case of a crime committed against a foreigner. It was necessary that slavery and slave trading should be abolished under the American Flag, but it was thought that this would require years to bring about. Obviously, the first thing to be accomplished was to bring law and order into the country and to gain the confidence of the Moro people and teach them the meaning of justice, for without these no progress could be expected. This has been the object of the government by the United States in all the islands. While I can speak only from hearsay about the work in the northern islands, I can speak with authority of the work accomplished in the islands directly under my jurisdiction. To indicate what has been done there I will quote from a letter from Major General Wood:

"You have had to deal with the most warlike and most turbulent section of the Moro people, and although it has not always been possible to avoid armed conflict, you have by tact, patience, and unremitting effort avoided in a large number of instances the use of force. You have accomplished a great work for the improvement of public order and the relations of the various Moro leaders with each other, and your work in the abolition of slavery and the suppression of the slave trade has effectually terminated these curses of the Moro people.

"In the District of Sulu affairs have improved steadily, despite occasional serious difficulties with the natives. The natives of this District are the most turbulent of all the Moros. * * * One after another of the successive bands organized to resist the Government and expel, if possible, the white man from the Island of Jolo, have been overcome."

The following letter is from the chief Mohammedan priest of Jolo:

"This letter from your son, Haji Mohamad Panglina Ymam Muallan, to my father, Major Scott, Governor of Sulu.

"I beg to inform you that there is a book called 'Hadis.' 'The word of all the Prophets.' He who brought this book to Jolo was Said Abu Bakal, about 500 years ago. He became afterwards Sultan Saripal Hassim (First Sultan of Sulu, about A. D. 1400). As my father has use for the Kitabs (Commentaries on the Koran) of our forefathers, we wish to present our father with the original, as we still retain copies. Because our father, the Governor of Sulu, Major Scott, is very wise and very good to the Moros. He always gives his children, the Moro people, good advice, and he had their interest at heart. We have followed his advice and we are very thankful to him, as we see that his advice has always been for our benefit. We became great, not small; we became wise, not stupid. Other Moros who did not take his advice and would not obey his orders, they are dead; they died like beasts, as for us we are still alive. The Moros are loving their father now and wish to be near him; they are following his advice to plant hemp, cocoanuts, and cultivate the ground. It is our wish that our father let our names be known to all the American people, big and small, and tell them about us; how we have supported the Government.

"We trust that our father comes back again and pays us a visit, the same as Governor Taft has done, who came to Jolo twice. May God prolong the life of our father and may God make him great. May our father become greater every year and may he be happy and contented for ever and ever.

"Greetings and best wishes to my father. May he forgive us if we have ever given him a moment of displeasure.

"Written on Thursday, the 13th day of Jemad Alawal, in the year 1324."

(Signature) "Haji Mohamad Panglima Muallam."

"Charles Schuck, Official Interpreter. July 5, 1906."

(Applause.)

During the session the conference had the pleasure of hearing a few words of greeting and good wishes from MR. WILL R. MOODY of Northfield, Mass. MRS. WILBUR F. CRAFTS also spoke briefly, acknowledging for her husband, Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, the cablegram sent to him at Brussels, by the Mohonk Conference of 1906, in support of his work against the traffic in opium and intoxicants among uncivilized peoples. This, with other messages from America, Mrs. Crafts declared, helped to place the United States in the lead of this movement. She closed with a plea for immediate measures to relieve the Filipinos from the ravages of the opium habit which, in spite of regulations, is alarming prevalent among them.

The Conference then adjourned until 8.00 P. M.

Fourth Session

Thursday Evening, October 24, 1907

THE CHAIRMAN: The topic to-night is Hawaii, and the first speaker is DR. N. B. EMERSON, of Honolulu, a physician, an author, an antiquarian and a veteran of the Union Army in the Civil War.

HAWAII'S RACE PROBLEM

ADDRESS OF N. B. EMERSON, M. D.

The population of Hawaii is a very polyglot community, comprising all skin-colors, and races from all parts of the world. Hawaii is the first point of contact of the United States and the Orient, the gate through which a great throng have come in to take part in the labors and to share in the benefits of our civilization. It is this movement and the issues growing out of it that furnish me with my theme, but more especially, the incoming of the Chinese and the Japanese, whose touch and intermingling with our race to-day constitutes the race-problem not only of Hawaii, but, as I shall point out, of the American Republic and largely of the whole world.

The fact that I single out these two races as the agents in precipitating the race-problem, and leave out of consideration the other nationalities that have drifted to Hawaii, is to be taken not as a slur, but rather as a compliment, to the Chinese and the Japanese. It is the high intelligence, the individuality, the tenacious virtues and sterling qualities of the Chinaman—and to a large extent of the Japanese—even more than his vices, that make him refractory to our civilization.

If any member of these ancient and esteemed races is within ear-shot of my voice to-night, or shall chance to read a report of my words, I pray that he will assure himself of my esteem and good will and recognize that I am a student dealing with a difficult problem, seeking only to discover Nature's wise and kind solution.

The factors entering into this problem are of such magnitude that they cannot be properly dealt with in a narrow or sectional spirit.

I do not reckon the native Hawaiian as entering to any appreciable extent into this problem; not that his case has as yet reached a perfect settlement, but that his character is so easy-going that he need not count as a factor.

The coming together of two races involves many reactions and readjustments. I will first remark that this meeting and mingling of races is inevitable. It was invited, and in a sense, compelled, by the more advanced races of the world. The work done in unsealing and opening up China and Japan to the influences of the world was in the line of evolution, entirely natural, and not to be repented of. The first step led to the second, and so on.

We may affirm it as an established principle of world politics, that nations can no longer seclude themselves by maintaining walls of separation. "No man liveth unto himself, and no man dieth unto himself." This is true of nations and of races. Those rights and privileges which Commodore Perry demanded for his people in 1854, the American people cannot now deny to the Japanese. When America opened the gates of Japan it opened also the gates of America. The gates having been opened, cannot again be shut. But that does not mean that the stream shall be allowed to flow at full flood, and absolutely without control. Man, has made himself to a large extent master of the physical universe, of the immense energies of nature; having done this and having put his hand to the levers and valves that control the great currents of humanity, he must not let go his hold, but must devote himself to the task of regulating the vast forces he has unlocked, or—take the consequences.

Not only is it *possible* for man to control and regulate the flux and movement of these tides and the intermingling of these oceans of humanity; it is absolutely imperative that he perform the task. The interests of civilization demand it. If we believe that ours is the brightest torch, ours the choicest seed, of civilization, we cannot, without being recreant to our trust, allow this torch to be extinguished or dimmed by rude blasts from over the sea, nor allow this seed to be choked in the planting with imported tares, or, if you please, degraded by cross-fertilization with seed of a lower stock.

The doctrine of equal human rights, on which our Republic was founded and its unwritten corollary, which leads to the wide-opening of the gates, however beautiful in theory, is a principle that soon runs into danger. It demands careful limitation. We do not allow free scope to this principle in trade and commerce. Rightly, or wrongly, we protect our infant industries—we even extend this protection through what

seems to be a very "*prolonged infancy*." It is well that our national councils are waking to the recognition of the danger that threatens our national civilization from the inrush of foreigners. Civilization is a tender plant that ever needs the most careful nurture. We must look to it that we do not invite for it a fate like that which lately threatened a portion of Southern California from the invasion which formed the Salton Sea.

Let us now make practical application of these principles, taking Hawaii as the object of illustration. We are fortunate in Hawaii, in that with us the race-problem is not complicated by the color-question. In those islands we do not allow the question of skin color to disturb us politically or socially.

I have spoken of this as Hawaii's problem. Do not forget that it is equally America's problem. What is Hawaii's is yours: what is yours is Hawaii's. There is a difference, of course: the situation over there is one of peculiar urgency: The question involves practically our daily bread, the whole of our living: whereas with you here in America it involves only a small percentage of your territory and of your financial interest. Yet in spite of this urgency, in spite of the involvement of all our material interests, our whole living, I will say that the situation is causing no panic, no hysteric agitation, no wild alarm.

In dealing with Hawaii, you must understand that you are dealing with a one-crop country. Every commercial and financial interest there has to be rated as to its influence on our chief product, our one main crop, sugar. You must bear in mind, first, that ninety-six and one-half per cent of Hawaii's living income is from sugar: and, second, that the Oriental is the most numerous laborer on our plantations, and that if he quits the field, the field will remain unploughed, unplanted, unwatered, and all which that implies. With this you may couple the fact that Hawaii has about ninety millions of dollars invested in the sugar industry. Do not, however, be carried away with the notion that the production of sugar is always a profitable enterprise. The average rate of profit on the capital invested in the sugar business in the Hawaiian Islands, from the beginning down to the present time, has been only about 6%. I have not the figures to tell you what it is today. It will be less in the future than in the past.

The race-problem in Hawaii is bound up with the labor-question. To quote from a paper by the Honorable Lorrin A. Thurston, once Hawaii's minister to Washington, "The labor-question has been a live issue in Hawaii ever since the cultivation of sugar began," and "it never was more impor-

tant than it is to-day." "The native Hawaiian supply of laborers was insufficient from the beginning. In 1852, the first laborers were imported, 180 Chinese." The whole number of Chinese, including Manchurians, that have come to Hawaii since then down to 1905 is reckoned as 44,494.

Japanese first appear as an appreciable element of the population in 1884, the number being 116. The whole number that had come to the Island from that time down to 1906 is reckoned at 111,137.

Let us turn to the census tables for the information they furnish as to the growth and tendencies of Hawaii's population. In the following table, I have lumped together a number of nationalities under one category, that of mixed non-Orientals. The term is self-explanatory and will serve to disembarass the discussion of a confusing multiplicity of details. It includes Americans,—some of them Hawaiian born—English, German, Scandinavian, European generally, also native Hawaiians, all those, in fact, who can be counted upon to stand as voting factors on the side of Occidentalism, Anglo-Saxonism, Americanism.

CENSUS TABLES OF HAWAII

YEAR	1872	1878	1884	1890	1896	1900
Mixed Non-Orientals.....	54,859	52,069	62,532	62,729	67,309	67,124
Orientals { Chinese.....	1,938	5,916	17,937	15,301	19,382	25,762
{ Japanese.....			116	12,360	22,329	61,115
Total Orientals.....	1,938	5,916	18,053	27,661	41,711	86,877
Grand Total.....	56,797	57,985	80,585	90,390	109,020	154,001

PERCENTAGES OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION

YEAR	1872	1878	1884	1890	1896	1900
Mixed Non-Orientals.....	96.5 + %	89.7 + %	77.6 + %	67.1 + %	61.7 + %	43.5 + %
Oriental:						
Chinese...	3.4 +	10.2 +	22.2 +	16.9 +	11.3 +	16.7 +
Japanese.....			.1 +	13.5 +	38.2 +	39.6 +
Total Orientals.	3.4 +	10.2 +	22.3 +	30.4 +	49.5 +	56.3 +

The significant fact shown by this table is that the mixed non-Oriental group, which, in 1872, was in a majority of ninety-six and one-half per cent, has relatively dwindled until in 1900 it was forty-three and four-tenths per cent; while the Oriental population which was three and four-tenths per cent in 1872, by 1900 had grown to be fifty-six and three-tenths per cent of the whole population of the Islands.

The pinch of the race-problem begins, however, not with the entrance of the Oriental into the country, but when he throws up his job on the plantation, becomes a peripatetic seeker after an easy snap, a small shop-keeper, and incidentally an agitator and stirrer up of strife. Welcome as a plantation laborer and worker in the great national industry, when he takes to moving about, from place to place, living by his wits, assuming the rôle of a promoter of sedition, he becomes a *persona non grata*. To complete the presentation of this point, it is only necessary to say that of the sixty-one thousand Japanese in the territory in 1906, only twenty-six thousand were then engaged in labor on the sugar plantations. It is with these non-workers on the plantations that the race-problem concerns itself.

Pinch number two of the race-problem is felt when the laborer, in addition to throwing up his job and making himself disagreeable, takes himself to callings the numbers engaged in which are already sufficiently numerous, and by strenuous competition and under-cutting, manages to make it hard for the man of the soil, as well as for the white man who has come in from abroad.

This is neither the place, nor the time, to discuss the question of labor-competition. No one, however, can deny that, aside from the agitations and brutalities of the sand-lotters, aside from the persecutions and head-breaking of the Union-man, and his frenzied opposition to the "Heathen Chinese," and other unwelcome incoming races, there is a modicum of good sense in some of the complaints and claims regarding the invasion we are discussing, and a suggested foresight of coming trouble that is prophetic.

Competition is good, *up to a certain degree*. It is the life of trade *up to a certain degree*. On the other hand, it is as certain as that water will run down hill, that bad money will drive out good money, and that hardy weeds will choke out choice plants. This is an axiom of experience. There is, in short a competition that kills.

Time will not permit the presentation of statistics showing the different occupations in which what I shall call the surplus population of Hawaii employs itself. Such statistics show that these races are crowding into nearly every branch of

business to such a degree as to give occasion for grave thought.

You all know the process of substitution by which the white man is pushed out. The Oriental has few wants: his expenses are small: he can live and lay up something on a few dimes a day. The white man cannot and will not do this. His wants are manifold, including many things not set down in the list of the Oriental. Wisely, or unwisely, rightly, or wrongly, he declines to come down to the economic level of the Oriental. If forced into competition with him, he simply quits the field.

I hear some one ask, is not the Anglo-Saxon man enough to stand up and hold his own against the Oriental? If not, let him go to the wall. Not so fast, my friend. Do not forget your political economy, nor the teachings of experience and common sense. I might ask, is not the gold dollar good enough, and strong enough to hold its own against a debased currency? Every practical business man recognizes the soundness of Gresham's law. There is, I repeat, a competition that kills.

But, asks some objector, if the white man, will not come in and occupy the land, but insists on biding his time, why should he object to the thrifty Oriental's doing that very thing? I will not directly answer this question. It is part of the problem I lay before you. Let me say, however, that Hawaii is now bending her energies to the procuring and introduction of the better elements of population, consanguineous elements, to come to its aid—elements that are capable of harmonious cooperation with its highest purposes and ideals.

The rigid classification of civilizations as higher and lower is not entirely scientific, and, from a certain point of view, it is misleading. I would not say that there is no difference as to grade and eminence between one civilization and another: I would rather say that there is no one people or nation that in every respect outranks all others and that stands on the highest plan of civilization. England, France, Germany, America—admirable as is the civilization of each one of these nations,—each one of them has points in which it excels the others. I cheerfully extend this list to include China and Japan. In its devotion to industry, in its grasp of certain of the economies of life, in its respect for ancestry and in its God-given reverence for parental authority, what people can equal the Chinese? In the practice of the external forms of politeness, in fervent patriotism, who can surpass or equal the Japanese?

There is a solidarity in the elements of civilization of a nation, an exclusiveness, which forbids their being domiciled and massed together with others in the same field, in the same environment. Wheat and strawberries, for instance—each must be cultivated in accordance with its own peculiar laws, in agreement with its own individual wants. To cultivate the two together on the same plot of ground would be to the disadvantage of each.

There are two conditions, not incompatible with each other, which reason and common sense impose on the solution of this problem. First, so far as concerns this great Republic, of which Hawaii is part, the supreme interests of civilization must be sacredly preserved. These interests are identical with those of our Anglo-Saxon civilization and of a broad Americanism. Second, a wise and tender regard for the financial and vital interests of Hawaii herself. What those interests are I have already pointed out: that Hawaii must have cheap labor, in order to carry on with a reasonable profit her staple industry, from which comes 96½ per cent of her income.

Not only are these two conditions compatible with each other, they are correlative and essential to each other. Rob the country of plantation labor and you starve out the material basis on which our civilization is founded. Civilization is not a bird, or a disembodied spirit, that it can live in the air. Or, again, uproot our civilization, of what avail will be its corpse, the machinery that served it?

Why should we insist on maintaining our own civilization, unchanged? What a question for an Anglo-Saxon! Because *it is ours*: because it fits us and we are wedded to it; because it is the evolution, and fruitage of our history for a thousand years; because to resign it and adopt another would be impossible, suicidal. It is not merely a question of higher and lower: it is not a question of wordly selfishness.

The evolution of this race-problem is the finding or establishing of a *modus vivendi* by which the Occidental and the Oriental can meet together under certain restrictions for the purpose of exchanging certain benefits, not for the sake of supplanting and ousting one another from place or function. There has been entrusted to us a rich heritage; let us see to it that we pass it on unimpaired. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is Mr. WILLIAM A. LEWIS, JR., a lawyer of Honolulu.

HAWAII AND THE AMERICAN SHIP SUBSIDY

ADDRESS OF MR. A. LEWIS, JR.

The Territory of Hawaii, situated at the cross roads of the Pacific Ocean, the stage for the play of nations for the coming century, must necessarily depend entirely upon ocean carriers as a means of transportation and personal communication with the mainland of the United States and the ports of the world. The advancement of the American merchant marine is consequently a subject of vital interest to the Islanders.

Students of political economy and institutional and political history agree that a nation's welfare ultimately requires that her peoples and her products be carried in domestic ships. The development of this nation's commercial relations and the maintenance of her power upon the Pacific Ocean in the next ten years will make Hawaii's history for the next century. Viewing the situation as it exists today on the Pacific, it would seem as if American shipping interests will not only never dominate but on the contrary will gradually disappear from these waters.

The conditions which prevail in the port of Honolulu are typical of the status of American ships on the world's greatest ocean. Through the chief port of the Hawaiian Islands pass the three steamers of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, the Japanese line, engaged in the trade with the Orient, the acknowledged greatest open developing market of the day. Another foreign country sends through the port four steamers of the Canadian Australian line to carry the trade of Australia, New Zealand and the islands of the South Pacific. From Great Britain and the colonial governments this latter line receives an annual subsidy of \$330,000. Any American line competing with the Toyo Kisen Kaisha enters into an unequal contest. The Japanese government pays to these three steamers a subsidy of \$600,000 per annum. Add to the benefit of the subsidy the fact that the operating expenses of a Japanese steamer are very much less than an American vessel and the advantages in favor of the Japanese boat are plainly apparent. Take a concrete example of the American steamship "Sonoma" of the Oceanic Steamship Company versus the Japanese steamship "America Maru" of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha. The Sonoma plying between San Francisco and Australia with a gross tonnage of 6,200 tons with a crew of 157, including officers, pays in monthly wages \$6,540, or \$78,480 for the year. The "America Maru" plying on the Japanese line between San Francisco and Hong Kong with a gross tonnage of 6,307 tons with a crew of 180, including officers, pays in wages \$2,509

per month, or a total of \$30,108 for the year. This excess in cost of wages per annum against the American steamship is \$48,372. In order to further strengthen her position, it is rumored that Japan will soon enact laws similar to America's coastwise shipping laws and prevent American and other foreign steamship companies from carrying passengers, goods and merchandise between Japanese coast ports, a privilege which they now enjoy.

The history of this Japanese line is exceedingly interesting as showing the liberal policy of the Japanese Government in direct comparison with the indifferent treatment of American ships by Congress. When it was first inaugurated, it ran at an absolute loss. It would probably have not continued if it had not been for the subsidy granted by the Japanese Government. After it had been in operation for about four or five years, it approached a paying basis. The business of the line increased and finally the company announced that it would withdraw the "America Maru," "Nippon Maru" and "Hong Kong Maru" and replace these ships with two 13,000 ton turbine ships to carry the traffic. The Russian war, however, intervened. The ships, under an agreement with the Japanese Government, were taken off the line and were made auxiliary cruisers of the Japanese navy. It is said that the Government continued the payment of the subsidy even during the period these vessels were in the service of the Japanese Government. Their services as fast scout ships in the Japanese Naval Reserve furnishing information of the course of the Russian vessels along the Asiatic coast were invaluable. After the destruction of the hostile fleet, the Japanese Government permitted one of the ships to return on its run to San Francisco, showing the Government's lack of fear of Russia's remaining battleships. With the declaration of peace, the other two vessels went back to their run and are now factors in the battle for the commercial supremacy of the Pacific. Without a subsidy this line would probably have never continued in operation, have never rendered a service to its home government at a critical moment and would not today occupy its formidable position.

The United States cannot longer deceive itself by attempting to ignore the facts. The nation today faces a serious situation on the Pacific coast. With the acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines, we have a far greater coast line on the Pacific than is possessed by any other nation. We should and could control the commerce of the greatest ocean. Japan in the last fifty years has come from semi-barbarism and taken a place among the great powers of the world. She

is gradually dominating the Pacific. Her ships go into every port of that ocean. Every one of her steamship lines is enormously subsidized. A new steamship company has this year been formed in Japan with an instantly available capital of \$15,000,000 gold. Of this sum, \$10,000,000 is to be spent according to its financial program on the construction of new ships. These vessels will all be built with the speed improvements and other qualifications prescribed by the subsidy regulations of the country. This sum is also meant to cover the expenditure of establishment of new lines of traffic. In spite of a comparative small investment, that is, compared to the establishment and maintenance of the passenger service, there will be no difference in the amount of subsidy the various new Japanese lines are to receive from the government. Japanese plans include steamer connections with Central Europe and the opening of a line between Hong Kong and Chili, touching at ports in Japan. The latter steamers will carry Chinese and Japanese coolies and general laborers to South American states and return with cargoes of nitrate of soda and other South American products to China and Japan. It is fair to infer that South American Governments and Japan will finally arrange trade treaties in their mutual interest.

Japanese lines are now carrying many tons of the exports and imports of the United States. History presents a striking picture. America through Perry and others was the discoverer of commercial Japan. Today commercial America finds herself the discovered of Japan. The commerce of foreign countries bordering the Pacific last year was more than \$3,000,000,000. Who will secure the prize or the largest share of it? Japan, with her subsidized steamship lines, or America with a large navy and a lethargy in her merchant marine. Japan is bidding for the honor with commendable zeal. Within the last year she has negotiated for the purchase of almost every first class American ship on the Pacific. With her subsidized lines and cheaper operated steamers, it is only a question of time before our ships must be sold or go under a foreign flag. If American ships can be purchased, the markets by them developed are either captured or destroyed. With Japan entirely dominating the Pacific, the position of Hawaii situated at its center is easily foreseen. She will become the especial object of attack. It must necessarily be the policy of any foreign nation, commercially and otherwise, to weaken her strong strategic position and prevent and stifle in every possible manner the development of American institutions and trade. Japan is not alone in the move-

ment for the development of the merchant marine on the Pacific. At a meeting of the stockholders of the Canadian Pacific Steamship Line to be held this month of October in Montreal, the following proposition will be presented for action with every indication of a favorable consideration. The "Empress of Ireland" and "Empress of Britain," boats of 18 knots speed, which have for the past two seasons been engaged in the Canadian service on the Atlantic, are to be transferred to the Pacific to complete the fast service from Western Europe to Eastern Asia. These boats will be replaced on the Atlantic run by two vessels of the 22 knots class. With the increased speed given by the inauguration of the new service, the full transfer of mails from Liverpool, via Honolulu to Brisbane, Australia, will be cut down to 24 days. On all sides movements are made to divert American trade to foreign lines and American influence is becoming either narrowly circumscribed or actually forced out of its established channels. In searching for foreign mail subsidies in the Pacific, we find that the British Government is paying for her mail lines to Asia and Australia, \$1,700,000 to the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company and in addition \$300,000 to the Canadian Pacific Company. The German Government for its service to Asia and Australia pays the North German Lloyd Company \$1,320,000. The French Government pays the Messageries Maritimes Steamship Company for its services to Asia and Australia \$1,756,870. The committee in Congress before whom the recent mail subsidy bill was presented, ascertained that ships sailing under European flags pay about one-half, and those sailing under Japanese flags pay between one-third and one-half the wages that American ships pay. It costs between forty and seventy-five per cent more to build a ship in this country.

The Oceanic Steamship Company, which was formerly engaged in the Australian service but was forced out of the trade by lack of a subsidy, or any other line which may hereafter undertake this Australian service, must run in competition with one French, one German, one Japanese and three British vessels all of which are highly subsidized. With all the foreign nations paying subsidies, the United States should protect her merchant marine by a generous subsidy.

The principle of subsidy is not a new or novel one with the American people. By many millions of subsidy we are building great systems of irrigation. We have paid a subsidy of \$470,000,000 to the rivers and harbors of the country. At the rate of \$40,000,000, that subsidy is continued each year. The last Congress appropriated \$83,000,000 to improve our harbors and

rivers, the largest benefit of which will flow to ships flying the foreign flag. We are not willing to subsidize our ships to reap the benefit of our subsidized harbors, but prefer that they be utilized by the subsidized ships of foreign nations. The great work of building the Panama Canal, carrying with it an expenditure of \$400,000,000, is a grand subsidy. Unless some measure of relief is granted the American merchant marine, when that great waterway is constructed, the flag of the United States will not be seen on many merchant vessels passing through it. If the American merchant marine is not born again, the Panama Canal may serve Japan and other foreign nations far better than the United States. The tiny silver cord drawing together the arms of two great oceans places Hawaii in the direct line of travel between the Occident and the Orient, making it a natural port of call. A great boon will be conferred upon the islands if that carrying trade is performed largely by American vessels, purchasing American supplies, and developing an American guard and outpost which will in turn protect its mainland protector.

A subsidy granted by Congress to be effective should call for a high grade of service. No cargo subsidy is required. Steamship companies alive to their own interest will provide the requisite cargo capacity. The form of a mail subsidy, calling for excellent mail and passenger service, should produce the desired result. Distances to-day are largely relative. Commercial interests demand speedy and comfortable means of transportation. No subsidy should be given for slow boats. The subsidy should be large enough to procure fast vessels and permit of exacting and severe terms for the strict performance of the objects sought to be obtained. The speedy passage of the mails should be enforced not by our Post-Office regulation, but by terms and provisions in the act itself. A failure to arrive on a fast schedule time should be penalized with a forfeiture of a certain amount of the subsidy. As one of the objects of the subsidy should be the development of American territory in the Pacific, provision should be made for reservations for Hawaiian and Philippine Island passengers. It was stated this last year in debate in Congress that the present Philippine policy had cost the United States Government \$700,000,000. The army transport service is a part of this expense. Provision might be made that the steamship line which would engage in a route running from San Francisco, via Hawaii, Yokohama, Hong Kong to Manila, or any other route by way of Hawaii, might carry our soldiers as well as army and other government supplies. The line would thus be performing a double government service and would provide a stable communication by means

of American vessels between American territory bordering on the Pacific.

Subsidy regulations should provide for such structure and type of vessel as would render them available for auxiliary cruisers, transports or otherwise as a naval reserve in time of war, although it is not the desire to interject into this desultory talk any so-called alarmist statements as to possibilities of war.

Russia, Japan, Germany and the United States by the expenditure of enormous sums of money had of recent years been considered as possessing great navies. Russia was classed as a great naval power at the beginning of her war with Japan, but though she had vessels, she did not have a merchant marine to support them or from which to draw sailors to man them. Russia is the only nation on the earth except the United States that committed the fatal blunder of trying to build a great navy without at the same time building a great merchant marine to support it. Her humiliating defeat, her seized and sunken ships present by tragic picture her irretrievable mistake. United States is as helpless to-day as was Russia in the days of the Russo-Japanese War. If there were trouble to-day with Japan with her 550 vessels immediately available as transports, she could put a half million men in the Philippines and a hundred and fifty thousand men into Hawaii before we could even dare attempt to give her battle. An object lesson is about to be placed before the American people when they will this winter witness the inability of the American navy to perform a fleet maneuver from the Atlantic to the Pacific without the employment of a majority in tonnage of foreign bottoms to carry the necessary coal and other supplies, our merchant marine being entirely inadequate for the purpose. In time of war circumscribed by the laws of neutrality and thwarted by entangling foreign alliances, it would be difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, to obtain sufficient foreign tonnage for the uses of both the army and the navy.

The history of American merchant marine on the Atlantic, and in fact upon all the seas, engaged in foreign commerce to date is pitiful, and we trust that the opportunities cast aside on the Atlantic will not be repeated on the Pacific. In 1800, 91 per cent. of the imports and 87 per cent. of the exports of the United States were carried in American bottoms. With the advent of steam and the inauguration of the subsidy policy by Great Britain, the United States later followed suit and our merchant marine still prospered. The struggles preceding the Civil War resulted in the withdrawal of the subsidy. From that period American tonnage engaged in foreign commerce rapidly dwindled until at the present day we have reached the low ebb of

from seven to eight per cent. Our coastwise trade has always been protected and has always prospered. In fact over 85 per cent. of all American bottom tonnage to-day is engaged in coastwise trade.

As a result of the foreign nation subsidy as against American non-subsidy, we had leaving Honolulu for San Francisco during the months of June, July and August, 1907, sixteen steam passenger vessels, of which five were American. Two of the American boats made three passages each with full accommodations for Honolulu passengers. Three American boats made one passage each with very limited accommodations for Hawaiian Island passengers. Being engaged in the Oriental trade, every inducement is given to the through passengers and ordinarily only a small number of local passengers are taken aboard at Honolulu, sometimes only from five to nine. Out of sixteen passages, seven of the boats were foreign bottoms and by virtue of the provisions of the American coastwise shipping laws local passengers were practically barred from travel owing to the penalty of \$200 placed upon persons taking passage on foreign bottoms plying between United States coastwise ports. Tourists traveling toward the United States seldom stop over at Honolulu owing to the uncertainty of obtaining passage to the mainland. As high as forty passengers on one vessel have desired to stop over at Honolulu only to change their plans on being told of the transportation conditions which prevail at the Island port. Prior to annexation to the United States, there were no restrictions under the laws of Hawaii upon the freedom of passage upon any boats, either American or foreign, which plied between the Hawaiian Islands and the mainland. To meet the changed conditions, American passenger steamers should be so fostered that an increase of American vessels will fill the void caused by the loss of the right to travel on foreign ships. The people of the islands are loyal Americans. They have experienced some disadvantages from annexation to the United States in obtaining its many advantages. They do not desire to accept all the benefits without bearing their share of the burdens and responsibilities. But they do respectfully petition that the American merchant marine be so encouraged by subsidy as to give them speedy and frequent transportation so essential to the development of their territory.

Hawaii's earnest desire is that no hostile legislation be enacted, but that every encouragement should be given to prevent the merchant flag of the United States from becoming a curio rare enough for the Smithsonian Institute. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The HON. F. M. HATCH, former Justice of the Supreme Court of Hawaii, and representing the Honolulu

Chamber of Commerce, prepared a paper for this evening, but circumstances arose which made it impossible for him to be present. His paper will be read by DR. TITUS MUNSON COAN, Assistant Surgeon in the United States Navy during the Civil War, sometime a citizen of Honolulu, and now resident of New York City.

THE HAWAIIAN SITUATION

PAPER OF HON. F. M. HATCH

Ladies and Gentlemen: Hawaii, in its material development, shows very satisfactory progress. Its crop has been good, and general conditions indicate a fair degree of prosperity. Hawaii has been successful in managing her local affairs at home, and in working out her own difficulties. She has not been a dead weight on the federal administration. Her one great problem now is that of population. Situated as Hawaii is, she has been the meeting place of the races. It was inevitable that her population should be cosmopolitan. Comers from all quarters have been welcomed with traditional hospitality by the native Hawaiians. From them may be traced the tolerance which is so marked a feature of the island community to-day.

American ideals, however, have shaped the development of these different elements. There has been evolved a community intensely patriotic and dominated by ambition to make of the islands a state whose civilization shall be high and pure. The feeling is almost universal that the foundation of her prosperity must be the small farm.

Hawaii is essentially an agricultural territory. It has no mines. Its manufactures are only those connected with sugar. Its dependence must be upon its soil. The area of land of high fertility is large. Where water can be obtained, crops are most bountiful in yield. Closely allied to the question of immigration is that of diversified crops. Down to this date Hawaii's great staple, sugar, has required co-operative effort, which has taken the form of corporations. Single individuals have not, as a rule, been able to engage in it. This has been due to the great cost of irrigation and factory works, and the impossibility of carrying on this business on a small scale. Every effort is being made to find some crop suitable to the climate which will offer quick returns with a small investment of capital; a crop which a small farmer, who puts in merely his time and personal effort, can make a success of.

Coffee would be an ideal crop. It grows best at an elevation high above the sugar cane belt, where the climate is invigorating, and much undeveloped land lies ready for the

home seeker. Coffee, however, has not proved profitable. It probably never will unless tariff changes make it so. Pineapples are proving a great success. Two million tins were put up the last season. The industry is yet young, and gives promise of a fine development. Among the unexpected sources of production has come a demand from a great overland railroad for a million and a half railroad ties, to be cut in our hard-wood forests, which have hitherto been unproductive. This contract involves an expenditure of some two million dollars, and will run over a period of five years. The indigenous Ohia tree furnishes a hard and lasting timber which is of no great value as a cabinet wood, but which is admirably adapted to railroad use. Employment will be given to a large number of people in carrying out this order. Fortunately our ideas on forestry are well advanced. Government supervision will prevent denudation.

As the completion of the Panama Canal approaches, there will be a quickening of activities throughout the Pacific. Hawaii surely will feel the impulse. There is no question that she will respond, and that all of her energies will be bent to helping swell the coming commerce of that vast ocean. We depend upon you on the mainland to help to supply us with a reasonable sprinkling, if nothing more, of the brawn and brain of the hardy sons of the soil of our beloved country to help populate the Island; men who will carry with them into the tropics their rugged ideas of right and wrong; who will instil the push of their energy into Hawaiian business, and who will round out and fill our Island life. Not that Hawaii has failed in the quality of any of these elements of character; she has been lacking only in the quantity of them. Hawaii's record of energy in devising and carrying out great engineering and irrigation works by private enterprise has been unrivalled; her efforts so far, however, have been successful in a marked degree only in one industry. The same energy, with only a tithe of the same capital, which has made our sugar farms the models of the world, applied to other industries if only the right lead can be found, would transform Hawaii.

The great menace of the future is the possible development to an undue degree of Asiatic influences. The difficulty will be to maintain the present balance of the races. If the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic portions of our people shrink in numbers, their places will inevitably be taken by Orientals. We can never hope to make of Hawaii a homogeneous country of only one race,—the Anglo-Saxon. Natural causes prevent. It is doubtful if such a community without laborers,

both domestic and field hands, of a different type, would succeed in developing the Islands and in securing the fruits of that fertility which God never intended should go to waste. All men were created equal, but different. Some races can endure extremes of heat, under which others would fail.

My argument is simply this: Conditions in our Island possessions differ from those on the mainland. If our institutions do not permit of flexibility to meet changed conditions, we should draw in our outposts and retire to the mainland.

England's great success as an administrator of dependent races comes from her keen realization that no procrustean bed will answer for all of her wards. No two of her colonial governments are alike. They run along the scale from the independence of the Commonwealth of Australia to the military despotism of the crown colony.

The best influence we have today in Hawaii, next to that of the missions, is our public schools. They will bear inspection. Their work is of surpassing importance to Hawaii. We are educating children of a dozen different nationalities. All except the American, English and German are being brought up in paths widely divergent from those in which their ancestors trod. In educating so many children of Asiatic descent, and making those of them born in Hawaii, who will become voters, capable of understanding their coming responsibilities, Hawaii is doing a national work. It would be equitable to have this recognized by a contribution by the National government towards some part of our unusual burden. This might take the form of supplying additional school buildings, or by assuming a measure of control over our Normal School. There are many obvious reasons why it would be wise to bring this institution in close touch with the Bureau of Education in Washington. Results from the training in our schools are beginning to appear not only in Hawaii, but abroad. For instance; the reform movement now sweeping over China has received impetus from Chinese of Hawaiian common school education. At one time a price was on the heads of some of our Hawaiian Chinese. The Japanese also are responding to the same influence.

Governor Carter last summer introduced a school-mate of his, a Japanese who was born in Hawaii. He went to Japan and on his return Governor Carter introduced him as a good American. Up to that time I had not believed that a Japanese, no matter where born, could be other than Japanese in sentiment and affection. It turned out that this man had been deeply impressed with the innumerable petty restraints

to which his countrymen are subjected in Japan by the police and by all in authority. His common school training in Hawaii had rendered the tyrannical type of government unbearable. He openly stated that if a war should ever come between Japan and the United States, he was an American and would fight for the land of his birth and her free institutions.

Certain Japanese fear the influence of our schools. The Shinto religion is being encouraged in Hawaii because it nurtures that type of patriotism which worships the head of the State as a divinity. It is this quality which has made the Japanese invincible. They may be exterminated but never conquered. Joss houses and Shinto temples are on the increase in Hawaii. Of this fact there can be no question. Whether they are receiving encouragement from home in the hope of offsetting the influence of our schools must remain conjecture. It is so claimed by some whose judgment and means of knowledge must be respected. There is enough of danger to cause our churches to take notice.

Renewed effort has recently been made to introduce European families into Hawaii. Three ship-loads of people have been brought around the Horn during the past year. Four thousand, seven hundred souls have been added to our population. The expense to the Territory has been very great, aggregating three hundred thousand dollars. These people have all been give homesteads and work has been at hand. It has been necessary to furnish free transportation for them. No intending immigrant could pay his own way from Europe to Hawaii. Why should he bear the expense of travel from New York to Honolulu? It is preposterous to expect it. The expense must be borne by the community. But here Congress steps in and prohibits all assisted immigration. By the present law not only is landing denied to immigrants whose passage has been paid by another, and who are brought to the country with a promise of being given employment, but severe penalties are imposed upon all concerned in aiding such immigrants to come. What will Congress do for Hawaii under these circumstances? Non-action means the throttling of Hawaii's industries, destroying her earning and tax-paying power.

Hawaii and the Insular Possessions should be exempted from the operation of the Immigration laws for a term of years. In addition to that, Congress by affirmative action, should colonize Hawaii's unoccupied farming lands, part of the public domain, with American farmers, and protect their industries until the people can make their living out of the

soil. To do less would be to fail in a duty owed by the nation to itself and to its most important permanent acquisition in the Pacific.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall now hear with pleasure HON. GEORGE L. LILLEY, member of Congress from Connecticut.

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE L. LILLEY

Ladies and Gentlemen: With the keenest pleasure I have contemplated the honor accorded me in the request by Dr. Smiley to make a few remarks on our island possessions which I visited with the Congressional party last spring, and upon which at this moment the warm rays of the tropical sun are shining.

As the guests of Hawaii every courtesy was accorded us. Everywhere were smiling faces and a cordial welcome. Garlands of flowers were thrown about our necks by the fair ones, the choicest viands were spread before us, and the very atmosphere of this garden was fragrant with good will. The drives about the city were a revelation of beauty with their grassy slopes, groves of palms, and sparkling rivulets. Our days there, I might say, were picnic-days in the Garden of Eden.

The character of the Hawaiian people reflects their natural environment. The wonderful phenomena of nature make them poetical and superstitious; the continuous beauty of the tropical verdure and the mildness of the climate make them happy and care free. The native Hawaiian is the "Sunny Jim" of the world. And yet that, like all general characterizations, is not quite accurate for he possesses some qualities we do not usually attribute to the "Sunny" one. As swimmers and divers they are wonderful and the bravery and nerve they are said to exhibit in the water seem incredible.

Their cheerful carelessness impressed me strongly. Could it be possible, I thought, that these islanders expressed that Christian command:—"Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." If those words mean complete freedom from worry, here is a people that fulfils the command. If a native's bowl of poi runs low, the neighbor's bowl comes willingly to the rescue, even to the last ounce.

I am afraid they would see little to admire in Sam Johnson's rugged independence, which we universally respect. Had the pair of boots been left at the door of the native Hawaiian his last thought would have been to kick them out of the window.

There was a tradition among the Hawaiians that the god Lono on sailing away from the islands had prophesied his return. So when in January of 1778 Captain Cook, the bold English discoverer and adventurer, hove in sight with his ships, "Resolution" and "Discovery," he was believed to be the god. The whole quaint dress of the British sailor was thought a part of the wearer's body; when knives were pulled from their pockets they were thought miraculously extracted from the divine internes. The fires burning in their mouths and the firing of cannon removed all doubt of immortality. But the whites acted anything but the part of gods and the ignominious death of the discoverer is best passed over. "Such was the levity of the Hawaiian character," I am quoting from Hopkins, "and shallowness of Hawaiian feelings, that throughout these hostilities numbers of native women remained on board the ships, showing no concern when the heads of their countrymen were brought off to the vessels; and only remarking when the village was burning that it was a very fine sight." Then they were a credulous, shallow, unmoral people. A man's character can not be renovated completely in a day nor can that of a people in a century.

The native is a composite of superficialities. He is a born politician. Give him a title and an office and he is happy. He will not work at manual labor but is proud to be a coachman.

Strange it is that the percentage of illiteracy is lower than that in the State of Massachusetts. This shows that education in the arts is not the most important education to a people.

Like the Indian, the Negro, and the Filipino, the Hawaiian has not known the great moral or conscience evolution of the Anglo-Saxon. His father and grandfather were aimless, care-free, unmoral. He has the burden of this heritage.

To the Indian was offered a full-grown and wonderful civilization, the art of agriculture, a thousand inventions to throw happiness around a life of peace. He chose the wasteful, unproductive life of an animal, and the continent of which he was master is in the hands of civilization. The onward movement of energy and character is irresistible.

To the Filipino the honesty of the Anglo-Saxon is incomprehensible. Moral laxity has been the heritage of generations and he is a weakling.

The Hawaiians are a race of children. From us must come education and government. From the native chief to the lowest among them votes are purchasable. An Hawaiian has no conception either of personal independence or the

innate value of character. Hopkins says that the missionaries had the discretion "to see that the genius of this people was utterly unfit for self-government."

The sons of the missionaries have realized that religion is more than sentiment and emotion, that there is a world of truth in that statement that "he who makes two blades of wheat to grow where one grew before has done more in the service of mankind than the greatest orator or preacher;" that there must be action in the line of economic development. Today the sons of the missionaries are making the soil put forth its best and insuring the prosperity of Hawaii.

The native Hawaiian may move in the march of progress or may lie down to the threat of extinction. God has decreed for mankind a struggle for the mastery of their environment, and in that struggle they develop character and recognize obedience to the moral laws. Those races that will not work, must, like the individual idler, drop behind and suffer extinction.

The Hawaiians are a race of children. It is the right and duty of the Anglo-Saxon to rule them and spread over them his higher moral standards and civilization. Our standards must be put before them and they must be made to conform to them. We must not make such mistakes as we did with the Indian and foster his indolence with fat bounties. We must not thrust statehood upon him.

Their greatest need is instruction in the key-note of our progress. There should be instilled into the fibre and marrow of their being a recognition of the mysterious power of labor. There should be among them a hundred Carlyles teaching by example and thundering by night and by day the Gospel of Work. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we are fortunate in the presence of another member of Congress, the HON. ARTHUR L. BATES, of Meadville, Pa.

ADDRESS OF HON. ARTHUR L. BATES

Mr. Smiley, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I merely propose to give two or three impressions which came to me during a delightful stay on the Hawaiian Islands, as a member of that Congressional party of which Mr. Lilley has spoken, during the early part of this summer.

To speak of the Hawaiian people as "wards of this nation" is rather incongruous. They seem to be taking pretty good care of themselves. They are however, a waning race, slowly yet surely dropping out of sight and out of importance

even on their native land. It was probably an exaggerated statement of Captain Cook, who is said to have discovered the Islands—he was, I think, the last well-known discoverer—that there were 400,000 of the Hawaiians. However, that may be there are now only about 30,000; but there are 60,000 Japanese; and there are some 25,000 Chinese; and there are some 20,000 Portuguese and a sprinkling of other races. One of the most interesting features of the Island life is the utmost good nature in which the representatives of different races and climes and nations of this globe dwell together in peace and in harmony there.

Our party devoted one day to visiting the schools of Honolulu and also those in other parts of the Island. The public schools are to my mind the greatest evidence of progress that we saw during our stay. In one of the school-rooms the master told us there were children sitting within those walls representing sixteen nationalities of the globe. There were Hawaiians to be sure, and there were Portuguese, and there were Chinese, and there were Japanese, and there were Spaniards; there were Germans, and there were French, and all studying the same lessons; all learning the English language; all being inculcated with American ideas and reciting together in unison in, "one country, one language, and one flag." Now when we speak of wards of the nation, we must speak of all these foreigners, or all of our fellow-citizens, I should say, who dwell together in unity and harmony on these Islands. The Chinese and the Japanese and the Portuguese are as much wards of the nation as are the Hawaiians, and possibly entitled to a little more attention, because of their having so lately settled there. And I could not help noticing and making some casual study of the two races—the Chinese and the Japanese,—in their relation to society, and in their relation to the development and the prosperity of the Islands. The sturdiness of the Chinese character, his utter worthiness, and his ability not only to work but to work faithfully and industriously, and in a sense to become a good citizen, is contrasted with the more undesirable character of the Japanese, who represented the Mikado there. For I believe it is the rank and file of the population of a nation which, after all, will be reflected in its government. I believe that while Japan has a more progressive government at the present time, in conquering China, in conquering Russia, that after all, the character of the Chinese is much higher and much nobler and much more trustworthy than that of the people of Japan. I believe that when the present inefficient government of China is once thrown off, she will emerge from her

long sleep and take her place with the nations of the earth. That is true in all history, and I believe it will be true in the long run in those two nations, that the country whose populace, whose people, have the most stability of character, will eventually reflect that character and those attributes in their government. That was true in old Rome. She withstood all of the wickedness of her rulers for more than two hundred years; as long as her people remained true; there were the cruelties of Caligula, the wickedness of the Neros, but as long as her legions were brave and her people virtuous she flourished, notwithstanding the impotence and the wickedness of her rulers. And she only fell when the people of Rome allowed civic virtue to decay. The characteristics reflected in the people who live there in Hawaii from those two great empires, China and Japan, tell a story which it is impossible to refute. I believe that of the two the Chinese are more desirable for entrance into the United States than the Japanese. I do not know whether that sentiment meets with the approval of anyone here or not, but it is my view of the case.

They intermarry there with the utmost freedom. The Hawaiian people intermarry with the Chinese, the Russians, the English, the Germans, the Scotch, and the Americans. I am not a student of sociology, but I believe it would be a most interesting question, worthy of a good deal of attention and study, what is or will be the effect, of such promiscuity in marriages among peoples of different climes and nations and races. That is one of the striking features in Hawaiian life which cannot fail to attract attention and is worthy of notice.

The Hawaiians are a waning race, as I have said. One could not help but notice—it was almost pathetic—the devotion that they still show to those whom they considered born to rule, towards the old Queen Liliokalani, and towards Prince David and toward Prince Cupid, their present representative as a delegate in Washington, Kalanianaʻole. A reception was given by Kalanianaʻole and the princess at his magnificent estate. I watched the old Hawaiians as they came along down the receiving line and were presented to Prince Cupid or Prince David, and I saw aged retainers drop on their knees and kiss the hands of those whom they had known as absolute rulers in the old days. And that same interesting feature of Hawaiian fidelity toward their old rulers, we saw at the reception of Governor Carter, where the former Queen appeared and assisted in the reception, and we were told that that would be a red letter day in the history of the Islands, because it was the first time that the deposed Queen, had mingled or appeared at a reception given by an official of the United States.

Those are some of the characteristics of the Hawaiian people which impress the casual visitor. The Anglo-Saxon race will overcome; it always has; it always will. It has never pulled down its flag, and I do not believe it ever will. You speak of Hawaii, of Porto Rico, of the Philippines, and you see the Anglo-Saxon supremacy which has been and is dominating the world. You may call it exploiting, you may call it what you will, but sooner or later the Anglo-Saxon race will dominate, wherever it sets its feet, wherever it unfurls its flag. And so, in Hawaii, under that same eternal law, the Hawaiian people will fade away as the American Indian is fading away under a higher civilization, and the Anglo-Saxon people, whether they be sugar planters, whether they be coffee growers, whether they are raising pineapples, oranges and bananas and other fruits, their enterprise and their indomitable energy will be supreme and will have the highest voice and authority in governmental affairs, and will be recognized as the supreme power in the land both there and elsewhere through the civilized world. There and in the Philippines, where the flag and where the civilization and where the influences of America have been exerted, it has been for the betterment of the people. And so will it be in Hawaii and the other islands of the Pacific, where we have set foot. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We count ourselves very fortunate in the presence of the next speaker, the **HONORABLE CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD**, member of Congress from Rockland, Maine.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In 1899, for the first time in the history of a constitutional government, republican in form, the civilization, legislation and economic conditions of a temperate zone were undertaken to be superimposed as an experiment upon a tropical country, with tropical products, tropical economic conditions, inhabited by a tropical people, having, so far as they had any civilization, a tropical, an Oriental civilization; because, in 1899, this republic engaged in the experiment of governing three tropical countries—Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago.

I am not altogether able to agree in the proposition that the Philippine archipelago has to-day, or ever has had what we understand to be a Constitution. There is a most profound and substantial, and fundamental differentiation between Hawaii and Porto Rico, and the Philippine archipelago. Hawaii is of us: they are a part of the United States. When the American flag, the representative of the great Republic, ascended the staff accompanied with the Hawaiian flag, the representative of a then

small republic, the Hawaiian people in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, became the inheritors of privileges that had cost the Anglo-Saxon race billions of treasure and rivers of blood. They at once acquired the Constitutional rights and privileges under which we all live. And Hawaii is now, and undoubtedly always will remain, an integral part of the United States, and every citizen thereof and every dollar of property therein has the protection of fundamental Constitutional guarantees.

On the contrary, the Philippine archipelago and Porto Rico belong to us. They are our property, and they do not now have, and unless the policy changes they never will have, Constitutional rights and privileges, as we understand a Constitution. And there is a very profound and substantial differentiation. If it be meant that some of the rights and privileges that inhere in the Constitution of the United States have by Congressional enactment been conferred upon the residents, or the citizens of Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago, because they are not citizens of the United States under the rulings of the court, if it be meant by the language that they have a Constitution in name, that they have some of the rights, and some of the privileges in this constitution which are embodied in the Bill of Rights, and are a part of our Constitutional heritage, that they have these by Congressional enactment, I agree that that is a correct legal statement of the proposition. Unlike our Constitutional rights and privileges they can be deprived of theirs at any time. In this respect the distinction is profound and fundamental. But I never have yet heard it asserted by any competent authority that it is not within the power of this same legislative body that conferred the rights upon this dependent people to withdraw them therefrom if it sees fit so to do, and I have had some association with this question, both from a legislative and a Constitutional point of view. I have been familiar with it from the time when Judge Magoon, now acting as Governor of Cuba, undertaking to put that government, under the Platt amendment, upon its feet, so that it can stand thereon with more or less stability (probably less), who was then the chief law officer of the Insular Bureau, held that the Constitution of the United States extended to the recently acquired possessions *ex proprio vigore*, by virtue of its own force and power. In other words, popularly speaking, the Constitution followed the flag. I was also a member of the House when about three months later he announced to the Insular Bureau the fact that the Constitution did not follow the flag—a conclusion reached, perhaps, by reason of the exigencies of the situation. I may say in passing that both of these opinions were fairly good illustrations of dialectical constitutional argumentation—large words, but very adequately expressing the situation.

Now let me call your attention very briefly to a few important considerations that enforce the profound distinction existing between Hawaii and the Philippine archipelago and Porto Rico, and in passing I may say that the United States did not create in Hawaii necessarily the ability and capacity for self-government, because everything that exists in that territory to-day was in full flower of its development before the United States annexed it and made it a part of the United States—a development by virtue of their own self-government. And I may also say that the people of Hawaii have had since 1899 a full-fledged territorial government exercising every power and every right, and every privilege that is exercised by any person sitting before me except the privilege to vote for the President of the United States and to elect members of Congress, and the Governor and Secretary of the Territory. They have a right to have it said that they have exercised that power with a very fair degree of conservatism and patriotism under all circumstances.

I was a member of the House of Representatives when the sainted and lamented William McKinley sent to that House one of his most memorable messages in which he said that it was the plain duty of the representatives of the people of the United States to give to the people of our new possessions—Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago—the same equality of taxation that prevailed throughout the balance of the United States. I remained a member of that House. I may say now that I believed in that declaration then, and I believe in it now. (Applause.) In that same message I think was contained this language, more or less perhaps of an amplification of the idea, quoted by your president in his very admirable speech that he made at the opening of this Conference, "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a great trust. The question is not, Will it pay? but, Will we do what is right?" It is quite clear that any discrimination against them in taxation, and especially in tariff taxation, would be an exploitation. I remained a member of that Congress until I saw the Congress of the United States, the House of Representatives and the Senate, concurring therein, enact a piece of legislation that was a deliberate and express and a premeditated violation of that admonition of the President of the United States, when it discriminated against Porto Rico by imposing a tariff against her products of fifteen per cent. to remain thereon until Porto Rico could be able to declare that she could raise sufficient revenue, so she would not need the fifteen per cent. duty, to aid her in carrying on her governmental affairs; and the deliberate and express premeditated purpose, the declared purpose of the Porto

Rican legislation was to lay the foundation and establish the precedent under and by virtue of which the discriminating tariff now exists against the Philippine archipelago. I believed then and I believe now, not only that plain duty but Constitutional right required us to treat the people of Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago as we treat all citizens of the United States. (Applause.) Believing so then I voted so then, and believing so now I vote so now. I want to state, if I may, my conception of a Constitutional right. I fully believe in the expression found in the Scriptures that "God made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and when I believe it I believe that it means all nations—white men, Caucasians, black men, yellow men, or red men; from my conception it means all men. I want to say to you, in my judgment and with my conception of Constitutional law, that Constitutional law in its highest sense and its profound scientific signification is founded upon fundamental eternal right; and fundamental eternal right, natural rights, were not conferred upon people, as the case may be, by virtue of any written Constitution, but the Creator invested His creatures with natural inherent, fundamental, inalienable eternal rights, and He invested all men equally alike. They do not enjoy them equally alike to be sure. The Constitution of the United States, consummated in 1787, was not a discovery of fundamental principles, it was not the assertion and creation of eternal, fundamental, inherent rights; the only thing that gives to it the title to be called the Chief of the great achievements of human reason, is the fact that there was in 1787 crystallized in the form of a written Constitution, inherent, profound, eternal rights, wherein they were guaranteed to us beyond the power of any legislative body, by a majority, however large, hysterical or vicious, to infringe or impair. This is the great glory of the Constitution of the United States. And from my conception, wherever the power exercised by the government existing by virtue of the Constitution of the United States is exercised, and wherever people exist that owe allegiance to that government exercising and operating under that Constitution and controlled by it, those people under those circumstances are entitled to the full guarantee of all the rights provided for and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. And for that reason you will infer that I did not agree with the conclusions of the Supreme Court of the United States, when they held that we had acquired territory that belonged to us, inherited by a people bound to our allegiance, subject to our control, bound to be controlled by us, owing allegiance to the government of the United States, but not vested by virtue of that allegiance or by that control, with the fundamental, inherent, constitutional

rights, the principal of which was the right of uniform taxation. And that is the foundation of the whole proposition so far as its economic features are concerned in connection with the United States and the Philippine archipelago. It was a violation of the declaration of the President of the United States of what was our plain duty, and in my judgment, a violation of their constitutional rights and privileges. I had the privilege and I improved it on the floor of the House of Representatives of expressing my views thereon in a somewhat extensive manner, undertaking to demonstrate, from my point of view, that we could not legislate in violation of that provision of the Constitution; but a majority of one of the Supreme Court, with inconsistent and antagonistic reasoning, no three men of the Court being able to agree upon the reasons by which they reached their conclusion, finally held that we could so legislate; and we have since that time so legislated, hence the Philippine tariff. But so far as I am concerned, the law stands with me as I believe it was then, and what I believe to be our plain duty. I shall continue individually in my humble way, so far as my voice and my vote is concerned, to follow my view of what I consider our plain duty is. And we will not have any tariff war between the Philippine archipelago and Porto Rico and the United States if I have my way about it. (Applause.) It will be entirely eliminated.

Now I want to say a few words on some features involved in the Hawaiian question. I do not think the only question in Hawaii is the Japanese or the Chinese question, although I agree that that is one very important question. I want to say, first, that there is a Hawaiian question. It is a melancholy and a painful and a pathetic reflection, that the Hawaiian race, lovable, teachable, mild, hospitable, gentle and kindly, is one of the most conspicuous illustrations of a fundamental historical fact, that the contact of an aboriginal race with the superior race, if you please, always results in the absorption by the aboriginal race of the vices and the vicious elements of the civilization vastly faster than they succeed in acquiring the virtues. That is a very uncomfortable and disagreeable fact. I think it is a well-recognized thing in connection with this question. I do not go so far as to say that the fact that the Hawaiians are fading out very rapidly is not to be attributed in some degree to the great onward march of civilization and the presence of a stronger race, and not attributed as a whole to the unfortunate suggestions to which I have referred. Although I have not the slightest question that the missionaries that visited those islands some sixty years ago were of at least two characters. Now there were some that were missionaries of the Cross, entitled to all praise and great credit for the good they accomplished,

and there were others of an entirely different character, and they were fully as numerous. As near as I can find out, they were much more insistent and effective than were the missionaries of the Cross themselves in Hawaii. Now that may account somewhat for the unfortunate decimation of the race. But this should be said: When Congress created a territorial government and vested the people of Hawaii with the privilege and laid upon them the responsibility of governing themselves, about eighty or ninety per cent. of the people of Hawaii who took that responsibility were native Hawaiians. The immense majority of the people that have been governing Hawaii since 1899 are native Hawaiians. Good or bad, well or ill, no matter what their dispositions and characteristics may be, they have been exercising this privilege under these circumstances. Ninety-five per cent of the property that now pays the taxes of the territory of Hawaii, that maintains its schools, that builds its roads, that supports its judiciary, that pays all the principal expenses, is owned by less than five per cent of the population, and about ninety per cent of the people having practically no stake in the property involved, have had, and now exercise, the responsibility of assessing the taxes for the other people to pay, and the privilege of disbursing the taxes raised under those circumstances. There are very few Anglo-Saxon communities that can safely stand that test, where the electorate knows practically nothing of the property to be assessed, and the money to be disbursed by public expenditure, according to the wishes of those who feel no burden of raising the sums disbursed; and it is to be said to the credit of these people that they have exercised that trust up to date in a reasonably successful, patriotic and intelligent way. They have accomplished in that respect more than I should certainly have expected them to accomplish.

Now, just a word in relation to education *per se*. I have called attention to the fact that they had education in Hawaii before the Stars and Stripes floated there. We visited the schools of Honolulu, which I suppose are among the finest in the island of Hawaii. Now it is true that there is very little of what is called race prejudice in Honolulu; but it is not true that there is not a recognition of the fact that there are races in Honolulu. We visited the public schools maintained at the public expense. And I have not any doubt there were found there, as stated by Brother Bates, at least sixteen different nationalities. But I noticed one thing; in all these schools from ninety to ninety-five per cent of the scholars attending the public schools in Honolulu were either native Hawaiians, Japanese, Chinese, or Portuguese and not five per cent of them Caucasian, or white people. It ought to be said that the great bulk of the white people in Honolulu,

not necessarily because of race prejudice, but possibly because of the natural selection that develops under these circumstances, send their children to the college at Oahu at a cost of from \$75 to \$100 per scholar; and nearly all of the scholars in Oahu are white scholars. All other races are admitted, but as a rule they do not go. That tends to furnish more or less of a solution of the race question, so far as children are concerned. I have not the slightest doubt but that the children in Honolulu, whether they are Japanese or Chinese, or Portuguese, or mixtures of the whole or either, and the white children associate on terms of perfect equality, yet when it comes to the question of education they largely segregate themselves and go to different schools. I want to say just another word about the schools of the Island. It ought to be said for Hawaii that the schools in that territory today cannot be excelled by the schools in any section of the great country in which we live. I saw there the finest public school building I ever saw with the finest up-to-date appliances, with everything that was convenient and handy and even luxurious. And we had the great pleasure of listening to an exercise performed under the direction of a distinguished white gentleman in charge of that school, (eighty or ninety per cent of the scholars having very little white blood in their veins), that I have never seen equalled, and never expect to see excelled. And this was the character generally of the schools throughout the Islands.

What is Hawaii from a really substantial business point of view? What is any community or country from a business point of view except the great substantial industry or industries that furnishes or furnish its backbone, without which it cannot live. There is very little of consequence on the Island of Hawaii except the sugar industry. There is nothing else being carried on there of any moment except perhaps the raising of pineapples, and a successful machine works. There are forty-nine corporations engaged in the manufacture of sugar in Hawaii, representing a capitalization of about \$66,000,000. They have increased their output since 1899 nearly 50 per cent. They have increased their profit thereon only one per cent. It is a tropical country; it depends absolutely upon a tropical product, and that tropical product is sugarcane. And the natural selection of human forces has demonstrated that it can only be raised successfully by tropical labor. In my judgment (I was there only about a month) a white man cannot work in any part of the territory of Hawaii as he works in the temperate zone, where you and I live. He cannot produce the same results. He cannot work in the

cane fields. Of the laborers on those plantations they had only 26 unskilled Anglo-Saxons; they had 20,957 Japanese; they had 1,914 Chinese; they had 2,288 Portuguese. What does that mean? It simply means that the Japanese, Chinese and Portuguese are the only people who can successfully cultivate sugar cane.

I want to give you just a few statistics about the kind of labor and the amount received so you can appreciate the economic conditions that exist. The rate of monthly wage in Hawaii paid to Japanese and Portuguese, is about \$19 per month. And in addition to that they get house rent, their fuel, their water, and their medical attendance free. I have investigated the rate of wages paid in the United States for farm labor. The rate without board I found was \$22.14 per month, and in Louisiana, the section of the United States that competes with Hawaii the rate of wage paid is \$18 per month as against \$19 and more per month in Hawaii with house rent, fuel, water and medical attendance thrown in. And it seems to me that under these circumstances the Hawaiian laborer, the Japanese, Chinese and Portuguese gets full more compensation than the laborer in the same industry in the United States. It ought to be said for the men engaged in the sugar industry, the corporations, that they have, in my judgment, exercised a liberal, progressive and patriotic attitude in connection with the question of the introduction of the right kind of labor and its proper utilization in Hawaii.

A great deal is said in Hawaii about the introduction of small farms and small holders. Do you realize the fact that about 80 per cent of the land that is susceptible for the cultivation of sugar cane is now under cultivation? And do you realize further the fact that all land that is arable in the archipelago is simply that surrounding the mountains, which were thrown up during volcanic upheavals, and running up to the foothills of the mountains from the seashore, one, two, eight or ten miles as the case may be, and that when you get outside of that zone, practically nothing can be cultivated or tilled to advantage in the Hawaiian archipelago except sugar? I haven't time to speak of the extent to which other agricultural products such as pineapples, coffee, etc., can be raised.

Why do not we have this labor Americanized? It is not being rapidly Americanized. The Japanese are a great factor in it. It is said we are not Americanizing the Japanese very rapidly. That is true. The Japanese do not seem to be ashamed of the country from which they come, and up to date I have not learned of any very good reason why they

should be ashamed thereof. On the contrary they have a right to be gratified by the fact that they come from a country known as Japan, because there is no other country in any other land, civilized or uncivilized, Pagan or Christian, and I do not bar from that comparison the Republic of the United States of America, that can show the same degree of industrial economic and warlike development compared with the preceding period that the Japanese have shown during the last fifty years, and they are entitled to the credit of it. Every Japanese has the opportunity in Hawaii to attend the public schools; they also have their own schools. There is a prejudice in Hawaii over the fact that they have their Japanese schools, but I take this ground upon that proposition. I have no objection to the children of the Japanese being educated in Japanese history and being familiar with Japanese traditions, and if it be true that the education of these children in English history and their knowledge of our country, and its achievements and its developments, is not able to satisfy them of our superiority, I am perfectly willing, so far as I am concerned, to yield the palm to them. Let them adhere to their country. But this ought to be said; the atmosphere in Hawaii is not favorable to the Americanizing of either Japanese or Chinese. This may not be a palatable fact, but in my judgment it is true. No person will become Americanized or become part of our country unless he is able to localize himself in some part thereof; and by that I mean, to acquire a status in the country, to become attached to the soil, to own real property therein. I could not find in Hawaii any enthusiasm over the proposition that a Japanese should be allowed to buy an acre, two acres or ten, or that the Chinese should be allowed to do the same thing.

I agree perfectly with all the gentlemen who have addressed the Conference upon the great proposition that with the proper application of American ideas and American notions we will get the proper results; but we must create the conditions that will produce the results; and when they are created, we may expect the results to follow. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our good friend, REV. D. C. HUGHES and his wife, father and mother of our Governor, are obliged to go to-morrow. We would be glad of a single word from the REV. MR. HUGHES.

The Rev. D. C. Hughes responded briefly, expressing his appreciation of the value of the conference and his pleasure

in being in attendance. Referring to our duties to the dependent races he quoted the Scriptures "He that would save his life shall lose it; and he who would lose his life for my sake shall save it." "The United States," declared Mr. Hughes, "will lose its life if it should selfishly throw aside the millions of those peoples who have been under bondage, which has resulted in their ignorance and helplessness for so many centuries, but now in the providence of God have been placed under our care."

The Conference then adjourned until the following morning at 10 A. M.

Fifth Session

Friday Morning, October 25, 1907

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall take up Porto Rico this morning. The first speaker is the REV. DR. C. J. RYDER, Corresponding Secretary of the American Missionary Association.

PORTO RICO: THE ISLAND AND THE PEOPLE

ADDRESS OF REV. CHARLES J. RYDER, D. D.

I visited Porto Rico in 1902. Conditions have doubtless materially changed since that time. I speak of the island and the people as I found them, having taken considerable pains to discover the real conditions, and such a study may be of advantage in showing how much has been accomplished and how serious the outlook was at this earlier period.

The topography of the island it is necessary to understand in order to understand the conditions. Around the edge is a narrow plain or plateau. Rising from this plain are the rolling foothills and above these the mountains of the interior. The superficial area of the island is 3,606 square miles. Porto Rico is about three-fourths as large as Connecticut. It is sometimes called "The Island of the Sacred Cow" on account of its peculiar appearance on the map.

The fertility of the island is too well known to need comment and the variety of agricultural products almost without limit. The development of the agricultural possibilities of the island which will surely come through the industrial training given in the missionary and other schools, will certainly greatly enhance its importance. The balance of trade will surely turn in favor of the United States.

The original population of Porto Rico when American occupancy took place was about one million. A word of history is essential to understand the present conditions. Porto Rico was discovered in 1493 by Christopher Columbus on his second voyage across the Atlantic. A monument now stands to Columbus at the western edge of the island at Aguadilla. Here also is the Columbus spring from which it is supposed Columbus and his fellow voyagers drank from the bubbling water. The first Governor, Ponce de Leon, occupied the island in 1509, building his White House, or Casa Blanca, which still stands near San Juan. Ruthless and cruel mistreatment of the Carib Indians, who occupied the islands, is the unfortunate history of the Spanish govern-

ment. A constitutional government was established in 1870, however. African slavery, which was introduced in 1531, was abolished in 1873. The American flag was raised over San Juan October 18, 1898. So much for the history. The present condition of the population modified more or less by the influences which this history presents, is of especial importance.

It seems to me that most of the visitors to the island gain a superficial view of the real conditions of the people on account of the general plan of the tourists' visit. They go from San Juan around the edge of the island reaching Ponce at the south and then taking the Military road from Ponce to San Juan. This gives one a very little view of the interior of the island. The population, roughly estimated, is about as follows: Spaniards, 100,000, living mostly around the edge of the island in the larger towns and furnishing the merchants and professional men. Emancipated slaves of African admixture, 400,000. They too largely live on the edge of the island in the flat country. Porto Ricans, 500,000. These latter are the descendants of the mixed races consisting of Spaniards and Carib Indians. They are distinct from the Negroes in the lowlands and more or less distinct from the Spaniards. I went ponyback through the heart of the mountains, studying the conditions of the Porto Ricans proper. I do not mean that there is so distinct separation between these different races that it is possible to dogmatise of conditions of each. On the other hand, to me these five hundred thousand Porto Ricans, anxious for self-government, many of them fairly enlightened and progressive men, represent the hopeful future of the island. The Spaniards were more or less unreconciled to American occupancy and naturally so. The Negroes in our southern states are not to be compared with the Negroes of Porto Rico. They seemed a very discouraging peasantry. The Porto Ricans proper offer hopeful material for development and of representative government.

The density of the population was a great surprise. In the United States the population averages twenty persons to the square mile. In the Philippine Islands the average is sixty, while in Porto Rico there are 270 to the square mile.

The illiteracy at the time of American occupancy was appalling. Eighty-five per cent. of the population could neither read nor write in any language. The United States Government has provided educational facilities for about one hundred thousand children. The total enrollment of school age is 350,000. This leaves something like 200,000 unschooled children in the island.

There has been no denominational rivalry in the island. There was only one protestant church at the time of American occupancy and that had been closed for some time. It was a Church

of England society at Ponce. The Roman Catholic Bishopric was established in 1512. The domestic, social, educational and spiritual condition of the people in the island has, therefore, been entirely dependent upon this one branch of the Christian church.

In entering the island the various denominations held a conference and agreed that rivalry and denominational discord should never be allowed in the development of Christian and missionary effort.

The American Missionary Association, representing the Congregational work in the island, has six churches with a total membership of 481. Blanche Kellogg Institute at Santurce, the gateway of the island, is maintained by the Association. The plan of instruction here is to teach especially girls and boys to some extent along lines of industrial as well as intellectual instruction.

While in the island I visited nearly all the Catholic churches at the large centers and also the various protestant churches and missions. I want to bear my testimony to the progressive methods which have been recently introduced and of the devotion and efficiency of the great body of teachers and missionaries of the various denominations. It seemed to me that the official language of the island ought to be the English. If the island is to be held by America certainly in the courts, in the reports of the public schools and in official documents the language of the nation of which the island is a part, should be the language of the island. Another suggestion that occurred to me was that industrial training should be made a large feature of the public instruction. The agriculture of the island heretofore has been mostly slovenly and unsystematic. With the fertility of the soil that would make it a veritable garden of Eden, the careless methods of agriculture have produced but insufficient results. In the political administration of the island I was impressed with the dignity and character of the officers who have gone into it from Continental United States. I visited the courts conducted by American judges and was impressed with their strength and fairness. The impression of my visit as a whole was,—

First, the appalling conditions which the island had reached before American occupancy.

Second, the efficiency of those who were seeking to correct this condition and produce results worthy of the splendid possibilities.

Third, that without any experience in colonizing distinct islands or continents, the United States was pretty well up to its job and was pursuing wise and wholesome lines of development that would surely succeed.

Fourth, that mentality must be reckoned with; that the intellectual and religious life of a people is best promoted where there is absolute freedom of operation for the different denominational preferences and not where one form of church life and government dominate the people to the exclusion of all others. The wholesome, fraternal rivalry of different forms of Christian organization would doubtless have done much to save the people of Porto Rico from slumping into the sad and pitiable domestic, social, intellectual and religious conditions to which they had come before American occupancy. In this fact lies buried a profound truth. Unrestrained power, whether personal, governmental or ecclesiastical is dangerous. Possibly any form of organization which the Christian church has taken would have been no more efficient in the intellectual uplift and spiritual quickening of the people of the island had it been left alone without any standards of comparison and with unlimited power. Certainly the last few months have done more to bring about the awakening of the people than the three hundred years since a single church established itself in unrestrained control of the people. That kindly, fraternal rivalry is a valuable element in the development of wholesome society seems to be the testimony of history. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is HON. TULIO LARRINAGA, Resident Commissioner of Porto Rico in the United States.

PORTO RICO'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

ADDRESS OF HON. TULIO LARRINAGA

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before all let me thank the officers of the Conference for their kindness and the honor bestowed on Porto Rico by their invitation to two Porto Ricans to take part in this meeting. You have admitted Indians to these meetings, but the Indians are admitted to American citizenship, while the Porto Ricans are not.

While I have often had the occasion to hear in this country some very kind and optimistic opinions about the people of Porto Rico, I have also, not infrequently, heard some of the most unfavorable utterances in connection with their habits, morals, etc., and these sometimes supported by graphic illustrations, supposed to have been taken from actual life, all depicting our people in the darkest colors. Even here, in this very hall, you have heard some very conflicting opinions, for while Professor Lindsay, Doctor Azel Ames and others who have resided a long time in the country, holding important offices that obliged them to be in constant touch with the

people, find in our people many good features and many elements of civilization, others have presented the Porto Rican people in an entirely different light.

What is the reason of such discrepancies in opinion? Even in Porto Rico, among the American residents, you will find the same differences of opinion. Some are so enthusiastic about the country and its people that they will not suffer any unkind remarks on the subject, while others are always ready to find fault with everything, and to look down on the natives as on an inferior people.

I will not undertake the task of answering all charges against our people; I have not the time nor would I undertake to do it if I had. But I cannot let this opportunity pass without answering two charges which are daily made.

The first of these charges is laziness: It may be that our people at first sight do not show that energy so characteristic of the northern man, but when you travel from one end of the Island to the other and see those vast fields of sugar cane, tobacco, coffee, fruits of every kind and learn that not a single foreigner, whether Spanish, American, French or Germans who live in the Island has ever stooped down to till one single foot of that soil, and that this is done every day in the year, you will come to the conclusion that our native population is not as lazy as some people are disposed to represent it. The striking off of office work at noon on Saturdays was never known in the country before. Our courts of Justice were never known to adjourn in summer time; many private offices are seen in our cities working to very late hours in the night. The rule for our laboring class has always been until lately from six to six; with one hour for breakfast and rest; and this for a very small salary. I am a civil engineer by profession and was engaged in railroad work in this country in my younger days and have learned what the northern man can do; but when I went back to Porto Rico and saw my men working eleven hours in succession, knee deep in the mud throwing up dirt from the pits in building bridge foundations and this under the scorching sun of the tropics, I came to the conclusion that they were not the laziest people in the world.

The other charge that I mean to take up is one often made and one that has even found its way to this conference. It is that we are a people without principle and that political parties are led by a few leaders who only strive to obtain offices.

This is a charge that can only be produced by those who have not taken the trouble of studying our political history.

As far back as the beginning of the last century our people had at times elected men to represent us at the metropolis and it was done against the opposition of the Governor, then called the Captain General. When in 1873, a republican form of government was established in Spain, and Spain extended that form of government to Porto Rico, we elected sixteen representatives to the Spanish Courts, on a reform platform, one of whose planks was the abolition of slavery. Men were found amongst those who accepted election who were themselves slave owners, and who were committed to obtain abolition of slavery with payment to owners of slaves, if possible, or without it, if there was no other way. They drew no salary, whatever, and had to pay their own expenses, yet fought and conquered, and slavery was abolished by a flash of the wires from Madrid. If you can show me political leaders with a better record in any country I will willingly admit the charge.

Powerful was the Conservative or Spanish party in the island; the natives that sided with them were given the best offices and honors in the land. Yet their number could be counted by the fingers of the hand. That we, as a people, have no principle, and are only led by a few office-seekers can only be affirmed by those who do not know the history of our political struggle for the last forty years, previous to the American occupation of the Island.

But why such persistent desire to represent the natives before the American people as unworthy of any rights or of any help. Is it, perhaps, that there is somewhere some injustice, some moral wrong that it is necessary to cover, to justify, by depicting our people as morally inferior, and unworthy of any rights, of any support? We have, indeed, been very unfortunate, Mr. Chairman; Congress has been very unjust to us, while on the other hand we have been charged with every indignity that a people is capable of.

As I have said before I do not mean to take up such charges, or to answer them. It would be an endless task. If they are true, let them stand; if they are false, they will crumble down of their own weight as time wears on.

What I propose to do tonight is to give you in a very short compass the sentiment of the people of Porto Rico towards the United States. I believe this is what you expect of me and this I shall endeavor to do, no matter what others may think, no matter how great the responsibility may be.

The geographical situation, size, population of the Island of Porto Rico you all know.

It lies between the 17° 50' and the 18° 30' of latitude and longitude 65° 3' and 67° 15' west. The temperature ranges from 50° to 100°. Its area is 3,600 square miles with about one million inhabitants or 264 inhabitants to the square mile. It is about three times larger than the State of Rhode Island and is more thickly populated than any State in the Union. Of the population 72 per cent is white and 28 per cent negroes or mixed.

The Island was colonized in 1508 by Ponce de Leon before he came over to colonize Florida in your continent. From that time until the Treaty of Paris in 1808 when it was ceded to the United States it belonged to the Crown of Spain.

In 1900 the Congress of the United States passed a law granting Civil Government to the Island. This civil government consists of a Governor appointed by the President. He also appoints eleven men to form a body called the Executive Council or upper house of the Insular Legislature, the lower house being formed by 35 delegates elected by the people. Out of the eleven members of the Executive Council, six are Americans and these are at the same time the heads of the Departments.

It is specially with the complexion of this government that the people are not satisfied. They cannot understand how a democratic nation could give such a government to a people with a civilization four centuries old. They feel that after having struggled for so many years against Spanish rule, and after having obtained all the rights and liberties they were entitled to, they should not be deprived of them by the American Congress.

Of course there is a class in Porto Rico who are satisfied with the present conditions of affairs; these are the aliens. Their influence in the affairs of the Island has diminished and if the Government passes into the hands of the people, that influence will be still further reduced.

On the economical side of our life, the people of Porto Rico have also some grievances.

The exchange of our money was very injudiciously managed. In a few days more than six million silver pesos were exchanged and reduced to less than four, and this produced such hardship in our economical life that it is often thought that the Island suffered as much by that measure as it had just suffered by the cyclone.

The enforcement of the Dingley tariff, without having previously provided for a protection to our coffees, which was our main staple, was also a terrible blow to the country. The European markets, where we sold our coffee at high prices,

were at once closed to us, and as the price of the article went down at the same time, our coffee farmers were ruined. They had to sell their farms to pay their debts, or give them up to creditors, or have them sold at public auction by the Department of the Treasury to pay the taxes. Thus one of the best features of our industrial condition has disappeared. Coffee was the poor man's crop. Today all the small farms are in a few hands.

Sugar and tobacco are, however, prosperous crops. Capital has come to the Island, although not in large quantities, and our trade has increased to figures never attained before.

Previous to the American occupation and for many years before there existed in the Island a large party, although not organized, which stood for annexation to the United States. Many Porto Ricans were sent every year to be educated in the United States; others had visited this country and were in commercial relations with different ports, and vessels from Boston, New York and Baltimore were constantly plying between Porto Rico and the American ports. Your early history and that of your prominent men was well known to our school boys.

You all have heard that the American army was received with open arms by the Porto Ricans, and that, at a time when we had no grudge against Spain—for Spain had given to Porto Rico all that we had been fighting for during forty years. That reception was the missionary work of hundreds of thousands of Porto Ricans who had been educated in this country and who had gone back, and day after day, right before the Spanish element, had taught our people to revere American democracy, and love the American people. That is the reason why we received the American army with open arms; and from that day on, the heart of the Porto Rican has been with the American people.

We have had some grievances with the American Congress, it is true. We hold—why not state so honestly—that Congress has not been entirely fair to us. We never expected that we were to have in the line of political rights any less than we had at the time of the American occupation. We never expected that we had come into a protectionist country, to have our markets in Europe closed, without having due compensation within the protectionist system of the country. This is our contention.

As to the question that is often put to me, "What is the true feeling of the Porto Rican? Is there general anti-American feeling there?" I most assuredly say, "No." To prove to you that there is no such a sentiment, we have the history of

the last three years. We have been cooperating with Governor Winthrop. We have been allowing the Americans there the money to build our railroads and to educate our people. We are cooperating with a good will. I am telling you the truth. Our people are not discouraged; we are still hopeful. We believe that all will come right in time. We believe, and every Porto Rican believes, that the final destiny of the Porto Rican peoples is to become part and parcel of the Constitution of the United States. We firmly believe, Mr. Chairman, that some day in the near future somebody will step in and have a word to say in this controversy for the rights of Porto Rico. I have an unshaken faith in the fair, in the good, in the honest American people! (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear MRS. SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY, who is the wife of the former Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico.

NEW ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM IN PORTO RICO

REMARKS OF MRS. SAMUEL MCCUNE LINDSAY

Mr. Smiley, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The topic that I have to discuss this morning is "New Aspects of the Problem in Porto Rico." When this territory came into our possession, everyone realized that new forces were shaping in the world, and that new ideals of modern history were being drawn up. But it has taken a number of years for those forces to become clear to the mind, or for those ideals to take a definite formulation. To-day I think we notice in the ferment of China and India the fact that the whole world-problem is one, and that we must consider Porto Rico and its problem as a part of a great, general awakening, and that everything that concerns that island must be connected with world-forces and with world-events.

Two very clear factors that are coming into modern history are (1) *racial distribution*, and (2) *racial reconstruction*. The full unfolding of the first of these is so distant that we cannot perceive the final consequences, or what the line of development will be. We all recognize, however, that as the Orient awakens, and as the people learn new ways of civilization, they will also need more room, and there will be a great outflowing in some direction from those Oriental countries. Exactly where this migration will go, no man can as yet predict.

The second problem, racial reconstruction, is very much more clearly outlined. We see that India is now undergoing a process of change, which marks an epoch in Indian History. We perceive that China in the course of a very few years will have over-

turned the ways, conditions and customs of many centuries. We see that South America has moved into modern life in such a way that her cities are now coming into direct competition with northern centers; and we can understand that this process of racial reconstruction is not only the greatest that the world has ever known, but it will also be most influential in influencing and carrying on this wonderful inter-racial era in which we are to-day living.

The first point that attracts us in Porto Rico in regard to this world movement is the subject of *education*. When we first went down into the island, the first problem was to put a public school system into Porto Rico with the greatest possible speed; to enlist as many of these children as we could in school armies; to import from America the best, most highly trained teachers we could obtain, and to bring up in Porto Rico a generation of native teachers who could eventually take charge of those schools. That was done. And it was very well done. But to-day we realize that the problem has taken on an entirely new aspect, because in our own land our own system of education is to-day being brought into close scrutiny with the world-known systems of old. We are beginning to ask ourselves: Is our system of education the very best for our own country, or has it possibilities of adaptation, just as it stands, to tropical races? And the real problem is: In what way shall we educate a tropical race to bring out all the fine and noble qualities that are inherent in tropical nations, and at the same time carry on the culture of Greece and Rome, and the proud ideals of Anglo-Saxon liberty and justice?

This, it seems to me, can never be mastered in a day or in a brief series of generations. It is a problem for posterity. All we can do in our lifetime is to put the utmost study and research on this subject, and to compare our system of education with the temperamental traits of different races, and then see in what way racial education can best be applied. We have two very valuable sources for comparison. We have the influence and example of England in her governmental schools of India, and her other colonies and dependencies; we also have the influence of the Dutch system of education in her colonies, which in many ways are very finely handled; and we also have the great network of missionary schools, whose history covers more than one hundred years. It is not without a definite and specific study of missionary schools as they exist in foreign lands, that we can realize what triumphs have already been achieved in the intellectual development of the tropical races—nor can we realize otherwise what possibilities of social control are before us if we are able to combine all these various forces and these various powers

in such a way as to educate a tropical race in the grandest way.

The next point that comes before us is the subject of *governmental sanitation*. No one realizes until he or she has lived in a tropical country how much one owes to the governmental service that takes hold of those old races and those old communities, and that goes through those old towns and cities, and puts them in what we would call modern living order for the families that come there.

Sanitation is such a new study that we cannot expect the southern, or the Oriental nations, to have handled that problem in the way that England, Germany and America have mastered it in these times; but that subject is only in its beginning, and when we think of the sanitation in Porto Rico, and what the government has already accomplished—it has done marvels in the way of vaccination of the inhabitants (absolutely exterminating smallpox in the island), in paving the streets, in looking after the water supply, in going through houses and putting them in sanitary shape, in introducing all sorts of new and modern forms of sanitary engineering—we realize that that little island is only one corner of the great constructive work of world sanitation upon which to-day the eyes of some of the most brilliant physicians in the world are being focussed.

It is strange that in all these centuries but little has been done for sanitation; and it is only by studying the works of England in India, in Burmah, in Egypt and in other countries where she has been working, and our own difficulties in Panama, that we can really get an idea of the immense governmental problems involved in this one question of how the ruling races shall deal with the problem of health, which means not only health for the tropical peoples, but also for our own communities and our own homes in this or any other country; since with the new means of travel the world is all one—all races are mingling—and whatever concerns the remotest corner of Porto Rico or Asia, or South America, may be the very thing that has a direct bearing on the health of our own family, or our own town.

Another question that is coming before us for serious study is the *training of statesmen*. America has been for many years a country in which really glorious ideals of patriotism, and of civic and of national service have been developed. But until a few years past those qualities of statecraft were considered only as they concerned our own country, and our own problems, with which we as a people were thoroughly familiar, and which continued conditions and ideals that had come down to us from the mother-lands. But to-day, as the statesman of America looks out over the world, he sees that American progress is now in-

extricably bound up with many problems of other worlds and other lands, and that we can no longer have a general preparation for governmental life, but we must have some large scheme of political development and training. It must be adjusted first for children, then, as they grow up into manhood, for young men; and then by experience and opportunity, as older men, they shall gradually—not to-day or to-morrow—be able to take hold of these immense world problems that are now coming before us, and shall be able to rule history not only in the most enlightened and humane way, but also in the most spiritual and intellectual way that the world has ever known.

Does one realize what any governmental official now going into colonial countries, either the Philippines, Porto Rico, India, or any other land that is under another power, should be master of, in order to fill ably the position which he holds? In the first place he must by nature have so deep a racial sympathy that he can understand the whole history and temperament of the race with which he deals; he must be able to interpret its thoughts and dreams; he must also understand tropical architecture, civil law (the new code and the old code), judicial procedure, sanitary engineering, civil engineering, law in its ultimate aspects, history, philosophy, many forms of religious faith and practice, sociology and every other topic, almost, that one can think of or imagine! Such preparation cannot be made on the jump or on the spur of the moment. We must set new forces in operation which will produce a generation of great statesmen who will handle nobly the glorious problems with which it is our privilege to deal.

And the last problem I have to speak of is *the making of earnest, consecrated and spiritual homes in the tropics*. It is not only the men who matter, but the women, too, because they have the problem of developing cultured homes in the midst of a totally new environment, climate and conditions. This requires even deeper study than the study of statecraft, because it concerns the fundamental thing in this world, the bringing up of children, and the training of a race that shall carry on the ideals that have been bought with blood, and that have come down to us from our fathers. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall now have the pleasure of hearing from MR. JORGE BIRD ARIAS, of Fajardo, Porto Rico.

THE TRUE CONQUEST OF PUERTO RICO

ADDRESS OF MR. JORGE BIRD ARIAS

I have carefully read everything that has been said here before me, in regard to my native land, and while I recognize the best of intentions, I must frankly say that many errors could be pointed

out, some of them involving great injustice. I have had, myself, many occasions to rectify the erroneous opinion of the people who, after a short visit to this country, were judging the nation from what they saw in the large cities, where their time had been spent in pleasure.

We must all admit that it is a question of years to properly study a country, and to form a conscientious idea of its people, its customs, habits, virtues and defects—in a word, all those things which constitute the individuality of a nation. Even then to properly judge the people as to their capacity, both social and political, one must consider the conditions which have surrounded them, and then weigh their progress with the chances and opportunities they may have had for advancement and improvement. If Puerto Rico should be judged under this rational light, very few people in the world could claim a better right to good judgment and admiration. I can assure you that the Puerto Ricans have had very small chances, and their present state of civilization is mostly due to their love of progress and their untiring efforts for improvement.

Attacked by filibusters and buccaneers in the earliest times of settlement; molested by plagues; worried and disturbed by sickness and epidemics; afflicted by cyclones (of which there were twelve of importance in the past century); with no vote and no hand in the administration of his own interests until in the last period of the Spanish sovereignty, the Puerto Rican, never disheartened, but struggling with misfortune and hard luck, time and again, started to rebuild his lost fortune, contending with the great financial difficulty of a scarcity of money and an enormous rate of interest.

Worst of all was the lack of schools and other centers where to educate their children. The native element, always ambitious of learning, crossed the seas and went to the European centers, and came, later on, to this country, bringing back to the island with them not only scientific knowledge, but also a knowledge of true government. The willingness of parents to undergo the greatest sacrifices to educate their children was and is still a convincing proof of their progressive ideas. There are hundreds of Puerto Rico boys and girls to-day in the schools of this country, and amongst them a great many whose families are so poor that you could hardly believe they could afford to keep them here. Very pathetic stories could be told of them. Most of the prominent men of to-day, in Puerto Rico, could tell of similar sacrifices made by their parents to keep them in the Universities of Europe and of this country, when there was no chance for education in the island.

I have not come here to praise my countrymen, but to do them justice, and to put them before you such as they are,

asking you all to help these brave, patient and long-suffering people to obtain under your glorious Flag, their liberty and their happiness. I have called the Puerto Ricans brave people, and I think they are and deserve to be so called, for there is, in my opinion, more bravery in the long and tenacious struggle of the weak, to conquer slowly and at long intervals, their natural rights, without other arms than patience, true knowledge of their rights, and absolute confidence in the Almighty God, than in the strong and mighty who conquer them by force of arms.

The same spirit of independence and the same love of liberty which the Cubans showed in their Titanic struggles, existed in the hearts of the Puerto Ricans. They were not cowards. They were simply wise and thoughtful, and knowing that owing to the size, natural conditions and resources of their little Island, there was not the slightest hope in revolution, trusted their efforts entirely to evolution.

On the battlefields of Cuba died many Puerto Ricans, and many others reached the highest ranks in the army, thus proving their bravery and their love of liberty.

Another good quality of the Puerto Ricans' faithfulness was shown by those who were serving in the Spanish Army and Navy, who were loyal to the end, and after the defeat of Spain, followed her Flag to the old continent, abandoning forever their beloved Island, their families and friends.

The abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico presents another very good example of human feeling and love of liberty. Long after slavery had been abolished in the English Colonies, it continued to exist in Puerto Rico, and in 1861, when the Civil War broke out in this country, there were over fifty thousand slaves in the Island. At that time, a group of Puerto Ricans, who became later the apostles of the cause of abolition, commenced the work of redeeming young slaves at the time of their baptism, at the rate of \$25.00 for each one—the price which had been fixed by the Military Governor for redemption. Those were the first slaves turned to liberty in Puerto Rico. Their work was kept alive and active, and day by day the idea gained ground. When Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, decided to grant to her Colonies a more liberal and expansive form of government, representatives of the different Colonies were summoned to Spain, and those sent by Puerto Rico demanded as the basis of reform for the Island, the complete abolition of the slavery of the black. Amongst the Commissioners there were two who owned slaves, which added so much more strength to their demands.

Their efforts failed at first, but in 1873, after the resignation of King Amadeo, the Republican Legislature unanimously passed a law declaring the immediate and absolute abolition of slavery in the Island.

The Puerto Rican has his defects, as all people of the world have, but he is hospitable, good-hearted, loyal, sober, law-abiding, and very easy to govern if love and righteousness are the aims of the government. He loves liberty and independence as natural rights that all free men should love, but he knows what liberty and what kind of independence such a small Island could expect and therefore has his hopes for the happiness of his people in this country, that, in my opinion, has not only the duty of helping them to attain it, but of taking advantage of this opportunity to give in Puerto Rico such example to the rest of the American countries as would conquer their confidence and their sympathy, and to the rest of the world a lesson of good honest Christian Government.

Puerto Rico came to the hands of the United States by cause of war, without the consent of its inhabitants, who were neither consulted by Spain nor the United States. Naturally the native element never feared any wrong from a nation upon which their eyes had more than once gazed in their dreams for liberty. Therefore, they accepted their fate as Providence. But in the course of time when they found that they were denied American citizenship, and that the American Flag was there as a sign of conquest, or, perhaps, as an emblem of protection only, while the Constitution had remained at home, depriving them of its benefits, a natural discontent began to take place, and it must be said that it has not disappeared yet, and will not disappear until complete justice has been done.

While Spaniards and foreigners may become American citizens in the United States or in Puerto Rico by simply following the regulations of the law, the native of Puerto Rico, who has been under the American Flag for over nine years, has no legal way of becoming a citizen of the United States, or the right of receiving the blessings of that same Constitution he has sworn to support. Even if the Puerto Ricans tried to become American citizens in this country, they could not for the simple reason that they have no nationality to renounce. I do not know of any other people in the world who are in our same position, at least, in any of the civilized nations of the world.

There is certainly something wrong in all this, and the American people ought not to stand by or consent to it any longer. The true conquest of the Island has not yet been

made, and it is still a problem which lays before this Nation. The true conquest I mean is the conquest of the heart, of love, of confidence and respect, and this is not possible unless we place ourselves on the side of the conquered, unless we deprive ourselves of all passion, personal ambition or selfishness, unless we let the torch of Christian love guide our paths.

One of the arguments set forth by those who completely lack reasons and seek some excuse for the abnormal situation which involves the present political status of Puerto Rico, is the great difference which exists between the two peoples. A policy to hasten the Americanization of the island in this line is a great mistake. It is not possible that a country densely populated and having over four centuries of existence, can be changed in a short period of time. It will take many years, and even then many things which are well-rooted to the hearts and to the minds will always remain as the peculiarity of that country. But why should we wish to hasten such radical changes? Why not allow time to modify old customs and old habits?

Let the two races with their polar-far characteristics intermingle. Let the two tendencies struggle and either win, or both recast in one of new shape and character. The Latin wit and vivacity together with the tenacity and foresightedness of the Anglo-Saxon, may develop a new type of which the nation may in the future have reason to be proud. It is a well-known fact that great men, as a rule, come from the lowest classes of society, and Puerto Rico, as I have pointed out before, has never until now had the opportunity of taking advantage of this Godly blessing for the absolute lack of proper centers of education. If it had, I can assure you that the people of that Island as a whole would rank in the first line, for there is no people in the world more eager to learn or more ambitious for fame and glory than the Puerto Ricans.

Returning to the true conquest of Puerto Rico, I may say that the ambition of the Puerto Ricans today is to have nationality and self-government. Both things are natural rights for which the American people fought many years ago, and it seems inconsistent with the history of this nation that we should be deprived of such legitimate rights. It is a great relief to our anxieties that President Roosevelt believes in American citizenship for the Puerto Ricans, and that he has recommended it to the Legislature. It is to be hoped that notwithstanding the political opposition which seems to have kept his recommendation from becoming a law, he will again recommend it in the message of the present year.

Whatever may be the future of Puerto Rico, we wish to be protected by the shade of your noble and glorious flag, and if, for any reason, the American people do not desire to extend their citizenship to the little Island now entrusted to their care, admitting it as a part of the nation, then let it be said and defined for once and forever their political situation, giving them a true self-government which will allow them to live a life of dignity and content.

Let us all and each one of us help the Puerto Ricans to become happy and contented; let us do it for them and for ourselves. Millions of dollars are yearly spent outside of the United States for philanthropic and missionary work. Why not approach these associations and point out to them where their money could do a great deal of good to help those who are now under their care and under their Flag? Why not tell Uncle Sam that moral and material help to his Islands means moral and material help to his nation? Let us show our good will and our friendship toward the Puerto Rican people, helping them in accordance with the principles of this Conference. Let us help to make the true conquest of the Island for the cause of humanity and for the glory of the American Nation. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is MR. LEONARD P. AYRES, General Superintendent of Schools for Porto Rico.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN PORTO RICO

REMARKS OF MR. LEONARD P. AYRES

Mr. Smiley, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The important social and political phases of the Porto Rican problem have been ably treated by the speakers who have preceded me; and I shall try to tell you in a very brief way of some things we have done in the school work in Porto Rico.

At the head of our school system stands the Commissioner of Education appointed by the President of the United States, with a salary fixed by the United States Congress, but paid out of the Porto Rican treasury.

I find a common idea here in the north that the expenses of Porto Rican education are defrayed from the national and not from the insular treasury. Such is not the case. All of the expenses of our school system are paid from the Porto Rican treasury, and are appropriated each year voluntarily by the Porto Rican legislature. That gives, in itself, an idea of the popular feeling in regard to education.

Our educational system, it may be fairly said, is seven years old. At the present time we have 1,300 schools. These

schools are of various classes, graded, rural, night, agricultural, high, and one normal school. The vast majority, however, are graded and rural schools. These latter in the country and in the mountain districts cover the work corresponding to the first four grades in the United States, while the graded schools in all of the 66 towns do the work of the eight grades of the standard American system. At the present time we have 70,000 children enrolled. Besides this there are about 5,000 children in the private schools of the island. Roughly speaking, this covers one-half of the immediate educational needs of Porto Rico. If we had money and teachers, we could at once enroll in our schools twice as many children as we have. If we had unlimited money and unlimited teachers, we could do more. But it is fair to state that we are now covering half of the immediate educational need and no more.

The schools are taught by American and Porto Rican teachers, in about the ratio of eight Porto Rican teachers to one American teacher. The unique feature of our system is that it is bi-lingual—all schools are taught in Spanish and in English. In the rural schools the teaching is done in Spanish, and English is taught as a special subject. In most of the graded schools the teaching is in English, and Spanish is taught as a special subject. It is, of course, at once evident that with the relatively small force of American teachers, it was necessary, in order to introduce this system, to train up a large group of Porto Rican teachers who would be able to teach in English. And this we have done. At present most of our graded schools are being taught in English by Porto Rican teachers, whom we have taught English. We maintain all the time classes in English for our Porto Rican teachers, and classes in Spanish for our American teachers. I would say, too, that this policy of bi-lingual system is with us a definite, settled policy, and not to be regarded as a transitional stage. Another thing which is important is that in this system we pay our American teachers just the same rate of wages as the Porto Rican teachers of similar grade.

When we began work nine years ago there was not a school house in Porto Rico. We have built up to date 115 school houses. Of course, we have a great many rented school buildings, but we have 115 American-built school houses, ranging in size from a one room rural school to the large masonry high school buildings. We have also converted a number of barracks into school buildings, which is perhaps the next thing to "beating the sword into the plowshare." The erection of school buildings is at best expensive in Porto Rico,

and we have settled on the definite policy of erecting masonry buildings of very substantial type, so that our work, while it may seem a little slow, is at least permanent. An interesting recent development in our building work has been the building of portable, wooden, rural school houses, which may be carried in pieces on muleback into the mountains and there erected.

In mentioning the classes of schools which we have, you may have noticed that I did not mention industrial schools. That is because we have no industrial schools. We did have them, and good ones; but what happened to them is an illustration of what is liable to happen when we try the experiment of running local self-government. They disappeared, because the native legislature last winter decided that that sort of industrial and trade teaching was not a good thing for the Porto Rican youth, and they abolished those schools by refusing to appropriate money to support them. I do not consider this important. They are coming back, by and by. But it is an illustration of the thing that will happen and must be expected.

I am sorry not to have time to touch upon many other interesting phases of our work. I shall try however, to sum up in a few words some of the more striking and important facts.

First, I wish to reiterate that we have a bi-lingual system and that this is a settled policy. Secondly, that we have established and intend to maintain a relatively high grade educational system. That we have in a measure succeeded in doing this we feel is demonstrated by the fact that at the present time our system is about seven years old, and we are graduating classes of pupils each year from each one of our high schools who are admitted on certificate to every important American college and university where admission by certificate is allowed. Third, in answer to the question, are the Porto Ricans in favor of the public schools? Yes, in spite of the occasional happenings which would seem to indicate something to the contrary; emphatically, yes, they are in favor of public schools. This is shown, to begin with, by the fact that they each year appropriate voluntarily more than a quarter of the entire income of the island for educational purposes and that this appropriation is passed each year by the Porto Rican legislature. That there is a great and widespread interest in education beyond what we can give in our local schools is eloquently proved by the fact that at present more than 500 Porto Rican young people are being supported in American colleges, professional and other

schools, by their parents; and that this is in addition to the 44 pupils who are supported here on government scholarships. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAM HARKNESS: May I ask the gentleman who has just spoken if I understood him aright that the legislature of Porto Rico refused to support industrial and trade schools, and if so, for what reason?

MR. AYRES: You understood aright. They refused to appropriate the money needed to continue the industrial schools which is, of course, tantamount to closing the schools. The motives behind are many and complex. It is, of course, very difficult to persuade the Spanish-American that our type of industrial education, where the boy goes in and actually works with his own hands, is what he wants for his son. Added to that difficulty there was a great deal of local feeling, largely based on personal grounds, which has no real relation to the problem.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to the discussion of the Platform of the Conference. DR. SAMUEL J. BARROWS, Chairman of the Business Committee, will present for your consideration a draft prepared by the Committee.

DR. BARROWS read the draft of the platform, which, after about an hour's discussion, was slightly amended and then unanimously adopted as the official utterance of the Conference.

The text of the Platform will be found on pages 7 to 10 of this report.

The Conference then adjourned until 8 P. M.

Sixth Session

Friday Evening, October 25, 1907

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall hear first this evening from one whom many of us have known and of whom all of us have heard, **DR. CHARLES A. EASTMAN**, author, formerly physician at Pine Ridge Agency, North Dakota. It is known generally that **DR. EASTMAN** is proud of the fact that he is a full-blood Sioux Indian.

ADDRESS OF DR. CHARLES A. EASTMAN

I wish to speak to you to-night on a phase of Indian civilization that I think has not been touched upon. That is, the religious apathy of the Indian to-day. You all know, no doubt, the peculiar characteristics of the North American Indian; that which is foremost in his nature is his spirituality, his love of the Great Mystery. There is scarcely a thing he says or does publicly but he looks up first in silent prayer. There is not a time when he is entering upon his daily chase but he has first held his pipe to the Great Mystery in a silent prayer. He had a Great Mystery that he loved. He never sees a beautiful lake but he thinks of the Great Mystery; he never sees a precipice like these we see around us but he thinks of the Great Mystery; he never sees a beautiful sunset but he thinks of the Great Mystery; he never sees a child born to him but he thinks of the Great Mystery; there is no moment in his life but he holds the Great Mystery in his heart.

What is my Indian to-day? He is a profane man. He had no profane language; it was unknown to him as to a child, just the same as he never knew the devil or hell until the missionary came to him. To-day he looks at the white religion as a mere business, as a profession, one of the professions of the white man that must be practiced just so; a salary is attached to it; a collection must be taken; everything must be paid for; if you pray loud, if you have a good voice to pray with you get more pay; he who can entertain the audience best gets more pay. This is the position of my Indian to-day who is educated, who has been all over Europe, all over this country, and has taken an external view of you, just the same as your snap-shot judgment of his knife and his tomahawk. He takes the same view of you to-day, and he says "White man's religion is not beyond the clouds; it is below. It is materialistic; it is only a praise meeting." It is not so with the old Indian. You can convert some of those old Indians; beautiful Christians they are. Take those now

preaching—the first converts, those converted out of the tepee by the great missionaries who came among us in the woods. These converted savages are wonderful preachers to-day; they are wonderful Christians to-day. But what is my educated Indian of to-day doing?—my Indian who has had every opportunity to improve himself? He is transported from Alaska to Pennsylvania to go to school, and when he gets through is taken back at government expense. He is clothed and fed; he has seen everything that is good. He has been in your society and seen everything, and he is back on the reservation. It is he who becomes profane, he who influences the others to believe that there is no God in the white man's soul. I never shall forget when this discussion came up, one of the old Indians said, "Ah, my Great Mystery is lost; my Great Mystery is lost! My son loves the jingling of money; he becomes materialistic; he loves to get rich quick, and he has thrown away our Great Mystery and taken nothing in place of it." My friends, I hope you will not misunderstand me. I love Christian civilization. It is beautiful! But I am telling you the situation of my Indian to-day.

The impression of civilization on my Indian is not a favorable one just now. I hope it is a necessary evil and they will soon go beyond that. I hope it will be only a step which we may go beyond and receive something better. My Indian is business-like. To be sure, he is a spendthrift, but he is a good business man as far as catching business goes. He is a good deal of a Jew now, and he will take his trinkets to these little stations and he will down these Eastern tourists who go through. He will take a shirt and say, "Here is a shirt trimmed with scalp locks. It is one of the old warriors' shirts, worth \$25." He knew that a Sioux never wore scalp locks on his war shirt. It would be sacrilege.

The Indian had a few principles that were strong and he followed them. He may be wrong and inconsistent, childlike in some things, but there is one thing in which he was right—that in his old days, before you brought us liquor, tomahawks, knives, he loved the Great Mystery. What I wish to express to you to-night is that you may have taken a great many things from us, you may have forced us out of these beautiful lands, but when you took our Great Mystery away from us it is your duty to give us one in its place, and it is your duty to-day to double your Christian work among the Indians, or turn him loose among you and let him find the Great Mystery, *your* Great Mystery himself. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: If I should attempt to specify the reasons why the Lake Mohonk Conference and all the friends of Indian

progress in this country honor MISS ALICE C. FLETCHER, I should utterly fail to adequately do so. I have the greatest pleasure in presenting to you MISS ALICE C. FLETCHER.

REMARKS OF MISS ALICE C. FLETCHER

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Conference: It is a great pleasure to me to be with you after an absence of so many years. To once more enjoy the privileges of being with my countrymen and women, who are capable of thinking broadly upon the interests of our country and of the welfare of the various peoples dependent upon us. The privilege of meeting with this Conference appeals to me with greater force after my experiences of the past summer, during which I have been nigh to the borders of Siberia, and at the Gates of Gibraltar. After traversing the continent from which our ancestors came I realize as never before how truly this is an American gathering, and the outcome of the seed planted by our forefathers, as a previous speaker has pointed out. If such gatherings as this were possible in Europe, Russia would not be seething as she is to-day, nor would Spain be sleeping as she is to-day. It is because we are able, and have here proved ourselves able, to discuss broad national questions, to differ and to agree and to be tolerant, at all times, that we have shown ourselves to be a part of that force which has made America the helpful nation that she is. Truly it is a very great responsibility to be an American citizen.

I was so fortunate as to be here at the second meeting of this Conference. I came here fresh from the field. Two years before, while I was engaged in my scientific work among the Omahas, I found at every fireside the fear of enforced removal, such as had taken place among their kindred, the Poncas, not long before. It was impossible for me to concern myself solely with myths, customs and ancient rites, and ignore the trouble that lay at the heart of every man and woman who talked to me. So, putting aside one set of note-books I took up another, and made a canvass of the tribe, ascertaining what they desired, and sent a unique little petition on to Congress. I knew very little, indeed, in those days of political matters. I heard nothing of that little petition in which the Omahas asked to have their homes secured to them. When the spring came, and let loose the streams from the icy covering of winter, I started for Washington with a great faith, saying, "It is time to go and do something for the people." So I carried the war, so to speak, into the homes of the people at Washington; for it was a question of homes, and, with the help and encouragement, as you may readily believe, of Senator Dawes, and with the help and encouragement of Mr. Haskell, who was at the head of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, I finally succeeded. Although, when I arrived in Washington, a

bill had already passed one branch of Congress having for its purpose the selling of a very large portion, and the best portion, of the Omaha Reservation, at the "request of the Indians." Commissioner Hiram Price was then at the head of the Indian Bureau. I was in his office one day wondering what I could do for the Omahas and how I should do it. I said, "I cannot help thinking, Mr. Commissioner, that that bill which is to kill the people, should be used to save them, but I do not know how to do it." Miss Cook looked up from her desk and said, "Amend the bill." I knew so little then, so I said. "What is that? I should amend it off the face of the earth!" "Do it," said the Commissioner, "do it! Get hold of the bill and do it!" I got hold of the bill and did it, and when the amended bill was signed the Secretary of the Interior asked me to carry out its provisions. I did so and allotted the Omahas their lands. That was the first practical work in severalty. It made a sort of entering wedge by practically showing that allotment in severalty could be made and it helped five years later to secure the passage of the Severalty Bill, which has truly been called the Indians' Magna Charta.

Miss Fletcher then sketched rapidly her work as an allotting agent, under the Severalty Act, among the Winnebago and the Nez Percé Indians, and said in conclusion:

These personal reminiscences are little side lights of history, and they belong to Mohonk. For it was by the sustaining power of this Conference, that it has been possible to do, not only all that has been done under the Severalty Act, but for the nation to change front toward the Indian. In 1885 Senator Dawes said, "In the past the government tried by fair means and foul to rid itself of the Indians. The present policy is to make something out of them, and everything will contribute to this policy which takes the individual Indian and treats him like a man." And that is the policy that has made the wonderful change which has occurred in the last twenty-five years. It is the recognition of the Indian as a man. You have heard since we have been here that it is now a question of administration. Pardon me if I say it is not so much administering concerning the Indian as it is administering in such a way as to protect him from the superior race. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Senator Dawes has been often mentioned to-night. I am sure the Conference will be glad to hear a word or two from his daughter, Miss ANNA L. DAWES.

REMARKS OF MISS ANNA L. DAWES

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you for the invitation to speak to you. I come to my own majority in Indian Conferences tonight, and I am glad to make a new

profession of faith to the creed of Mohonk—"A great patience, adaptability, and a mighty hope."

But I do not stand here in my own character. "Instead of the fathers are the children." Your invitation to me to speak is born of the desire to have my father represented here where so much of his work was done, and to honor his memory. I cannot tell you how grateful this is to me. "The things which are unseen are eternal," and the blessed dead who look down upon us here are of the life eternal.

Looking over the twenty-five years of Indian legislation, so much of which my father was, and thinking of his interest, and my mother's, in more than twenty years of Indian Conferences, and seeing the wonderful progress, I am glad to stand here in their stead, and greet you in the full sunlight of the new day for the Indian. I should not be my father's daughter, however, if I did not call to your mind the great opportunity of this new day. That opportunity is of two kinds, legislative and missionary. I do not think you will *forget* the Indian, but I am afraid you will *postpone* him, in the exigency of so many and so great interests and issues. I heard it said, in the beginning of this Conference, in the very able address of your Chairman, that legislation for the Indian was practically settled. I would bring to your minds that there is still great legislative opportunity and great legislative danger. It was legislation which made one state, and not two, of the Indian Territory. It was legislation which within little more than a year, has altered the whole Indian policy of the government. The Burke bill may be good or it may be bad—I do not know—but it alters the fundamental policy of the government. I was delighted yesterday, to hear my father's favorite legislative maxim, "Don't hunt with a brass band," but I want to remind you that the other man may carry on a still hunt also. A single comma once altered the whole course of a tariff. I am envying these Congressman the pleasure of coming here the first time, and I want to remind them of their great opportunity in Congress. The Indian needs a friend at court—a watchful, constant, wise and eager friend. He needs a friend that will watch and work.

The greatest need of the Indians is the missionary need. Never did they need missionaries so much. They need friends, helpers, teachers, messengers of the strength of God, of his great patience, of the knowledge of his care, of the love which is life. They are not always interesting—these Indians—they are not romantic or even dangerous. Often they are squalid. Because they are thus over-needy, shall we forget them?

Christian men and women, it was of simple needs and plain things, the words were said, "inasmuch as ye did it unto them ye did it unto me." I beseech you, give the religion of Christ unto this brother, fallen among thieves between Jericho and his Jerusalem. We have heard the question discussed here how we shall better this missionary effort. *How shall we better it?* Let every man and woman work over against his own house. For verily the Indian needs more men and women to love him—men and women whose fathers and mothers have begged them to go to him. He needs more money which we can give. He needs more interest which today we are withholding. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have already been reminded many times that this is the twenty-fifth annual meeting of this Indian Conference, under Mr. Smiley's invitation. It has been thought appropriate that a paper should be presented in review of the accomplishments of these twenty-five Conferences. No one to whom this duty could be given could perform it more acceptably than DR. MERRILL E. GATES, Secretary of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. I have very great pleasure in presenting to you DR. GATES.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS—TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AT THE LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE

The Lake Mohonk Indian Conference. What is it? What has it Accomplished?

BY HON. MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D., L.H.D., OF THE BOARD OF
INDIAN COMMISSIONERS

The Conferences at Lake Mohonk have proved themselves a new social force. In these days, when embryonic sociologists are abroad in great numbers pursuing a tireless still-hunt in the effort to discover and classify social forces and to trace them to their origin, it is inevitable that the beginning and the early and later growth of such a force, should be an object of interest and a subject of investigation. Few things under the sun are new; and to be the only thing of its kind, is in itself a distinction. There is but one Lake Mohonk, and manifold have been its profits, for the Indians of America.

Certain wise and shrewd foreigners, students of our American life and institutions, have commented upon the singular fitness for self-government which is shown by the American people in the marvelous readiness and certainty with which we devise new but most efficient methods for shaping public opinion and getting the convictions of intelligent and thought-

ful people done into laws and institutions. It would be difficult to name any one new feature of our American social and political life which illustrates this political fitness for self-government of the American people more perfectly than do the Lake Mohonk Conferences. They have been a notable social and political force, for the last quarter of a century.

Assuredly it was a new thing under the sun. Its earlier gatherings, were in the parlor of a gracious lady who by the charm of her character and manners, and by her sweet-souled enthusiasm for the good cause which was discussed, helped to draw about her in the house of her husband men and women of more or less distinction from many differing lines of life, who felt a sense of friendly social allegiance to her and to her husband as their hostess and host. But these gatherings were not like the "salons" of the famous women who have sought to influence social, religious or political life by assembling their friends about them in large numbers for social intercourse with free discussion. The Mohonk Conferences came at less frequent intervals. They drew guests from greater distances—often across the entire continent. They had a more definitely avowed purpose; and in particular, the character of the entertainers, while it helped to attract guests and gave a social charm and a sense of intellectual and moral friendship and kinship to the circle who from time to time assembled here, was yet entirely free from that self-conscious hunger for admiration, praise, and acknowledged leadership, which has been a note clearly discernible in all the social and literary "salons" of the past.

While the Mohonk Conference was not a circle gathered to admire the wit or to re-echo the thought and sentiments of those who invited and entertained it, still less was it a place for the mere exchange of airy theories by would-be reformers who avoid experts in affairs and men who are familiar with the facts and figures, as "confidence-men" avoid the uniformed police!

This Conference was called with the definite intention of doing a definite piece of altruistic and Christian work for the ignorant and ill-treated Indian wards of the United States Government. It was to be a Conference at which missionaries to the Indians, Indian Agents, officials from the Indian Bureau in Washington, Congressmen and Senators who had to legislate upon Indian affairs, and public-spirited men and women who lead and shape public thought and sentiment throughout the country, should be brought together. First they were to learn the facts from these workers among the Indians who knew the facts at first hand. Then they were

to consider and to attempt to devise helpful remedial measures. And the men and women thus assembled, after getting clear convictions as to what ought to be done, were to serve as distributing centers, challenging public thought and attention, and awakening public sentiment in favor of justice, law, education, mission-work and kindly social and Christian fellowship, for the neglected and much-wronged aboriginal races of North America.

The attracting force which drew together in two daily sessions, in deliberate conference, for three days, such a body of thinkers, writers and active workers, was the large-hearted hospitality, the genial but deep and intense philanthropy, and the quiet personal enthusiasm of a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Albert K. Smiley, who in his efforts to improve methods of Indian administration, had seen, both at Washington and on the reservations among savage tribes in the tepee, the great need of concerted action to inform the public as to facts, and to awaken a righteous and a controlling moral sentiment in favor of justice for the Indians. From its first session, the Conference has welcomed discussion of every question by men of widely divergent views; and the host who invites and entertains the Conference has purposely included among his guests, and has intentionally placed upon the program of speakers, many whose views have been diametrically opposed to his own. "More light," has been the motto of the Conference, from the first. Through open discussion, it has uniformly found safely conservative ground of common conviction. The Conference has then urged its deliberate convictions upon Congress, the Indian Bureau, and the Executive of our Government, with all the force which comes from united action on the part of intelligent and conscientious people selected from all parts of the country, from all churches, and from all political parties.

Through these Conferences, a needful and effective way of forming and disseminating sound public opinion has been devised, and for more than a score of years has been successfully employed. Through attendance at this Conference, and still more widely through its published reports, public speakers, preachers of the Gospel, and writers for the press have been kept in touch with those who know the facts. Beside the expert in Indian affairs, to these conferences have been invited each year from one hundred to three hundred other people, editors of the secular and religious press, writers for reviews, clergymen of all denominations, presidents of universities and colleges, leading men and women who teach in the public schools, lawyers and judges, senators and repre-

representatives in Congress, members of the Cabinet and heads of Departments, and people of philanthropic feeling who have studied the Indians on the reservations. These meetings, Mr. Smiley, as a prominent member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, for years called "Conferences with the Board, upon Indian affairs;" and until 1902 a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners uniformly presided over the Conference. With the comparatively recent inclusion, in these discussions, of the problems of other less favored and more or less dependent races, the scope and the name of the Conference have been broadened, and we have repeatedly welcomed to the president's chair in these later years prominent men who were not identified with the Board of Indian Commissioners, although for the last two years our efficient president has again been a member of that Board:

It is well known to most who are in this audience that following a suggestion of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, who had shared in the earlier Conferences on Indian matters, the attempt was made for two or three successive years to bring to bear upon the Negro question this same powerful engine for shaping public opinion; but after two Conferences to which prominent men from the South and the North were invited, this plan proved impracticable. So marked had been the influence of these first Indian Conferences upon public opinion and legislation concerning the Indians, however, that this new instrument for the application of the moral and intellectual forces of our thoughtful people to great social reforms, was still more widely applied to another great reform. And it was the privilege and honor of the same far-sighted, philanthropic host, Albert K. Smiley, to inaugurate here in 1895, upon the same general plan which has governed the Indian Conferences, the now world-famous "Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration," in the interest of peace among the nations.

From our host, in his remarks at the opening of our sessions on last Wednesday morning, we heard of the origin of these Indian Conferences. On the great Sioux reservation in 1883 a delay of several days in projected plans of travel had led to a prolonged and interesting exchange of views upon matters of Indian administration, Indian customs and history, and the outlook for the civilization and the Christianization of the Indians. Members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, one or two representatives of the Christian Missionary organizations which were engaged in work among the Indians, and a number of intelligent and experienced teachers, Indian agents, and other workers among the Indians, had

shared in this exchange of views. Mr. Smiley was so deeply impressed by the greater clearness of view and the more definite apprehension of the objects to be attained, which followed these three-day conferences, that he determined to gather as his guests at Lake Mohonk a much larger circle of friends of the Indian, leaders of thought, and shapers of public opinion; and in October, 1883, the first of these Indian Conferences was held here at Lake Mohonk.

In the first annual address of the Lake Mohonk Conference, we find this modest statement as to the first of these annual meetings which have come to play so important a part in social and political reform: "A number of gentlemen at the invitation of Mr. Albert K. Smiley met at Lake Mohonk, New York, on the morning of October 10, 1883, for a free discussion of Indian affairs. Nearly all of them had given close personal attention to the subject about to be considered, while some, during a period of ten, fifteen and even twenty years, had sought to become familiar with its various phases. The members of the Conference chose as their chairman General Clinton B. Fisk, who was Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and as secretary, Herbert Welsh. After a short preliminary statement from various members present, regarding the principal topics for discussion the following were appointed a committee to prepare a program:" Dr. James E. Rhoads (the accomplished president of Bryn Mawr College); Professor C. C. Painter (afterward the efficient secretary of the Indian Rights Association); the Rev. Addison P. Foster (whose death last year, at his home not far from Lake Mohonk, is still mourned by a large circle of friends in all parts of the country), and Herbert Welsh (whose name for the last twenty-five years has been a synonym for enthusiastic devotion to the uplifting of the Indians, and to the defence of their rights). "The subjects discussed at this first Lake Mohonk Conference were:

"I. The Sioux Agreement:

- (a.) Objections as to the terms of the agreement,
- (b.) Objections to the methods by which the consent of the Indians to the agreement was obtained.

"II. Law for Indians. The Conference recommended that the laws of a State or Territory relating to crime, marriage and inheritance, be extended over the Indians on reservations within the limits of such State or Territory."

They recommended that Indians be admitted to United States citizenship "so soon, and only so soon, as they are fitted for its responsibilities;" and that "all Indians who are ready and anxious to receive titles to separate homesteads,

capable of taking care of property, be empowered to do so by proper legislation, which shall at the same time secure the lands so allotted from alienation or incumbrance for a period of twenty-five years, or such time after this period as shall be determined by the President and the Secretary of the Interior." The question of leasing Indian grazing lands was considered; the provision of herds of cattle for those Indian tribes who are naturally grazers of cattle was urged with a view to making the Indians self-supporting by cattle-raising, and independent of Government aid. More schools for Indians; industrial schools outside reservation limits; an increase in the number of assistant farmers at the principal agencies, the preservation and right use of the streams and springs in New Mexico, Arizona and parts of the Indian Territory,—were discussed and strongly favored by the Conference. Its deliverances upon the need of a better class of Indian agents, the suggestion that the agent's salary be increased with added years of efficient service and integrity in offices; the recommendation that monopoly in traderships on Indian reservations be done away with, and that Indians who are fitted for it, be licensed to trade, and the further recommendation that "the issue of rations to Indians be given up as rapidly as other means of support can be supplied;" with a clear affirmation of the belief "that the distributing of rations in the rough, and the neglect of the earnest effort to train Indians in self-support, tend only towards demoralization and pauperization,"—these will serve to illustrate the trend of thought at this first Lake Mohonk Conference.

The positions taken in this utterance were at that time regarded by the public generally as "extreme" and "advanced"; although most of these views had been advocated for some years by the Board of Indian Commissioners. The names appended to the first "Lake Mohonk address" are: Clinton B. Fisk, Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, New York; Albert K. Smiley, and W. H. Lyon, of the Board of Indian Commissioners; Dr. James E. Rhoads, of the Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia; General S. C. Armstrong, Principal of the Hampton Normal School, Virginia; The Rev. Addison P. Foster, of Jersey City; Rev. Charles C. Painter, of Massachusetts; James Talcott, of New York; John B. Talcott, of New Britain; Connecticut; Benjamin B. Smith, of Missouri; and Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia.

The third Lake Mohonk Conference, in October, 1885, two years later, had upon its roll of members, in addition to those

already named as attending the first conference, Dr. Lyman Abbott, then editor of the "Christian Union"; Hon. Erastus Brooks, who gave an interesting address upon The Indian in American History, and paid an eloquent and feeling tribute to Helen Hunt Jackson, then lately deceased; Hon. J. H. Oberly, then United States Superintendent of Indian Schools, later, Commissioner of Indian affairs; Justice William N. Strong of the Supreme Court of the United States; Hon. Philip C. Garret, Commissioner of Public Charities of the State of Pennsylvania, later for so many years a prominent member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and a greatly beloved and most useful member of the Mohonk Conferences at whose sessions he several times presided; Miss Alice C. Fletcher, of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, who had already prepared and presented at Washington a bill by which every member of the Omaha tribe of Indians had been set up as a land-owner upon land held in severalty, to make a home of his own; Senator Dawes of Massachusetts, who was then beginning to formulate that piece of legislation which is the Magna Charta of the American Indians, and provides for breaking up the reservation into farms held in severalty by Indians, and for the admission to American citizenship of all Indians who thus take homesteads. President Magill of Swarthmore college, President L. Clark Seelye of Smith College; President H. O. Ladd of the University of New Mexico, Dr. James Carey Thomas of Baltimore, a prominent trustee of Johns Hopkins University, and President Merrill E. Gates, then of Rutgers, later of Amherst College, in 1884 appointed by President Chester A. Arthur, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, represented the interest which colleges and universities in 1884 were beginning to take in the movement. Dr. William Hayes Ward, who had been with Mr. Smiley at the inception of the idea of these conferences on the Sioux Reservation in 1883, and Dr. John W. Harding of the "Springfield Republican," with Col. John C. Kinney, editor of the "Hartford Courant," and his wife whose work for the Indians through the Connecticut Association is so well known, and Lyman Abbott, were among the prominent editors and writers for the press who were in attendance. Miss Emily S. Cook, of the Indian Bureau, was already beginning to place at the disposal of the Conference her remarkably full and accurate store of information upon all affairs of Indian administration; Mrs. J. B. Dickinson, President of the Women's National Indian Association; Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith of Philadelphia; Mrs. Haynes, corresponding secretary of the

Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions, of New York; Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, wife of the president of the Conference, herself since then for twenty years president of the Methodist Women's Home Missionary Society; Mrs. W. Goddard, and Mrs. Augustus Hemenway of Boston, with Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, then secretary for mission work, and since for many years the efficient president of the Women's National Indian Association, were among the "noble women not a few" who were in attendance.

The Conference had among its members as the representatives of great missionary societies who were working among the Indians, two men of exceptional insight and strength of character: that Christian statesman, planner of mission work and mighty preacher of righteousness, Dr. M. E. Strieby, the corresponding secretary of the American Missionary Association, and Rev. Dr. Henry Kendall, discreet, firm as a rock in his insistence upon principle, but kindly and deep-hearted, then the senior secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Moses Pierce of Norwich, Connecticut, a trustee and generous supporter of the Hampton Institute, Mr. James Wood of Mt. Kisco, and Mr. James Talcott of New York, represented the class of men of wealth and philanthropic feeling who have from the first been identified with this reform. The then latest commissioned member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, from 1890 to 1899, Chairman of the Board, and now its Secretary, at that session, 1885, read at Lake Mohonk a paper first read at the Saratoga Sessions of the Social Science Association that summer, upon "Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians"—a paper which has been repeatedly republished in the interest of this reform, and which in its definite arraignment of specific evils in tribal organization and in reservation life, and in its summary of the principles that underlie the effort to break up the reservations and make the Indians citizens, outlined features of the policy which has since been pursued in Indian affairs.

Those who have attended this Conference only since the way into citizenship has been opened to the Indians by the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, or still more recently since the breaking up of tribal government among the five civilized tribes in Indian Territory with the consequent reception of those 75,000 Indians into citizenship, can hardly understand the difficulties which beset the Indian problem when these conferences were organized, and during the early years of the agitation for the admission of Indians to citizenship.

In 1883 there was no law whatever upon any of the Indian reservations. Efforts at a rude administration of Indian justice by Indian tribal chiefs, checked somewhat the violence and injustice within the tribe and between Indians; but when white

men stole from an Indian, murdered an Indian, or violated the family life of the Indian home, there was no law whatever which reached him. The property which an Indian had amassed by his labor, if taken from him by the unjust practices of white men, the Indian could not recover through the courts, unless he had sufficient influence to get the case taken up in his behalf by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or by some other high official of the Interior Department. The "Indian untaxed" had no standing in the courts. We had left the Indian literally without law and without land. Some of our greatest lawyers had confessed their inability to put into words the status of the Indian before the law.

A paragraph upon this subject from one of the papers of the conference of 1885, illustrates this fact:

"What is an Indian? What is his legal status? Can he be defined in terms satisfactory to Americans who love justice and believe in fair play? His copper color, his prominent cheek bones, his straight black hair are physical marks easily connoted for placing him among the ethnographic groups into which we divide the inhabitants of our land. If we look for the marks by which his legal status is to be recognized, they will be found to be quite as striking. But we hesitate in attempting to name the anomalous position we have given him before the law. He is not a citizen by local birth. He is not a foreigner. He is not alien. He cannot by naturalization become a citizen. Caleb Cushing called him a 'domestic subject.' Daniel Webster applies to the Indians an old legal definition, which would delight the heart of many a greedy frontiersman who covets their property, when he calls them '*Perpetual inhabitants with diminutive rights.*' On the whole, the term which has found most favor with those who consider the matter is 'wards of the Government.'"

The government had not taken any adequate steps to protect family life among its wards, the Indians. In all the countless orders, letters and regulations issued by the government in managing Indian affairs, there was no definite attempt made until 1901 (and then only under pressure from this Conference), to require by official orders the licensing and solemnization of marriage, the recording of marriages, births, deaths and family relationships, or the protection of family ties against easy divorce and polygamy. Even now, this is not done with uniformity. Still further than this we had gone in our injustice toward the Indian and our careless disregard of his rights and of our duties to him. We had made it possible for men and women of any other race on the face of the earth to become citizens of the United States, by merely coming to our land, declaring their intention to remain here as citizens, and after a few years of residence, complying with the simple requirements of our naturalization laws. But it was absolutely impossible for Indians, the only truly native American races upon our soil, in any way to become citizens of the United States. The Indian was not a citizen; he was not an alien; and the only truly native

American could not by any process of naturalization become a citizen. From the gross injustice of the status in which the Indian had thus been fixed, it required years of agitation to deliver him..

The Board of Indian Commissioners in the first year after its creation (in 1869) had made a draft of a bill providing for lands in severalty, and admission to citizenship, for Indians who took such homes; but it was not until 1887 that Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, champion of the rights of the Indian in the Senate of the United States, leading that enlightened public opinion which the Mohonk Conference had, in a marked degree, helped to form, by the weight of his character and his wise statesmanship in the Senate, succeeded in securing the enactment of the Dawes Severalty Act, and opened the pathway into citizenship for the Indian. Now that more than half the Indians in the United States have passed through this door, and have come to be American citizens, it is difficult for the younger members of this Conference to understand the dense prejudice and the bitter feeling which in many quarters of the country opposed the principles of reform advocated in the early platforms of this Conference. The memory of Indian wars and especially of the Sioux massacre in Minnesota in the early sixties, and of the Apache atrocities, had not yet faded. The influence of that bitter and widely quoted saying, "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian," prevailed throughout the West and in many parts of the East, to a degree which now seems incredible. All who are interested in the Indian should honor the heroic work and the rugged eloquence of General Richard H. Pratt, better known as Captain Pratt, the founder and for a generation the honored head of the Carlisle Indian School, who, from East to West, at meetings which were gathered to see and to listen to a group of the students from the Carlisle Industrial School proclaimed this doctrine: It has been said, "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian;" I say to my students, "Let us accept that statement. Let us kill the savage Indian in every tribesman, but save and develop the man that is in every Indian. By education and Christianization let us kill the old Indian and save the true man."

The best work which has been done by this Mohonk Conference might be described in brief as the work of helping by public opinion, by legislation, and most of all by Christian education, to kill off what is bad in the old Indian ways, and to save to American life the manhood and womanhood of these native Americans.

School facilities among the Indians in 1883 were altogether inadequate. The appropriations made by the Government for the support of Indian schools began with \$20,000 in 1877. In

1883, six years later, when the first Mohonk Conference was held, the appropriations for schools had reached \$487,000. I remember well an incident which occurred in Washington at the winter conference of representatives of the Missionary Societies working among the Indians with the Board of Indian Commissioners, from which a plea was to go to Congress for increased appropriations for schools. It had fallen to my lot to draft the resolution asking for an increased appropriation. I had drawn the resolution in language which expressed the conviction of our Conference, that it was the duty of the United States Government to provide at once, by appropriation, a fund for a system of Government schools adequate to give elementary and industrial instruction to *all the children of school age* among its Indian wards. Representatives of the Indian Bureau, and others who felt that they knew the state of feeling among members of Congress, objected to the resolution as "asking too much," and affirmed that if we demanded so much we should get nothing—one of them closing his objection with the emphatic assertion that to get the Government to appropriate money for adequate school facilities for *all* Indian children was "*absolutely impossible*." The scene which followed has always seemed to me typical of the splendid enthusiasm and high purpose of that Christian hero, General S. C. Armstrong, whose memory is cherished in these Conferences. He had been standing in the hall, just outside the door of the room where we were meeting, engaged in a whispered conference with one or two gentlemen on another subject; but from where I sat, I could see that his attention was aroused by the words of the speaker who was objecting. As that speaker took his seat, his last words, "absolutely impossible," still echoing in the air, springing forward, his straight arm uplifted, with a fiery eagerness and an impassioned poise and gesture which recalled most vividly Raphael's great picture of St. Michael with his foot on the Dragon's neck, Armstrong flashed into the center of the room, and with ringing emphasis, cried out: "Impossible? What are Christian men and women put into God's world for, but *to do the impossible* when it is right? Let us ask for it, and we shall in the end inevitably get it." We *did* ask for it; and the appropriation leaped from \$487,000 in 1883 to \$1,200,000 in 1886. There are few incidents in recent history so encouraging in the impression they give of the outworking of the new altruistic spirit in the attitude of a conquering race toward a conquered and dispersed people, as is the history of the efforts in recent years made by the Government and the people of the United States for the education civilization and Christianization of the Indians and the Filipinos. "The Century of Dishonor" which Helen Hunt Jackson vehemently and eloquently arraigned, has been followed

by a quarter of a century of such systematic care and forethought for an inferior race, as the world has seldom seen. The appropriations for schools for Indian children steadily called for and encouraged by these Mohonk Conferences, in the last fiscal year, 1907, have reached \$3,924,630. With the exception of the Navajos and the San Carlos Indians, it may now be said that adequate school facilities are within the reach of substantially all the Indian children of our land.

Time would fail us were we to attempt to trace through successive conferences the reforms in the Indian service and in legislation for the Indians which have been advocated and discussed here at Lake Mohonk, and have subsequently been adopted by Congress and carried into effect by the executive and administrative branches of the government. Upon many questions which have here been discussed, there has been the sharpest difference of opinion and the widest divergence of views. Light has come through the clash of ideas. The eirenic spirit of our host has always prevailed when differences were most sharply expressed and feeling was deepest. Old Mohonkers will recall a few almost tragic moments in debate and discussion;—as for instance, the debate in which the most prominent teacher in one of the largest Indian schools, in his own outspoken and combative manner, rose to contradict a statement just made in one of our conferences by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and in the sharp dialogue which ensued, the “lie circumstantial” and the “lie direct,” were quickly given in challenge and retort. General Clinton B. Fisk, who in the early years of this conference presided over its sessions, had taught us the value, at such a crisis, of the obviously laughter-provoking story or remark quickly thrown in by the presiding officer, when feeling threatened to be too hot; and at this particular juncture, as the Commissioner and the school and army officer stood opposed to each other, while the outstretched hand of the wife, who was trying to be peace-maker, was pulling at the skirts of her husband's coat, it was an absurdly amusing presentation of a point of order, by the chair, which brought about the laugh that saved the situation, and put out the fires of personal controversy.

Uniformly these conferences have come through discussion to the adoption of a platform less advanced than was desired by some of the radicals present, and far more advanced than would have been satisfactory to the more conservative; but the solid stand taken by the entire Conference upon the platform in which, without concession of principle, all could agree, has given great weight to the utterances of the Mohonk Conferences. It has been possible to say in Congress, at the Departments in Washington, and throughout the country through the press and pulpit, that the measures advocated at Lake Mohonk were “approved

by the great body of the best friends and the wisest well-wishers of the Indians."

Anyone who is interested in the progress of a reform, and will take time to examine the successive platforms adopted by the Mohonk Conference and to note the measures first advocated by this Conference, which have passed into law and administration within the next few years after they were asked for here, will be convinced that as an engine for forming public opinion and securing effective legislation, the Mohonk Conference is an American invention thoroughly well adapted to attaining the end desired. It is intensely an American institution; most fittingly devised to aid the one distinctively American race; but in recent years helpful to other races, and, through the Arbitration Conferences, of marked influence upon the international relations of the whole world.

The wide scope of the questions bearing upon Indian affairs which have been discussed by these conferences, may be inferred from a list like the following, which is taken from the index of subjects discussed and acted on at the Sixth Lake Mohonk Conference, in 1888:

The Abolition of Reservations; An Act to establish Courts for Indians; the Alleghany Reservation; Allotments among the Shawnees; Allotments under the Severalty Bill; the Apaches; the Blackfeet; Education for Indians; Indians and Indian Schools in Canada; Character and Morals of the New York Indians; Compulsory Education; Contract Schools; The Dawes Severalty Act; Discussions on Law for Indians; Equivalents for rations; The Government and Missionary schools; Industries of Indians; Laws concerning Indian women; The Mission Indians of California; Normal Education for Indians; the Ojibways; the Omahas; the Papagoes; the Pimas; Plan for giving Apache prisoners land in Severalty; the Potawatomes; the Presbytery of Buffalo and the Indians; Concerning interference with Missionary work; The Shawnee and Sioux Bill; the Sissetons; the Utes; the Winnebagos; the Sabobas; the Sac and Fox Indians; the Santees. This list includes less than half the subjects which were under consideration at the sixth conference.

Already, in 1888, the agitation for the abolition of contract schools had commenced. While the school facilities provided by the Government were still painfully inadequate, it had been felt to be right and desirable that the United States Government, recognizing its obligation to provide some means of education for the children of its Indian wards, should, by contracts with the religious societies which had established boarding mission-schools among the Indians, provide for the payment of a fixed sum annually for each Indian child boarded and trained at such mission school. Perhaps no question has been under discussion

in these Conferences which has drawn out more numerous expressions of opinion; and hardly any question has occasioned more of heated and prolonged debate, than has this question of contract schools. But as a larger number of schools was gradually provided by the United States Government, it became more difficult to defend appropriations of money for the support of children at denominational mission-schools. The sound American principle of entire separation between church and state, seemed to many to demand that an end be put to the close relations maintained and the still closer relations sought between the treasury of the United States and the mission work of some religious denominations. After several years of discussion at this conference, the opinion became general (several denominations through their general church assemblies asking) that no appropriation should be made for any denomination mission-school. With increased discussion and added experience, this may be said to have become almost the unanimous opinion of this Conference. In time, Congress took the same view; and by legislation put an end to any and all appropriations of public money for contract schools.

Upon no subject has the Conference been more absolutely unanimous than upon the desirability of education, and of some form of industrial education, for all Indian children, together with the absolute need of such sound ethical training as is understood by the term Christian, and is given in Christian schools. It was the avowed conviction of most of those who earnestly advocated doing away with contract schools, that the churches of the country, through their missionary organizations, would take up with fresh earnestness and with increased liberality the duty of establishing and maintaining mission schools among the Indians, when Government aid to denominational schools was withdrawn. This has not been generally done, however; and the need for more Christian and missionary work among the Indians (which has been so strongly presented at the earlier sessions of our Conference this week), was never more intense than it is to-day. Those churches and denominations which have protested most earnestly against the contract-school system, and have maintained (upon sound principles as we believe), that the responsibility for doing something of Christian and missionary work among the Indians rests directly upon every American church, should certainly have responded most generously to the call for added contributions and increased work when Government aid, at their own suggestion, was withdrawn from their schools. They did not so respond, however. It remains the fact that as a rule there has been no material increase in mission work among the Indians for the last fifteen years.

Should not those Christian denominations which used their influence to do away with the contract system of schools, now come forward with fresh determination to do active missionary, educational and industrial work among the Indians, in the name of our Divine Master and Redeemer?

We have not time to follow even in merest outline the discussions bearing upon land in severalty for Indians; to recall the revelations (first made public here in the report of Senator Dawes to this Conference) of the selfish appropriation of land in the Indian Territory by the rich, of misgovernment and practical lawlessness, and the suggestions made here to bring the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes into United States citizenship; to note the addresses and successive recommendations made here in the effort to break up the reservations, to establish Indians upon homesteads of their own, and to secure the registration of family relations and the licensing and solemnization of marriages by state and territorial laws; to follow the prolonged and finally successful struggle to bring employees among the Indians under Civil Service regulations, and to secure character, experience and integrity in the position of Indian agents, notwithstanding the determined efforts of Senators and representatives to retain these appointments in the Indian Service as the last stronghold of the disgraceful and dishonest "patronage system" of appointment.

Time would fail us, too, if we were to undertake to characterize, even with the briefest phrase, the devoted and public-spirited men and women who, having shared for a time with us in the labor and discussions of this conference, have gone on into the Larger Life beyond. In the early years of these gatherings, it was our custom to devote an hour, toward the close of each annual conference, to memorial words, recalling the friends interested in the work who had been called onward and upward to higher service since our last meeting. But as our circle increased, it came to be generally felt that the roll of promotions was too long, from year to year, to permit even a recital of names, with a loving word characterizing each; nor did it seem wise to dwell too much on the thought of those who had passed from us, while the call for active present service was so clear and insistent. We felt that with a backward look of gratitude "for all the saints who from their labors rest," we were under obligation to press forward in the work, rather than to pronounce eulogies upon those who have gone to nobler worship and to higher service, over there.

From among the shining roll of names, it seems hardly right to select any for special mention. But we must recall, even if only by name and without a phrase of characteriza-

tion, General Clinton B. Fisk, genial, high hearted and full of hope; the saintly, devoted and fearless Bishop Whipple; General Marshall, whose business ability did so much, year after year, for the Hampton School; ex-Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hiram Price; General Thomas J. Morgan, devoted Christian, and educational reformer in his administration of the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Bishop Huntington, of Syracuse, New York, always especially interested in the effort to emancipate the Indians in New York State from their slavery to paganism and lawlessness; Mr. H. O. Houghton, publisher of so many books of light and leading, genial philanthropist; President McCosh, of Princeton; Justice William N. Strong, of the United States Supreme Court; Dr. Henry Hartshorne of the "Friends' Review;" Austin Abbott, whose penetrating intellect, large stores of legal learning, and essentially judicial habit of mind, made his advice on matters of legislation of exceptional value, while in Christian idealism he was never on a lower plane than his brothers, Dr. Lyman Abbott, and Dr. Charles Abbott of Cambridge, who are still with us for inspiration in this work; ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, whose broad and intelligent interest in all matters of philanthropy, and social uplift, answered permanently and effectively for the American people the question "What ought we to expect of our ex-Presidents?"; General S. C. Armstrong, founder of Hampton, Christ-like and chivalric leader in the work of industrial and higher education for the colored race and for the Indians; and Senator Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, whose practical good judgment, wise knowledge of men and affairs, massive integrity of character and statesman-like foresight, all devoted to the securing of the rights of citizenship for the Indians, have made him easily the most important figure as we look back through the vista of years toward these early conferences. With these men, we recall a shining host of others whose hearts were knit to ours in Christian love and sympathy, as together we tried to do something in the name of our Divine Master for these weaker ones for whom Christ died.

Certain critics of our American life have seen in reforming conventions and conferences such as this, only evidences of discontent—indications that our American system of government fails to meet the needs of the people and of the time. But it seems to me that our fitness for self-government is in no way more clearly evinced than by precisely such gatherings as this Mohonk Conference. No constitution can cover, or should by minute provisions attempt to cover, all possible

contingencies in national life. No code can provide for all possible cases, since the conditions out of which conflicts of rights arise, are continually changing with the life and growth of a people. When to the conscience of the American people questions present themselves which call for modifications of precedents and existing laws, what could be a more healthful sign than these voluntary assemblages of thoughtful and patriotic citizens to take counsel together as to the best method of bringing about needed changes? A nation that is not fit for self-government will fail voluntarily to address itself to such tasks as the one which calls us together. But a people who are fit for self-government, will voluntarily undertake such reforms, and will successfully carry them into effect. Conferences for counsel and for mutual enlightenment will be followed by the distribution of the light thus gained through those distributing centers for the diffusion of ideas,—the newspapers, our institutions of learning, and the pulpit. Public opinion thus enlightened will be directed toward necessary legislation for the securing of the desired objects. And so we are doing the work of intelligent patriots in first informing ourselves, then informing others, and finally in attempting, by the legitimate methods of education and legislation, to reform the abuses that have attracted our attention.

Those of us who have had occasion to be present at Washington during the progress of such reform as has been secured in legislation for the Indians, know well that the whole nation owes a great debt to these friends of the Indian for a quickening of the national conscience upon matters of righteousness. From the persistence with which the results of deliberations here have been pressed upon the attention of members of Congress, Congress has come to be more keenly alive to appeals for justice in every matter which calls for legislation. Congressional committees are forced to become very familiar with urgent appeals from corporations, from manufacturing interests, and from strong local interests, asking selfishly for something which will be for their own advantage. It is refreshing, to one who is working for the interest of the Indians at Washington, to see how much more readily, at these later sessions, the attention of Congress can be secured for appeals based upon simple considerations of justice, and made by men and women who do not have and cannot possibly have any selfish interest in presenting these claims. All our work at this conference has thus a benediction for us who are engaged in it; it is unselfish effort for the oppressed and the ignorant. And in so far as we secure public recognition of the just claims of the Indian, and legislation which

protects his interests and develops his manhood, we not only bless him, but we bring upon our national legislature and upon the whole people the blessing which always attends the disinterested doing of justice;—"for what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

For a nation, as for an individual, nothing else strengthens personality and deepens and intensifies life, as does the clear voice of Conscience, followed by obedience to that Divine voice. "Happy the man who walks with that strong-siding champion, Conscience!" wrote Milton;—and thrice-happy the nation which walks with that "strong-siding champion," in making its laws and administering its public affairs!

Inasmuch as these conferences have quickened the conscience of the American people, our whole nation owes them a debt of gratitude. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAM H. MCELROY then presented a resolution expressing to Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley and Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley, the appreciation of the members of the Conference of Mohonk's hospitality, and their congratulations on the accomplishments of the Conference during the twenty-five years of its existence. The resolution was seconded by DR. EDWARD D. EATON, and unanimously adopted.

MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY spoke briefly in acknowledgment of the resolution.

The Conference then united in singing "God be with you till we meet again," after which an adjournment was taken *sine die*.

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APPENDIX

Proclamation Calling the First Philippine Election.

Appendix a to address of Hon. Paul Charlton (See page 78).

BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS .. A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, The President of the United States, did, on the twenty-eighth day of March, nineteen hundred and seven, issue the following Executive Order:

"Whereas, By the sixth section of the Act of Congress, approved July first, nineteen hundred and two, entitled 'An Act temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes,' it was provided 'That whenever the existing insurrection in the Philippine Islands shall have ceased and a condition of general and complete peace shall have been established therein and the fact shall be certified to the President by the Philippine Commission, the President, upon being satisfied thereof, shall order a census of the Philippine Islands to be taken by said Philippine Commission;' and

"Whereas, By the seventh section of said Act it was provided 'That two years after the completion and publication of the census, in case such condition of general and complete peace with recognition of the authority of the United States shall have continued in the territory of said Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes, and such facts shall have been certified to the President by the Philippine Commission, the President, upon being satisfied thereof, shall direct said Commission to call, and the Commission shall call, a general election for the choice of delegates to a popular assembly of the people of said territory in the Philippine Islands which shall be known as the Philippine Assembly. After said Assembly shall have convened and organized, all the legislative power heretofore conferred on the Philippine Commission in all that part of said Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes shall be vested in a legislature consisting of two houses—the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly. Said Assembly shall consist of not less than fifty nor more than one hundred members, to be apportioned by said Commission among the provinces as nearly as practicable according to population: Provided, That no province shall have less than one member: And provided further, That provinces entitled by population to more than one member may be divided into such convenient districts as the said Commission may deem best;' and

"Whereas, On September eighteenth, nineteen hundred and two, the Philippine Commission certified to me that the insurrection in the Philippine Islands had ceased and that a condition of general and complete peace had been established therein; and

"Whereas, In pursuance of the provisions of the law above quoted and upon the foregoing due certification and being satisfied of the facts therein stated, on the twenty-fifth day of September, nineteen hundred and two, I ordered a census of the Philippine Islands to be taken by the Philippine Commission; and

"Whereas, The census so ordered was taken and announcement of its completion and publication made to the people of the Philippine Islands on March twenty-eighth, nineteen hundred and five; and

"Whereas, The Philippine Commission has now certified to me the following resolution:

"Whereas, The census of the Philippine Islands was completed and published on the twenty-seventh day of March, nineteen hundred and five, which said completion and publication of said census was, on the

twenty-eighth day of March, nineteen hundred and five, duly published and proclaimed to the people by the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands with the announcement that the President of the United States would direct the Philippine Commission to call a general election for the choice of delegates to a popular assembly, provided that a condition of general and complete peace with recognition of the authority of the United States should be certified by the Philippine Commission to have continued in the territory of the Philippine Islands for a period of two years after said completion and publication of said census; and

"Whereas, Since the completion and publication of said census there have been no serious disturbances of the public order save and except those caused by the noted outlaws and bandit chieftains, Felizardo and Montalan, and their followers in the Provinces of Cavite and Batangas, and those caused in the Provinces of Samar and Leyte by the non-Christian and fanatical pulajanés resident in the mountain districts of the said provinces and the barrios contiguous thereto; and

"Whereas, The overwhelming majority of the people of said Provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Samar, and Leyte have not taken part in said disturbances and have not aided or abetted the lawless acts of said bandits and pulajanés; and

"Whereas, The great mass and body of Filipino people have, during said period of two years, continued to be law-abiding, peaceful, and loyal to the United States, and have continued to recognize the authority and sovereignty of the United States in the territory of said Philippine Islands: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Philippine Commission in formal session duly assembled, That it, said Philippine Commission, do certify, and it does hereby certify, to the President of the United States that for a period of two years after the completion and publication of the census a condition of general and complete peace, with recognition of the authority of the United States, has continued to exist and now exists in the territory of said Philippine Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes; and be it further

"Resolved, By said Philippine Commission, That the President of the United States be requested, and is hereby requested, to direct said Philippine Commission to call a general election for the choice of delegates to a popular assembly of the people of said territory in the Philippine Islands, which assembly shall be known as the Philippine Assembly;"

"Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, in pursuance of the provisions of the law above cited and being satisfied of the facts certified to me by the Philippine Commission, do hereby direct said Philippine Commission to call a general election for the choice of delegates to a popular assembly of the people of the territory of the Philippine Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes, which shall be known as the Philippine Assembly.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"The White House, March 28, 1907."

Now, therefore, I, James F. Smith, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, do hereby proclaim the foregoing for the information and guidance of all concerned.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Government of the Philippine Islands to be affixed.

Done at the City of Manila this first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seven.

JAMES F. SMITH,
Governor-General,
Per A. W. FERGUSON,
Executive Secretary.

By the Governor-General:
A. W. FERGUSON, Executive Secretary.

Qualifications of Filipino Voters.

Appendix *b* to address of Hon. Paul Charlton (See page 79).

The qualifications of electors were:

Sec. 13. Qualifications of Voters.—Every male person twenty-three years of age or over, who has had a legal residence for a period of six months immediately preceding the election in the municipality in which he exercises the suffrage, and who is not a citizen or subject of any foreign power, and who is comprised within one of the three following classes:

(a) Those who, prior to the thirteenth of August, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, held the office of municipal captain, gobernadorcillo, alcalde, lieutenant, cabeza de barangay, or member of any ayuntamiento;

(b) Those who own real property to the value of five hundred pesos, or who annually pay thirty pesos or more of the established taxes;

(c) Those who speak, read, and write English or Spanish shall be entitled to vote at all elections: Provided, That officers, soldiers, sailors, or marines of the Army or Navy of the United States shall not be considered as having acquired legal residence within the meaning of this section by reason of their having been stationed in the municipalities for the required six months.

The disqualifications were:

Sec. 14. Disqualifications.—The following persons shall be disqualified from voting:

(a) Any person who is delinquent in the payment of public taxes assessed since August thirteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight.

(b) Any person who has been deprived of the right to vote by the sentence of a court of competent jurisdiction since August thirteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight;

(c) Any person who has taken and violated the oath of allegiance to the United States;

(d) Any person who, on the first day of May, nineteen hundred and one, or thereafter, was in arms in the Philippine Islands against the authority or sovereignty of the United States, whether such person be an officer, soldier, or civilian;

(e) Any person who, since the last day of March, nineteen hundred and one, has made or hereafter shall make contribution of money or other valuable thing in aid of any person or organization against the authority or sovereignty of the United States, or who shall demand or receive such contribution from others, or who shall make any contribution to any person or organization hostile to or in arms against the authority or sovereignty of the United States, for the purpose of securing any protection, immunity, or benefit;

(f) Any person who, since the last day of March, nineteen hundred and one, has or hereafter shall in any manner whatsoever give aid and comfort to any person or organization in said Islands in opposition to or in arms against the authority or sovereignty of the United States;

(g) Insane or feeble-minded persons;

Provided, The provisions of sub-section (d) shall not apply to those persons who surrendered in Cebu to Brigadier-General Hughes or to those who were on October thirty-first, nineteen hundred and one, inhabitants of the town of Pilar in the Province of Sorsogon: And provided further, That the provisions of sub-sections (d), (e), and (f) shall not apply to acts done prior to the surrender by persons who surrendered to Brigadier-General Samuel Sumner in the Province of La Laguna in the month of June, nineteen hundred and one: And provided further, That the disqualifications prescribed in the foregoing sub-sections (d), (e), and (f) shall not apply to persons who have received the benefits of an amnesty and have not since committed any of the acts set forth in said sections.

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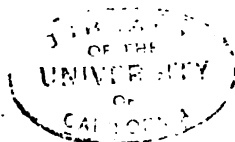
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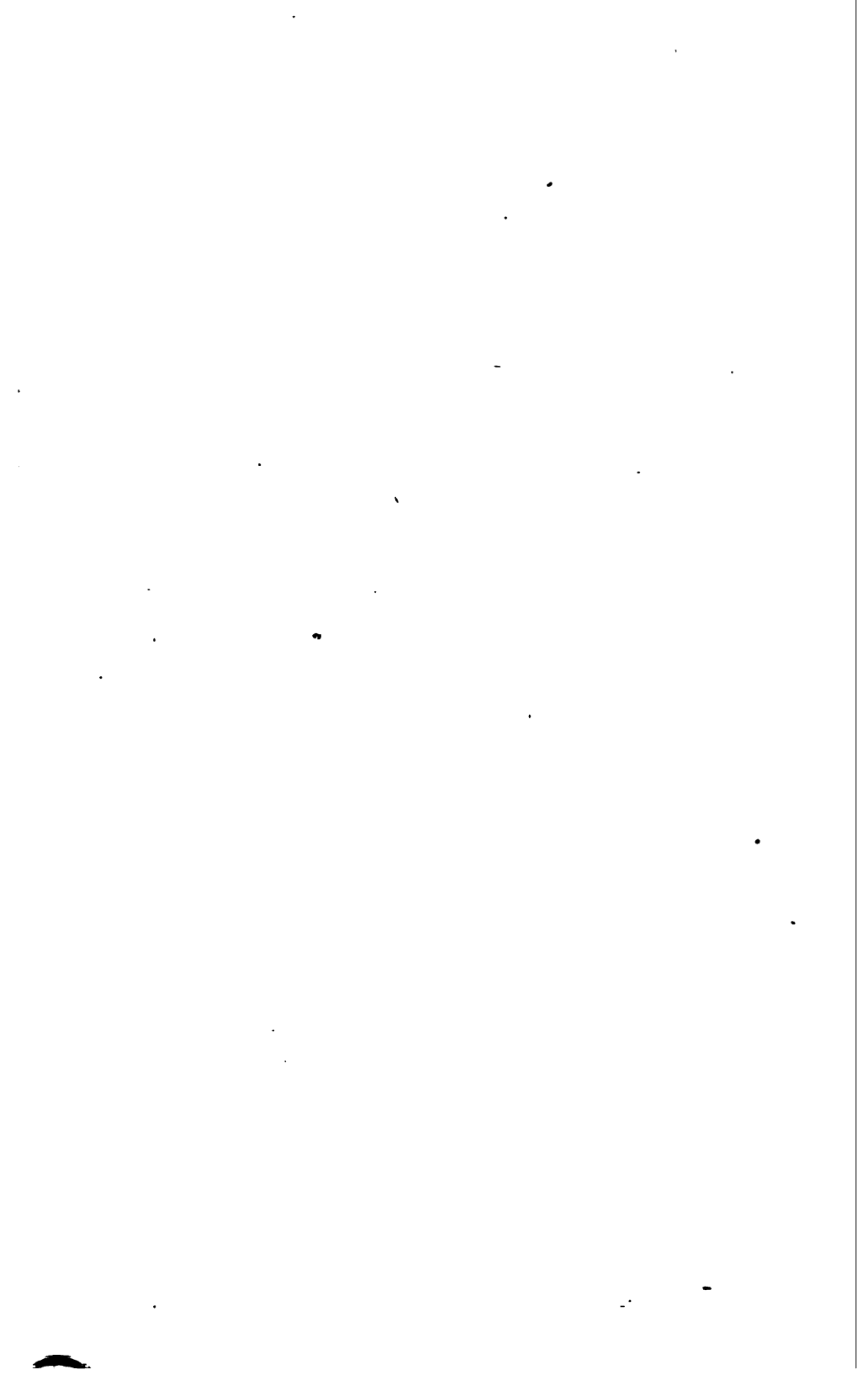
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